

**Report of
The Royal Commission on
Violence in the
Communications Industry**

Volume

6

**Vulnerability to
Media Effects**



Published by
The Royal Commission on Violence
in the Communications Industry

Printed by
J. C. Thatcher,
Queen's Printer for Ontario

Available from the
Publications Centre
Ministry of Government Services
Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario
or
Ontario Government Book Store
880 Bay Street
Toronto, Ontario

The Royal Commission on Violence in the
Communications Industry was established by Order in
Council in May 1975 and published an Interim Report
in January 1976. It held hearings throughout the
Province of Ontario from October 1975 to May 1976.

A selection of public briefs, reports of foreign
consultations and the conclusions and
recommendations of The Royal Commission on
Violence in the Communications Industry are
published in Volume I, which is available in French
and in English.

The Commission's Bibliography comprises Volume II.

Twenty-eight independent studies of the media were
undertaken for The Commission and are contained in
Volumes III to VII.



Order-in-Council

Order-in-Council approved by Her Honour the Lieutenant Governor, dated the 7th day of May, A.D. 1975.

Upon the recommendation of the Honourable the Premier, the Committee in Council advise that pursuant to the provisions of The Public Inquiries Act, 1971, S.O. 1971, Chapter 49, a Commission be issued appointing

The Honourable Julia Verlyn LaMarsh, P.C., Q.C., LL.D.,
Judge Lucien Arthur Beaulieu, and
Scott Alexander Young,

and naming the said Julia Verlyn LaMarsh as Chairman thereof, to study the possible harm to the public interest of the increasing exploitation of violence in the communications industry; and that the Commission be empowered and instructed:

1. to study the effects on society of the increasing exhibition of violence in the communications industry;
2. to determine if there is any connection or a cause and effect relationship between this phenomenon and the incidence of violent crime in society;
3. to hold public hearings to enable groups and organizations, individual citizens and representatives of the industry to make known their views on the subject;
4. to make appropriate recommendations, if warranted, on any measures that should be taken by the Government of Ontario, by other levels of Government, by the general public and by the industry.

The Committee further advise that pursuant to the said Public Inquiries Act, the said Commissioners shall have the power of summoning any person and requiring such person to give evidence on oath and to produce such documents and things as the Commissioners deem requisite for the full investigation of the matters to be examined.

And the Committee further advise that all Government ministries, boards, agencies and committees shall assist, to the fullest extent, the said Commissioners who, in order to carry out their duties and functions, shall have the power and authority to engage such staff, secretarial and otherwise, and technical advisers as they deem proper, at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Management Board of Cabinet.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/39091219020181>

The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry

J. V. LaMarsh, *Chairman*

L. A. Beaulieu, *Commissioner*

Scott A. Young, *Commissioner*

Administration

Anne Cameron, *Director*

Jeanne Langford*

Flora McAfee

Frances Kieran

C. Watson-White*

Robert Wright*

Public Participation

Sheila Kieran, *Director*

Lynda Douglas**

Louise Rabin

Patricia Robinson*

Marcia Topp**

Research

C. K. Marchant, *Director*

Barbara Leonard, *Senior Research Associate*

Gail Corbett

David Johnson

Carol Newall**

Timm Zemanek

Corinne Korzen*

Valerie Clare

Kathleen D'Souza**

Linda Gaylard

Penny Nettlefold

Kelvin Pearcey

* 1975

**1976

Contents of Volumes

***1 Approaches, Conclusions and Recommendations**

The Approaches
The Research
Letting the People Speak
The Conclusions
The Recommendations
Selections from the Briefs
Summary of Surveys
A List of Participants
Foreign Consultations
International Agencies
Chart: Elements in Television, Film and the Press
in 16 Countries
Descriptions of Television, Film and the Press in
16 Countries
Research Organizations
Chronology of Research, Studies and Policies
Related to the Communications Industry

2 Violence and the Media: A Bibliography

3 Violence in Television, Films and News

A Content Analysis of Entertainment
Television Programming—T.M. Williams, M.
Zabrack, L. Joy
Television Crime Drama: A Mythological
Interpretation —J. Taylor
Images of Different Worlds: An Analysis of
English-and-French-language Television—
A.H. Caron (in French and English)
A Content Analysis of Feature Films—J. Linton
and G. Jowett
Content Analysis of the News Media:
Newspapers and Television—D. Gordon and B.
Singer
Content Analysis of the News Media:
Radio—D. Gordon and L. Ibson

4 Violence in Print and Music

The Control of Mass Entertainment Media in
Canada, the United States and Great Britain:
Historical Surveys—G. Jowett, P. Reath and
M. Schouten
Speaking the Unspeakable: Violence in the
Literature of Our Time—R. Fulford
Violence in Literature for Children and Young
Adults—Claire England
Magazines and Violence—E. Beattie
Violence and Popular Music—P. Goddard

5 Learning from the Media

Television Violence Effects: Issues and
Evidence—R. Goranson
Television and Pro-Social Behaviour—
P. Rushton
Replications of Media Violence—P. Stanley and
B. Riera
Studies of Television and Youth Sports—
A. McCabe and D. Moriarty
The News Media and Perceptions of
Violence—A. Doob and G. Macdonald
Collective Conflict, Violence and the
Media—R. Jackson, M. Kelly and T. Mitchell

6 Vulnerability to Media Effects

Effects of Television on Children and Youth: A
Development Approach—G. Fouts
Television and the Family as Agents for
Socialization—F. Rainsberry
Violence, the Media and Mental Disorder—
J. Renner
Institutionalized Populations' Views on
Violence and the Media—J. Renner
Viewers' Perceptions of Selected Television
Programs—E. Tate

7 The Media Industries: From Here to Where?

A Descriptive Study of Perceptions and
Attitudes among Journalists in Ontario—
A.M. Osler
An Analysis of Some News-flow Patterns and
Influences in Ontario—A.M. Osler
Economic Determinants of Violence in
Television and Motion Pictures and the
Implications of Newer Technologies—
H. Edmunds and J. Strick
Future Mass Media—G. Thompson
Alternatives for Canadian Television—
S. Griffiths (in English and French)
Constitutional Jurisdiction over Violence in the
Mass Media Industries—P. Hogg

Contents of Volume Six

Effects of Television on Children and
Youth: A Developmental Approach
by Gregory T. Fouts 1

Television and the Family as Agents
for Socialization
by F.B. Rainsberry 125

Violence, the Media and Mental Disorder
by John C. Renner 161

Institutionalized Populations' Views on
Violence and the Media
by John C. Renner 233

Viewers' Perceptions of Selected
Television Programs
by Eugene D. Tate 283

Effects of Television On Children and Youth: A Developmental Approach

Gregory T. Fouts

Department of Psychology
University of Calgary
Calgary, Alberta

Contents

	Acknowledgements	Page 4
Chapter 1	Introduction	5
	Purpose	5
	Design of Project	9
	Variables Examined	9
	Effects Examined	13
2	Method	18
	Experimental Design	18
	Phase I: Development of Interviews and Questionnaire	18
	Procedure for the Home Interviews	24
	Phase II: Assessment of Television Reactions	24
3	Results	28
	Subjects	28
	Training of Coders	28
	Analyses of Data	28
4	Discussion	82
	Descriptive Data	82
	Actual Test of Effects of Television Programs	86
	Correlations Among Perceptions and Reactions to Televised Contents	87
	Correlations Among Variables and Effects in Phase I	90
	Effects of Viewing Television	98
	Correlations Among Variables in Phase I and Effects in Phase II	99
5	Summary	103
	Endnotes	106
	References	107
	Appendix A	108
	Television Preferences Interview	109
	Personal Experiences Interview	110
	Television Perceptions Interview	112
	Parents' Questionnaire	115
	Appendix B	120
	Letter Sent to Schools	120
	Newspaper Advertisement	120
	Research Assistant Identification	120
	Appendix C	121
	Television Reactions Interview	121

List of Tables

Table 1	Areas of Information, Examples of Questions, and Assessment Instruments	Page 20
2	Descriptive Data for Viewers and Parents Giving Responses in Phase I	29
3	Selected Significant Correlations Among Answers to Questions/Items in Phase I	44
4	Descriptive Data for Viewers Giving Responses in Phase II	60
5	Significant Results in the Comparisons Among Children Viewing Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies, Phase II: Television Reactions	65
6	Significant Results in the Comparisons Among Children Viewing Crime Adventure and Cartoons, Phase II	67
7	Significant Correlations Among Answers to Selected Questions/Items in Phase II	68
8	Selected Significant Correlations Among Answers to selected Questions/Items between Phase I and Phase II	81

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the children and their parents who participated in this study – for whom this project was conducted. The cooperation of the school principals and help from our coders are gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank the help from the dedicated secretaries in the Department of Psychology, University of Calgary – and in particular, the two who did most of the typing of the final draft: Elfrieda Koch and Linda Lamont. Appreciation is extended for the support and suggestions I received from an excellent colleague, Rusty Edgington.

The interest and funding by the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, Province of Ontario, are gratefully acknowledged. And in particular, I would like to express my appreciation to C. Ken Marchant, Research Director for the Commission, who did a superior job of organizing and supporting the many projects within the Commission's scope.

And finally – the support of my wife, Gheri, and children, Ben and Corky. Without Ben's and Corky's spontaneous and delightful elaborations and extensions of popular television characters (this last week we had the "Infinity Man" and the "Bionic Ladybug," respectively, darting around our house), and without Gheri's sensitivity and understanding of us all, this project would not have been as exciting and meaningful to me. Thank you.

Introduction

Purpose

The purpose of this project was to assess the contribution of and inter-relationships among variables associated with the family, the child, his/her television-viewing habits and the possible effects of watching television. This information was obtained through interviews in the home and after presenting actual television programs in the laboratory. Specifically, the categories of variables investigated were

1. Media characteristics
2. Family characteristics/Parental behaviours
3. Viewer characteristics
4. Viewer behaviours/motives associated with television
5. Viewer perceptions of televised contents
6. Viewer program preferences
and the categories of effects were
 1. Distortion of reality/images of violence
 2. Aggressive attitudes and dispositions
 3. Sensitization
 4. Desensitization
 5. Victimization/rationalization.

Assumptions and Approach

The following assumptions and descriptions underlying past research are presented in order to understand the points of divergence which were made in the design and execution of this project. Although this characterization of past research strategies may, at times, overemphasize particular features, it is important to know how the present project differs from traditional research orientations, and yet complements these past efforts in assessing the influence of television upon the young viewer.

Past research has been very productive in generating new hypotheses and sophisticated experimental procedures, and developing means by which to control statistically for variables which were not of interest to the researcher. It is by virtue of past research strategies that we can now diverge and elaborate, and more closely

scrutinize the complexity of the effects of television. That is, we have rightfully examined the simpler variables and processes and their possible individual effects on the viewer; but it is time to study their mutual contributions and interactions in experimental settings as well as home settings – so that the complexity and ramifications of these effects, their generalizations, and understandings by viewers and their parents be enhanced. Thus, in this light, we shall present some of the typical assumptions and strategies of past research so that their contribution to the present project can be readily appreciated, and ultimately be integrated into the growing literature on the effects of television upon children and youth.

It should also be pointed out that the following discussion and subsequent treatment and specification of goals of this project are presented with a minimum of reference to the literally thousands of relevant studies, chapters, and books. Rather than detailing and listing all that is known about the effects of television on children, we shall concentrate upon what is *not* known and *why* we don't know. Secondly, often researchers avoid the complexities and ambiguities of the phenomena that they investigate by concentrating on single variables and simple effects, thus neglecting the complex issues of generalizability to real life and recommendations for parents. Certainly we have needed such research, but the point has been reached where there are diminishing returns in terms of time and effort in generating useful and sophisticated information for the public, as well as theoretical elucidation of the complexity and interactions therein.

Empiricistic vs. Developmental Approaches. Traditional research has been empiricistic, i.e., particular and isolated behaviours have been related to "causal" events by manipulating these events in the laboratory. Such empiricism is extremely valuable in terms of experimental rigour and clarity of relationships, but performance has weaknesses. In our attempts to find such objective and replicable relationships, we have often forgotten the organism, the viewer. With this emphasis on overt behaviour, it is as if the viewer were used to verify theoretical hunches, rather than using our hunches and theories to understand the processes occurring before and after the viewer behaves. This emphasis highlights a major distinction between the empiricistic and developmental approaches for studying the effects of television on children. Although some of the distinctions in this section emphasize differences between these approaches, most researchers show varying degrees of shadings between. It is also likely that different issues surrounding the effects of television can be answered more adequately by one approach over the others. However, the present project was conceptualized, designed, and conducted in a manner consistent with a developmental approach, while attempting to incorporate as much empiricism as possible. Let us now examine some of the major differences between empiricistic and developmental approaches to research, so that the complementary nature of the information obtained in this project can be understood.

First, an empiricist is interested in direct relationships (working with units based upon theoretical persuasion, e.g., behaviours, movements) while a developmentalist tends to study and describe phenomena from a more complex point of view; and as a result the former focuses on readily observable and stable behaviours and attitudes, while the latter looks for patterns and processes. Thus, an empiricist starts with simple units and assumptions, a developmentalist with the complex. Second, an empiricist is more likely to be interested in passive (or reactive) behaviours (in the sense that the effects of manipulated stimuli upon behaviours are studies), while a developmentalist is interested in active self-initiated perceptions and interpretations and the processes occurring within the viewer before and during the viewing process (as opposed to just the simple relationship between specific television content and subsequent behaviour). Third, an empiricist is likely to attribute behavioural change to changes in the environment; whereas a developmentalist believes that change comes from a variety of sources, external and internal, e.g., behavioural change involves past learning, perception and interpretation as well as present perceptions, motives and maturation. Thus, the strategy of an empiricist is to exert considerable experimental control in research, while a developmentalist is willing to let many extraneous variables vary and attempt to find orderliness and patterns despite the natural variations,

i.e. the configurations of behaviours and processes are assumed to characterize the viewer rather than the stimulus pattern controlled by an empiricistic experimenter. Fourth, an empiricist is less interested in individual differences but more interested in consistency and support for a theory; a developmentalist is interested in uniformity of behaviours within age and maturational groups and the changes in behaviours across these groups, since patternings of experiences, maturational factors, and thinking processes vary with age.

A fifth distinction is in terms of practical issues: paradoxically, empiricists tend to be considerably more activist in attempting to manipulate change in the environment, while developmentalists usually try to enrich and optimize understanding with as little manipulation of the environment as possible. Sixth, an empiricist usually does not ask a viewer what he/she is thinking about, how something is interpreted, or why he/she behaved in a particular manner – presumably because of problems of validity and reliability or lack of interest. On the other hand, a developmentalist sees a child's point of view as legitimate and wants to see how he/she selects out features of the environment, how it is organized, and how this determines behaviour – and if there are patterns in behaviour, the approach and processes within the viewer are valid and self-evident. Seventh, an empiricist almost exclusively examines one-way influences, e.g., the effect of television on children, rather than two-way influences, e.g., a child can manipulate and select stimuli from his world to suit his own motives and anticipations, he is an active user and learner, he can turn the television off and on. A developmentalist is interested in the cogwheeling of processes within a viewer and between a viewer and environmental inputs, how these fit together and determine future learning, while an empiricist usually examines the effects of inputs upon behaviours. Eighth, an empiricist is more likely to examine the necessary and sufficient conditions for behavioural change; whereas a developmentalist might ask whether the behaviour has to occur in the first place and whether it is necessary for growth and maturation, e.g., perhaps television and imitation in the long run help to accelerate normal growth. Empiricists usually look for immediate or short-term effects. Ninth, an empiricist is likely to use large groups of subjects in order to determine behavioural laws which seem to characterize all people, while a developmentalist is more likely to study individual variation; and from studying many individuals he/she attempts to formulate their commonalities, being cautious in prematurely developing behavioural and age-related laws. An examination of significant findings in the thousands of empirical research in the last three decades would reveal that the actual proportion of subjects (human and nonhuman) that fit the proposed behavioural laws is probably no more than 70% and frequently much lower, thus ignoring and inaccurately describing 30% or more.

A developmentalist would try to account for individual differences. Tenth, most empiricists study performance more than learning, i.e. investigating which variables influence the occurrence of a previously learned behaviour (this is also true for most "learning" theorists studying various forms of conditioning). In the context of the effects of television, we study violent behaviours in a violent society, rather than the perceptions, attitudes, and feelings which are necessary in the acquisition of such behaviours. That is, we have usually studied the products of, rather than the processes within, a violent society.

Weaknesses of Empiricistic/Reductionistic Research in Studying Television Violence. Research dealing with the effects of observing models, and especially televised violent models, has almost exclusively made the assumption that by manipulating (or otherwise assessing) one to three variables – simple "cause-and-effect" relationships can be found. Several relationships have been investigated, e.g., between various kinds of televised contents and subsequent imitative behaviours (e.g., amount of violence, consequences to aggressor), viewer characteristics (e.g., sex, dependency) and imitative tendencies, viewer predispositions (to violence, for example) and imitative violence. These relationships are useful in understanding the simple effects of a limited number of variables, but do not reflect the multitude of influences and nuances associated with a viewer in the real world. A viewer, in fact, does not see just one program to which his/her attention is focused by request of a researcher; he/she is not exposed only to the materials seen on television; nor is he/she isolated from other influences. One of the issues is that simple relationships often do not exist in naturalistic settings, that attempts to reduce the effects of televised violence to one or two effects (which are assumed to apply to all viewers) are unrealistic – since these effects can exist only when researchers eliminate the complexity of real-world influences. Empiricists usually restrict the number, complexity, and intensity of variables impinging upon the typical viewer, and by so doing may be distorting the kinds and magnitudes of effects of televised violence.

The purpose of this project was to examine the inter-relationships among many variables occurring in the naturalistic setting, to examine their mutual and reciprocal contributions to one another and their effects upon various processes which may occur, e.g., distortion, sensitization, "catharsis."¹ We attempted to study the complexity of the effects and influences at the level of complexity at which they are found in the real world. Therefore, the relationships we sought to discover were between and within the six categories of variables and five categories of effects (each with their individual cases and nuances of interactive influences). To illustrate in the abstract: not only were we interested in whether variable "A" produces effect "1," but whether "A" combined with "B" still produces effect "1;" or

whether "A + B" produces effect "1" but when variable "C" is introduced another effect "2" occurs. Similarly, we were interested in whether some subsets of variables elicit competing effects (some of which may seemingly be mutually exclusive, e.g., sensitization and "catharsis"), while other subsets produce no effects or effects which may be complementary (e.g., desensitization and victimization). Thus, the goal was to examine the interactive influences of variables and processes, and to examine under which circumstances these effects were produced – without attempting to reduce and thus distort the complexity of the influences and effects.

Research Settings and Television Violence. The effects of modelling, and to a lesser extent actual television, have been investigated under varying degrees of experimental rigour and control; however, these procedures may predispose and distort processes and effects. For example, in the usual laboratory study in which a televised model exhibits particular behaviours and a viewer is subsequently allowed to play with the materials seen on television (plus perhaps a few others), it is not surprising to find a considerable effect of viewing a model. This is often erroneously labelled imitation or the effect of modelling; very often it is "stimulus enhancement," i.e., by seeing the materials on television (and often regardless of how the model played with the materials, e.g., aggressively or constructively), a viewer's attention is drawn to the materials. And when he/she has an opportunity to play with the materials, by chance he/she discovers behaviours which resemble those of the model. This similarity between a viewer's and a model's behaviour is not imitative, unless it can be demonstrated that the behavioural similarity is due to the observation of the particular behaviour of the model. There is little doubt that a portion of the effects found in laboratory settings is due to the restricted materials and expectations of children rather than reflecting imitative tendencies; thus any generalizations concerning imitation to real-life situations should be viewed cautiously.

In such controlled laboratory settings, the procedures are such that a viewer has few alternative behaviours available and thus sees the contents of the program; whereas in the home there are many distractions from viewing the televised contents, e.g., different play materials, siblings and friends talking, changing seating positions. Therefore, the impact of television in laboratory studies will be greater than in real life. Similarly, the contents seen in the laboratory are typically designed to be attention-getting and attention-holding as well as within the comprehension of a young viewer. This strategy is the result of empiricists' focusing on whether children imitate and how to optimize imitation rather than the kinds of contents which may reduce the likelihood of subsequent imitation. For example, actual television programs contain an abundance of flashbacks and interruptions of the

story line by commercials, while television programs in the laboratory rarely if ever have such features which interfere with attention-holding, comprehension, and memory – thereby increasing the likelihood of television impact. The generalizability from studies that guarantee attention and understanding of the contents may be of limited value in understanding the impact of television in real life.

Another weakness of traditional empiricistic research is that it almost exclusively examines imitative effects, presumably because the observation and scoring of such behaviours are considerably easier to objectify than are other effects such as distortion, sensitization, and changes in self-esteem. The study of imitation and observational learning has led to the development and understanding of imitative processes; but the exclusive focus on these distorts the matrix of processes which can interact with or nullify such a simple mechanism. Thus, generalizations of imitative tendencies may be limited, especially when we examine under which circumstances this effect is assessed, e.g., immediate tests after viewing (thus optimizing accurate memory and reproduction); whereas in real life similar situations and materials are usually not present, plus the additional complication that other materials and behaviours are available. Therefore, one should expect considerably less imitation in real-life situations than in the laboratory.

There are many other biases empiricistic researchers have had in their designs and theorizations regarding the effects of television on the young viewer. For example, the reality of conflicting values presented in different programs is seldom investigated, e.g., one program may present a stereotypic female enacting a mother role (*The Waltons*) while another program presents a different role (*Mary Tyler Moore*). Does a young viewer recognize this discrepancy? And if he/she does, how does he/she resolve it? What influence do these various roles have, e.g., do they nullify one another, or potentiate the underlying concept of a female stereotype? The effects of the proportion of portrayed violence to punishments (if any) for the aggressor have been totally ignored, e.g., a program presenting a total of 16 minutes of actual violence and two minutes of resolution (punishment): will the 8-to-1 ratio have more impact on a viewer in terms of imitation, desensitization, or distortion than another program having a 1-1 ratio?

Generalizations vs. Individual Differences Associated with Television Effects. Traditionally, the social sciences have employed the strategy of studying the “average” person, and in this case, the “average” viewer. This strategy has been useful in developing procedures and theoretical accounts of simple phenomena. Nevertheless, we are at an important juncture in the social sciences (especially psychology) which is increasingly being mentioned in the personality and clinical-psychology literature. It is time to begin examining in

detail the individual differences among viewers, the absence and presence of different processes within different viewers, and the range of effects of numerous variables on different viewers. Astute researchers who have tested hundreds of children have noticed the considerable variation among them while they watch television and subsequently behave, e.g., some children squirm and others stare while watching television, some make 50 subsequent imitative responses while others only one or two (if any), some children laugh with the “canned” laughter while others are distracted by it. This list of differences among children can be extended indefinitely – and yet researchers have consistently failed to examine them, relegating these differences to “error” and lack of experimental “rigour.”

Thus, the strategy has been to examine the similarities among children rather than their dissimilarities. We record and develop theories and explanations for the few similarities and ignore the numerous differences on qualitative and quantitative dimensions. We do *not* study non-imitation, divergence from modelling, the influence of modelling upon creative play, nor the confusion and distortion that may arise from the differences between children's experiences and what they observe on television. We have focused on imitation and merely measured the amounts of imitation, rather than why these amounts differ across children. It is not surprising to hear oversimplifications by researchers concerning the presumed pervasiveness of imitation of televised violence – that is the only effect seriously examined!

To illustrate further, we have failed to examine differences among introverted and extroverted children and how these personality differences may influence their imitations of violence, or the differences among the children of varying ages in their comprehension and memory of contents, and the differences among parents and their offspring concerning why (motives) they watch television. Even with this narrow focus on imitation, we have avoided the issue of individual differences; we still don't have a complete understanding of one of the most studied effects in all of the social sciences. The result of this focus is likely the exaggeration of the simplicity and ubiquitousness of imitation of television violence. That is, if the only effect of viewing violence were aggressive imitation, we would find few nonviolent children and adults, cooperative and sensitive interactions, nor thoughtful and creative solutions to problems. We often forget that violence occurred before the advent of television or movies. Effects such as “catharsis,” entertainment, education, and sensitization/desensitization can nullify imitative tendencies.

Still another result has been the oversimplification of the viewer, especially the child viewer. This is, in part, a consequence of the belief that children are “miniature adults” or “animal-like.” It is assumed that children basically do not evaluate, do not selectively watch

television, that they do not recognize discrepancies, that they have primitive repertoires of thinking and behaving. Of course, the younger the child, the less the qualitative complexity; but we neglect his/her complexity altogether. For example, it is known that infants recognize discrepancies within the first year of life; children acquire evaluative labels well within the first four years; their repertoire of complex behaviours (including language) is very sophisticated by the age of five. Researchers dealing with the effects of television have almost exclusively been trained as social scientists, whose experiences and theoretical formulations have been based upon adult and/or animal research. There is a paucity of researchers who have expertise and/or training in developmental approaches in studying the effects of television and who are sensitive to the differences among young viewers' varying abilities (e.g., cognitive, emotional, social). And consequently, the effects which have been investigated have been assumed applicable to all viewers – where, in fact, it would be surprising if they applied to any majority of children, youth, and adults!

Now that we have some understanding of the issues and assumptions associated with this project (i.e., the purpose was to complement the present literature through a developmental approach), we may discuss (a) the design of the project, (b) the variables that were examined and why, and (c) the possible processes and effects associated with exposure to television, especially violent contents, which may occur in the young viewer.

Design of Project

There were two phases: Home Interviews and Television Reactions. The home interviews of children were extensive and intensive, and assessed several variables (e.g., selected media characteristics, family and parent characteristics, viewer characteristics, motives for watching television, viewer program preferences and perceptions) and effects (e.g., aggressive attitudes, distortions, sensitization, desensitization, and victimization). The assessment of Television Reactions, several weeks later, consisted of presenting one of 16 popular television programs to a child (the programs varied in kinds and amounts of violent contents), and subsequently interviewing each child concerning his/her perceptions and reactions.

Variables Examined

Media Characteristics. Selected media characteristics were examined, e.g., attention-getting and attention-holding properties (e.g., level of sound, colour vs. black/white television, how close viewers sit), understandableness (e.g., whether children can remember aspects of programs, understand sequences of events), number of working television sets in the home and their locations (e.g., bedrooms of children), channels and programs available (e.g., cable versus non-cable). Also families that had no television sets were recorded, and the

parents were asked to give the reasons for having no television in the house.

Media characteristics were chosen so as to ascertain the variations in availability, attractiveness, and comprehension of program contents to children, and their correlation with program preferences and the impact of television (impact is used as a summary term covering all possible effects). For example, questions such as the following were to be answered:

1. By adding another dimension of reality (colour), is the impact of television violence greater than black/white programs?
2. By having a television on throughout the day, and having many sets available, do children watch more or less television?
3. Does having a television in the bedroom increase a child's watching and influence his motives for watching, e.g., watches while being punished, to escape from interacting with others, while falling asleep?
4. Does having more program variety (through access to cable stations) increase watching and/or program selectivity? Does this variety produce different kinds of effects of watching violence?
5. Is much of the violence that children watch beyond their abilities of comprehension and memory, e.g., too complex or too simple and boring? Do children have to understand contents in order to be influenced?
6. Are children who are "enveloped" by a television program (e.g., who sit very close and prefer loud volume) more influenced by what they see than those who are not?

Family Characteristics/Parental Behaviours. Characteristics such as the following were examined: number, ages and sex(es) of siblings living in the home, presence/absence of either parent, occupations of parents, other people living in the household, parental encouragements/discouragements of watching television, who decides to watch which programs, are there programs of which parents disapprove, whether parents make use of "parental discretion" warnings, whether parents and children watch programs together, the program preferences of the mother and father, relationship of a child with his/her parents (e.g., warm, parents understand child).

These and other characteristics were chosen so that the variations in the family structure, relationships, and child-rearing patterns could be assessed and correlated with the television preferences and impact of various contents of viewing. For example:

1. Is the size of family and presence/absence of a parent related to the impact of television violence?
2. Are parents' program preferences related to their children's preferences?
3. In what way(s) are parental encouragements and

discouragements of watching television related to the impact of television on a youthful viewer?

4. Do parents actually use the "parental discretion" warnings and how is this related to program selectivity of a child?
5. When families watch programs together, does this increase or decrease the impact of television?
6. How does the quality of parent-child relationship influence the program preferences and effects of viewing violence?
7. Do children learn through example and rewards from parents to be victimized by television?

Viewer Characteristics. Several characteristics of viewers were assessed, e.g., age, sex, and birth order; degree of introversion-extroversion, activity level, school grades, aggressive predispositions and behaviours, sociability, other sources of learning (e.g., reading, talking with others), motives for watching television. These and other characteristics were assessed and correlated with viewer program preferences and the possible impacts of watching television for the following reasons: (a) to examine how viewers differ in their preferences and impacts, i.e., individual differences, (b) to examine the overall pervasiveness of program preferences and impacts, i.e., generalizability, (c) to determine which kinds of viewers might be "at risk" by viewing violent contents, i.e., those who might be more adversely influenced in an anti-social manner, and (d) to provide information which would help design instructional materials for parents, educators and personnel within the television industry concerning those viewers who might be adversely affected by certain contents.

Some of the questions that were specifically formulated in the assessment of viewer characteristics were these:

1. Are extroverted and social children more likely to watch programs with others? Are their program preferences influenced more by their peer group than parents?
2. Do introverts watch television as an escape from anxiety in social situations?
3. Are introverts and extroverts differently affected by various contents, e.g., are introverts more likely to recognize subtle forms of violence than extroverts?
4. Are children who are active and impulsive more likely to spontaneously imitate the aggression seen on television? Are introverts likely to be sensitized and become inhibited further?
5. Do boys and girls differ in the impact of various forms of observed violence, e.g., are girls more influenced by verbal aggression (owing to better verbal skills) and boys more by physical aggression (owing to cultural stereotypes of male aggression)?
6. Are children of differing ages and intelligence influenced differently by televised violence, e.g., are subtle but psychologically intense forms of violence (as

perceived by adults) recognized by young children and/or do they have impact?

7. Are those children who have aggressive dispositions, those who have program preferences for violence, and/or those who are more influenced, e.g., watch to learn skills and techniques of perpetrating violence?
8. Do those viewers who have a balance of learning sources (e.g., reading, talking with others) watch television less and consequently are they less influenced by its contents?
9. Are those youthful viewers who have many social contacts, and thus feedback for their own aggressive predispositions (e.g., having learned prohibitions associated with aggression), less influenced by television violence?
10. How do children's motives for watching television, and especially violence, influence their preferences and the impacts of what they see, e.g., if a child watches for entertainment, is he/she less likely to become aggressive than those who watch when they are angry and wish to be alone? Are those who watch to discuss the contents with friends more or less influenced than those who watch to escape from boredom? Are those who watch television when lonely more likely to watch "escapist/fantasy" programs more than violent programs? Are those who have the television on while doing homework or as "background noise" less influenced by television than those who watch for particular contents? Are those viewers who watch the same violent contents as their parents (e.g., to experience the same emotions and as a topic of discussion) more likely to have aggressive dispositional changes and distortion of reality?

The numerous examples provided above and many other questions reveal one of the major emphases of this project, i.e., the motives for watching television may be just as important (and for some viewers more important) in determining the impact of television as the contents they watch. For example, as children mature, their abilities for anticipating, recognizing, and formulating plans of action improve; therefore, their motives and anticipations for watching may be important determiners for program preferences and which courses of action they may subsequently adopt. To illustrate: society makes allowances for motives and "extenuating circumstances" for adults; people deliver pain for nonaggressive motives (e.g., dentists, parents spanking). Therefore, it is important to know for which ages and with which particular children, seemingly aggressive behaviours (i.e., they hurt others) are aggressively motivated versus assertively and nonaggressively motivated (i.e., wishing to control others). Thus, it may be the case that television violence increases behaviours that hurt others; but owing to the child's lack of maturity, experience, and cognitive skills he/she may not be intentionally aggressive but manipulative – but with entrance into adolescence and adulthood these

seemingly aggressive behaviours drop out of their repertoires owing to increasing cognitive, emotional, and social growth. The implication is that although children may temporarily become "aggressive" by watching television violence, these behaviours may drop out as soon as they realize the prohibitions and guilts associated with them (in part, through the development of empathy). To exemplify: most boys in our society (and some smaller proportion of girls) learn to hurt others physically during play and sports; they learn that hitting another results in some kinds of success (e.g., obtaining toy, eliminating a frustration – this is called instrumental aggression, i.e., the motive is to obtain something other than hurting another). But by adulthood most aggression of this kind drops out, i.e., the majority of males do not hit each other (although other forms of instrumental aggression may be used). On the other hand, emotional aggression (i.e., the intent is to hurt another, to gain satisfaction from another's pain) may increase with age; and in our society, these forms often take the form of verbal attacks, sarcasm, and the "silent treatment." Thus, important issues are (a) does learning instrumental and physical aggression influence future psychological and emotional forms of aggression (the small amount of literature would seem to indicate that they are not highly correlated), and (b) do we spend an inordinate amount of research time and effort examining the overt and instrumental forms of aggression (as usually depicted on television which for most viewers drop out "naturally" with age and experience, while ignoring those forms that may be the most damaging psychologically. For example, which produces the greater "pain" – a hit on the back or to be called a "name?" Which hurts more: physical or psychological aggression? By focusing on the simple and overt forms of violence, we ignore other important sources of violence. These are some of the issues and questions with which a more developmental approach attempts to deal, and which are further elaborated upon in the next section.

Viewer Perceptions. The recognitions and perceptions of various contents as violent and nonviolent (or aggressive and nonaggressive) as well as the perceptions of alternative actions, the consequences of violence, and who is hurt, when and why – have seldom been investigated in the context of television impact. Similarly, whether the violence on television is "real" to the viewer or merely "out there" or fantasy may be of considerable importance in understanding program preferences and the impact of television violence upon the young.

Since 1974, the principal investigator² has been assessing various forms of aggression directed toward minority groups, usually in the form of stereotyping and discriminatory practices. These behaviours have been labelled as aggressive since they wittingly or unwittingly produce physical and/or psychological pain in victims. In this context, usually the more overt forms have been investigated. Let us briefly outline several forms of

aggression which may occur (and those which Williams, Zabrack, and Joy have now included in their analysis of program content for the Royal Commission).

The forms of aggression vary in their effects upon a victim; they vary in their emotional impact and opportunities of a victim, and the likelihood of their observation (and thus remediation). Most forms of aggression studied by social scientists as well as television violence are active, i.e., behaviours and attitudes directed toward a particular person or object. However, the passive forms also exist, i.e., these are characterized by the lack of behaviour and/or the blocking (frustrating) of a victim, e.g., the "silent treatment," intentionally being "cool" when the other person is excited in order to give the impression it isn't important. But by virtue of the behaviour's not being overt (in the usual sense), there is a greater difficulty in recognizing that aggression occurred; thus there is greater "safety" for a perpetrator through a lower likelihood of retaliation. And as a consequence a perpetrator has fewer opportunities to be made aware of these behaviours, to be sensitized, and to change his/her aggressive behaviours. Another dimension of aggression is that of being direct or indirect, i.e., it can be directed toward a person, or it can be indirect in the sense that other people or means are used to mediate its effects, e.g., hitting a person versus passing a rumour about him/her, calling a person a name versus tattling on him/her. And, like passive forms of aggression, indirect forms are usually "safer," especially when a perpetrator insures anonymity.

Instrumental and emotional aggression have already been discussed; but it should be reiterated that these forms probably change with the age and experience of a child. And regardless of which form, aggression may be expressed in terms of physical pain (e.g., through the use of weapons or body to deliver physical pain) or psychological pain (i.e., pain in terms of feelings and self-esteem). And to the degree that instrumental and emotional forms change with age, it is likely that physical and psychological aggressions change. For example, most children shift from physical to sophisticated verbal forms such as innuendos and double-entendres. Our society successfully legislates against physical and overt forms of violence, usually in the form of crimes, but often avoids legislating against forms of psychological violence (there are exceptions, of course, e.g., slander, forms of fraud). For example, the use of sex against a person as a means of power and control in the rape situation is legislated against, but the use of sex in a passive aggressive situation (where one person withholds intimate relations with a person to hurt and manipulate) is scrupulously avoided. To put this distinction in the television context, parents as well as researchers are considerably more interested in and upset about physical than psychological violence, e.g., they spend more of their time counting the number of robberies and murders than counting the number of

times Archie Bunker and Kojak resort to name-calling and attacks on self-esteem.

Although it is likely that the preponderance of violent episodes involve physical, direct, active, and instrumental forms, information is needed concerning the recognition and impact of subtle and psychological forms, e.g., a viewer who perceives Archie Bunker as aggressive: is he/she less likely to watch, less likely to use that form of aggression than a viewer who is entertained? This is particularly important for a young viewer, whose ability to recognize, understand motives, and remember subtle forms is more limited than older viewers. The so-called "time-bomb" hypothesis (children see thousands of overt aggressive acts by mid-adolescence and therefore, may "explode" into violence) makes the dubious assumption that children perceive and remember the acts as aggressive and useful, and when confronted with a frustration, will call upon their recalled aggressive repertoire to solve the problem. There is little evidence for this assumption. What is perceived as violent by adults may not be seen as violent by children and young adolescents. And this difference is quite likely to be multiplied when the form of aggression is passive, indirect, and psychological; i.e., physical aggression, by virtue of its overtness and programmed consequences on television, is more likely to be perceived as violence than name-calling or tattling. One hypothesis of the principal investigator is that children may learn to inhibit the more overt and physical forms of aggression as they gain experience and mature, while the subtler forms observed on television may continue to be imitated, owing to a lack of discouragement from others because of their covert nature and their success. This hypothesis would account for adults using more psychological and verbal forms of aggression than children. It is interesting to note that the television audience is presented with more child-like forms of violence as a form of entertainment; this "entertainment" value may be derived from the psychological "distancing" between childhood memories and present adult perceptions. Another issue associated with viewer perceptions is the consequences of violence. Several studies have reported that when children see aggression punished, they tend to inhibit their own imitative aggression.³ However, these studies may have little resemblance to real-life effects because (a) most of the punishments presented on television are "sanitized," i.e., do not show pain cues and/or are less intense, (b) the punishments depicted are beyond the comprehension or have no emotional meaning for a young viewer (e.g., does a six-year-old really understand the psychological pain associated with incarceration?), and (c) the principal investigator's own observations that children receiving direct and painful experiences may (and often do) imitate the previous behaviours (e.g., children imitate doctors giving shots, they imitate spankings that they or others receive). Therefore, the memories and emotional impact of observed punish-

ments must be assessed; for if there is no impact, i.e., no resultant inhibition, the television code of ethics to which many producers adhere is inconsequential for the young viewer.

Associated with the previous issue is whether children of differing ages and experiences accurately perceive people being hurt through various forms of aggression, and whether they can recognize the motives behind violent behaviours. For example, it may be hypothesized that if a young viewer understands that a criminal is shot because he is resisting arrest, the likelihood of subsequent imitation of law-enforcement violence (in the line of duty) is less than if such understanding were absent. Also, can children recognize the shadings and forms of violence, regardless of the context (e.g., situation comedies, crime shows), or is the context just as important an ingredient of their interpretation of behaviour as the motives and consequences?

An issue associated with perception of violence on television relates to whether a viewer "distances" and interprets the violence as "out there," "pretend," or fantasy. That is, if television violence is intellectualized, distorted, and/or reinterpreted, it may have little or no emotional meaning and impact. Parents have often complained to the principal investigator regarding the violent nature of many cartoons, especially when their four-to-six-year-olds mimic the behaviours. We have discovered that by pointing out to a child that "that behaviour on television is 'pretend' but in our home it isn't done" (i.e., teaching a discrimination between "not real" and real in the home), the imitative aggression usually decreases. On the other hand, it may be argued that if an older child overgeneralizes and "distances" television depictions of violence in our society, he/she may become desensitized and say, "That can't happen to me," "That isn't my problem," or "That doesn't hurt." Thus, an examination of viewer perceptions, and especially those associated with age and experiences, is necessary; and if there are shifts in perceptions and their associated impacts, then the implications for programming for children of different ages becomes increasingly important.

Some of the questions dealing with viewer perceptions and their relationship(s) with the impacts of television were the following:

1. At which ages do children recognize aggression in its various forms? At which ages do children recall who was hurt, why they were hurt, and the consequences of violence?
2. Do different forms of viewed violence have different impacts upon different viewers, e.g., are girls and boys more influenced by verbal and physical forms, respectively? Are introverts and extroverts more sensitive to and affected by psychological and physical forms, respectively?
3. How are the various forms of violence in television intercorrelated with the total impact on a viewer, e.g., if

a viewer sees a wide variety of violence, is he/she more likely to become sensitized or desensitized than a viewer seeing one kind of violence?

4. Are viewers who watch violence for entertainment (positive effects), as opposed to those who empathetically feel the hurt of victims, more or less likely to avoid violent programs? Is watching for entertainment related to sensitization/desensitization?
5. How are the motives for watching television correlated with their perceptions of what is violent, e.g., is a viewer who recognizes name-calling as aggression more likely to watch verbally aggressive programs in order to learn techniques, or less likely through sensitization? Is a viewer who is angry and watches television more likely to watch violence; is he/she likely to suggest aggressive solutions to problems?
6. Should producers make consequences of violence more realistic and meaningful?
7. Do children make the distinction between punishment (aggressive retaliation for violence, i.e., instrumental) and emotional aggression?
8. Do the perceptions of violence relate to fantasies and dreams of the viewers? Do they produce nightmares?
9. Do some kinds of violence scare or frighten a viewer (have emotional inhibitory impact), while others are enjoyable (not inhibitory)? Are the kinds of emotions elicited by violence related to inhibition and disinhibition of aggressive tendencies? Is fear enjoyable for children of differing ages?

These and many other questions regarding the interrelationships among motives, viewer characteristics, program preferences, and their perceptions and consequent impacts were derived during the design of the project.

Viewer Program Preferences. Underlying the previous discussions has been the assumption that the preferences, the amounts watched, and degrees of "liking" for programs would be assessed. Such measures of program preference are an essential ingredient in assessing the impact of television on a viewer because it is likely that the greater the desire to watch and/or actual viewing of violent contents, the greater the impact. Thus, the following areas were assessed: (a) kinds and number of programs watched, e.g., crime, crime adventure, family programs, situation comedies, cartoons, children's shows; (b) how often these programs were watched; and (c) how much they were enjoyed. Other kinds of data that were obtained were (a) the kinds of programs viewers recognized as violent, (b) the kinds of television violence (physical, psychological) viewers reported seeing and preferred, and (c) the motives which viewers attributed for the violence (e.g., accidental, criminal, interpersonal conflict resolution).

Some of the questions directly related to program preferences, which haven't been previously mentioned, were these:

1. Is the quantity (number of violent programs watched) and/or the quality of violence (kinds of violence watched) more influential in producing effects?
2. How is the enjoyment of watching violence related to the impact on a viewer?
3. Is the proportion of time viewing violence compared with other programs more important in producing effects than the amount of violence viewed, e.g., is a child who spends 50 per cent of his/her time watching violence more likely to be influenced than a youngster who watches the same programs if they only constitute 10 per cent of his/her viewing time?
4. Is the number of violent acts observed and recognized as violence related to the impact, or is it the kind of violence?
5. How are the motives and consequences for violent acts and the context in which they occur related to the impact of violence, (e.g., perhaps cartoon violence produces a greater impact, since a young child may not recognize that such fantasy violence actually produces pain when re-enacted)?

Effects Examined

In providing the rationale for studying several variables associated with watching television, numerous effects have been mentioned, generally referred to as the "impact" upon the viewer. In this section, several possible effects are described – keeping in mind that these effects may differ from child to child and perhaps even within the same child, depending upon the kinds of programs watched and the situations in which a viewer finds him/herself.

There were two major ways by which the effects of television were assessed:

- (a) by correlating viewer responses in the intensive home interviews, (b) by comparing responses before being shown one of several categories of programs (e.g., crime, cartoons, situation comedies) and after viewing the program, and (c) by comparing the reactions of viewers among the various categories of programs which they had just viewed, e.g., by examining the perceptions, comprehension, emotions, and attitudes associated with crime versus situation comedies.

Changes in Images of Reality and Violence in Society.

Considering the fact that the average child spends more than 12,000 hours in front of a television before the end of his/her high-school career, it was expected that his/her images, perceptions, and attitudes of what society is and the extent of violence in our society would be influenced. He/she is exposed to cultures, behaviours, attitudes, values, and information to which he/she would not normally be exposed. And depending upon a viewer's program preferences and the atmosphere created by the family and peers, his/her images of reality may change; they may more closely approximate reality, or they may in varying degrees be discrepant with reality. The three areas of distortion that this

project attempted to study were (a) middle class norms/-expectations, (b) sexual stereotypes, and (c) images associated with violence.

As children gain more experience and acquire increasingly more complex and abstract mental processes, their abilities to recognize norms and to compare themselves with these norms improve. These abilities are especially evident during early adolescence, where their world is more a world of "possibility" than "reality," e.g., much time is spent daydreaming, wishing, thinking about "what if's." Therefore, the images presented on television may be particularly important, since programs present many types of people (real and stereotypes), realistic as well as unrealistic solutions to problems, and situations with which a viewer would not normally come into contact. On the other hand, a younger child, by virtue of his/her concrete and increasingly logical thought, may merely accept the world as depicted on television without questioning (although there may be a great deal of fantasizing). Thus, all ages may be influenced, but for different reasons, i.e., younger children may have distortions because they do not compare and evaluate, while young adolescents may spend too much time in wish-fulfilment fantasy which television feeds. Some of the areas this project attempted to tap were these:

1. Do children view homes on television as nicer than their own homes? Are children on television perceived to have more material belongings than viewers?
2. Do viewers perceive children on television having more friends and being happier than themselves?
3. Are these comparisons related to the age of a viewer, the socio-economic status of the family, and his/her own social maturity?
4. Are these comparisons related to the types of programs he/she watches and his/her motives for watching (e.g., escape, wish-fulfilment, loneliness)?

Several recent studies have investigated sexual stereotyping on television;⁴ such findings as women being cast in sexual, romantic, and family roles more often than men, or women being characterized as subservient and silly, are common. Alternatively, men are over-represented in high-prestige occupations and power-oriented positions such as law enforcement. In this project, attempts were made to assess some aspects of sexual stereotyping associated with a viewer's favourite characters (by asking whether these characters were smart, strong, exciting, ever get hurt, etc.). Three additional comparisons were made between popular television characters: comparing the Bionic Woman with the Six Million Dollar Man (who are equated in strength and intelligence) by asking who is the stronger, happier, smarter, et cetera, comparisons between Archie and Edith Bunker and Sonny and Cher were also made.

Examples of some of the relationships of interest were these:

1. How is a viewer's liking of a program related to stereo-

typing characters, e.g., does he/she like programs that present stereotypes?

2. Do preferences for stereotyped characters change with age, or vary according to sex of a viewer, his/her intelligence, or parents' socio-economic level?
3. Do viewers' program preferences for sexual stereotypes mirror their parents' choice of programs?
4. Do parents discourage watching programs that present stereotypes?

The largest concentration of assessment of images of reality was in violence: (a) stereotypes associated with police and criminals, (b) distortions in the incidence and kinds of violence they believe exist in their community, (c) distortions associated with the reality of the legal system and punishments for violence in our society, and (d) violence as an appropriate means of conflict resolution. Police and criminal stereotypes are important because (a) stereotypes may influence a child's ability and desire to seek help or avoid violence, (b) a child may fail to recognize violence because particular types of people engage in it (e.g., police), and/or (c) stereotypes may produce feelings of helplessness or admiration associated with violent persons. Therefore, questions dealing with characteristics of police and criminals as seen on television were developed, e.g., "Are police (criminals) on television happy? Help people? Strong? Smart? (etc.)." "Have you ever talked to a real policeman (policewoman or Mountie) or real criminal?"

Distortions in the incidence and kinds of violence in a viewer's community may be influenced by the stereotyping presented on television; and as a result feelings of helplessness and/or tolerance may be engendered. Unrealistic fears may occur and result in avoidance of the usual socialization experiences such as playing in the neighbourhood. Therefore, questions such as the following were asked: "In our city, Calgary, guess how many shootings there are every week: None? 1? 10? 50? 100? 1,000? or 10,000?" and "How many fights are there every week where people really get hurt?"

Distortions associated with the legal system and the attractiveness of punishments were assessed. Many of these issues have been previously discussed under the rubric of "Viewer Perceptions," in terms of understanding television contents. Nevertheless, several additional questions were asked concerning the attractiveness of crime and punishments, e.g., "Would you like to stay in jail for a week?" "Would you like to be chased by the police?" "Does a criminal like jail?" Questions associated with the effectiveness of punishments and the legal system were also asked, e.g., "After a robber is sent to jail, and he finally gets out: what does he do? - Does he steal again? Go to school? Get a job?" Other questions associated with "Viewer Perceptions" were relevant, e.g., recognizing punishment, and were examined in this context.

One of the most neglected areas of research in images

of violence is the possibility that viewers may form the belief (and it is constantly reinforced by the continuing popularity of crime-oriented programs) either that violence is the appropriate way to solve interpersonal conflicts or that it is justifiable (i.e., it works). One way to objectify such impressions is to interview viewers, in depth, concerning how conflict is resolved on television versus how it is at home in real life. Therefore, several conflict situations were posed to viewers, both in the home interviews and in the Television Reaction context (after viewing a program). To illustrate:

"If someone called you a name what would you do?"
versus

"Here are some things you have probably seen on television. Can you tell me what usually happened? If a man called his wife a name, what would she do?"

Several questions were also asked in terms of characterizing people on television, and these characterizations were compared with their descriptions of people they know:

"On television do people like each other? Talk a lot? Usually yell at each other? Usually understand each other? Tell how they feel inside (etc.)?"

versus

"Have you ever seen people: Hurt each other's feelings? Yell at each other? Tell how they feel inside (et cetera)?"

Changes in Aggressive Attitudes and Dispositions.

Actual behavioural changes in young viewers after viewing violent contents, either in the laboratory or in the home environment, were not assessed, since numerous studies have done so (although their accuracy may be challenged). Of interest in this project was whether viewers' attitudes and suggestions for conflict resolution would be influenced by watching various kinds of television programs, e.g., when confronted with the following situation, how will a viewer after watching violence (e.g., *Streets of San Francisco*) compare with one viewing a situation comedy (e.g., *Laverne and Shirley*): "When two kids are teasing each other, hurting each other's feelings, what should they do? "When there are two kids but only one swing, what should they do?" Such information should provide conflict resolution as typified in the home and on television, and the immediate effects of various kinds of programs.

Before and after (observing a program) comparisons as well as comparing reactions between kinds of programs were possible for assessing attitude changes. Such comparisons were made in the following areas: (a) problem resolution for situations associated with a viewer, (b) conflict resolution associated with others, and (c) aggressive attitudes about violence. A viewer's resolutions of problems for him/herself and others were assessed, in part, by open-ended questions about particular situations, e.g., "If you saw two kids fighting, what would you do?" "When two kids are mad at each other, what should they do?" And their answers were scored in terms of types of strategies, e.g., physical or

psychological aggression, intervention by others, finding nonaggressive solutions, et cetera.

Viewers' aggressive attitudes and solutions toward violence in society were assessed after viewing different kinds of programs by asking questions such as the following: "If a burglar is breaking into someone's house, is it all right for the owner to shoot him?" "Should all criminals be punished?" "Should killers be killed (do you believe in capital punishment)?"

Some of the general issues associated with attitudinal and dispositional changes were these:

1. Is the magnitude of change influenced by the age, intelligence, personality, and sociability of a viewer?
2. What contributions do the motives for watching television and their preferences for programs have on such changes?
3. Does the socio-economic level, number of family members, and the presence/absence of a parent influence the magnitude of change from seeing various kinds of programs?
4. Are there viewers "at risk" in terms of magnitude and quality of attitudinal and dispositional changes?

Sensitization. Sensitization refers to increased awareness (and vigilance) and mobilization (preparedness and protective behaviours) associated with agents (or presumed agents) of violence, due to exposure to actual or televised violence. The processes underlying these defensive and protective behaviours and attitudes have received little research attention, but can be imagined to be analogous to defensive and avoidance behaviours investigated in other areas of research. For example, the arousal from fear may energize dominant defensive or escape behaviours; a child may learn that when aroused, his/her perceptions of possible dangers improve. Arousal may be interpreted as a positive effect (e.g., excitement) which perseveres. Through increased arousal, inhibitory mechanisms may be overcome and replaced by assertive (and perhaps aggressive) behaviours. Exposure to violence may elicit other associative thoughts and increase interest in the situation. The lowering of physiological thresholds to perceive stimuli (including pain) has been suggested. Regardless of the process(es), such sensitization effects in children have not been investigated. It would seem important to know at which ages such effects are possible, since it would be expected that greater cognitive and emotional abilities would facilitate such sensitivities.

In the present project, such effects were assessed through the home interviews as well as comparing children's responses before and after presentations of violent and nonviolent programs. Questions such as the following were explored with children throughout their participation in the project, and correspond to the two categories mentioned previously.

Awareness: "Is our city a pretty dangerous place to live in? Do you ever think there is a burglar trying to get

into your house? Do you ever get scared when you go outside alone after dark?"

Mobilization: "Would you like to own a real gun? Would you like to learn karate or kung fu (or have already learned)? Do you or your parents lock your doors before you go to sleep? Do you put away your bicycle at night so that someone won't steal it? Do you ever dream at night about things you've seen on television? What?"

One aspect of sensitization is the increased awareness of where to learn about criminal/violent techniques; and this was assessed by asking questions such as the following: "Have you ever shot a real gun, like a pellet gun, a B-B gun or a rifle?" "If you wanted to know about guns, knives, and bombs, would you look at a book? Ask a friend? Ask parents? Watch television?"

These questions and others regarding the products of sensitization processes within the viewer were asked so that several broader issues and their inter-relationships could be examined; for example:

1. Is the magnitude of sensitization through watching television related to the amount watched and program preferences?
2. Are there particular ages of children which are critical in the development of sensitized viewers? For example, nine to 13 years may be an important period, since at this time there are significant cognitive and emotional changes occurring, and the watching of television may potentiate or in some manner magnify these changes.
3. Are viewers who are nonaggressive and come from families characterized by warm and mutually supporting relationships more likely to be sensitized?
4. Different kinds of sensitization, e.g., awareness and mobilization, may occur between and within children differing in kinds of experiences and characteristics, e.g., for some viewers awareness and vigilance may be high, but through a pattern of family variables they do not become overly defensive and protective.
5. Children of varying levels of introversion-extroversion and activity levels may have quite different levels and/or forms of sensitization.
6. The motives for watching programs which have the possibility of sensitizing may differ from viewer to viewer, e.g., some viewers may watch to become aware of criminal techniques so that they can better prepare for the eventuality of violence; arousal of fear may be exciting (positive affect) for younger viewers, while for older viewers who recognize the dangers more clearly, the arousal may be unpleasant.

Desensitization/"Catharsis." This effect is in many ways the obverse of the previous discussion of sensitization. It is not known, however, whether the processes are the same as in sensitization but operate in an opposite manner (and direction), or the absence of one process results in an antagonistic opposite process, or the absence of one process is merely judged as the presence

of an antagonistic process. That is, present-day theories do not distinguish the effects produced by processes that are antagonistic versus the presence and absence of a single process. Before discussing the examples of particular questions (many of which were the same for assessing sensitization) and the broader theoretical and individual difference issues, let us briefly discuss some of the mechanisms underlying desensitization and the issue of "catharsis."

Desensitization usually refers to a decrease in emotional responsiveness due to repeated presentation of the stimuli which produce aggressive feelings; whereas "catharsis" has usually referred to decreases in aggressive behaviours due to engaging in that behaviour (either actually or symbolically). Without going into the considerable and lively debate concerning the usefulness of the "catharsis" term and the presumed mechanism that have been suggested for decreases in aggression, let us briefly outline several mechanisms⁵ which singly or in combination may account for decreases in aggression due to repeated presentation of stimuli and/or behaviours. We shall avoid the terminological obfuscation surrounding such decreases in aggression by using the term "desensitization" as a generic name to refer to decreases during and/or after repeated presentations of stimuli (and behavioural stimuli).

Decreases in violence after observing violence may be due to distraction, i.e., the program distracts a viewer from his/her personal concerns and anxiety. It is likely that *any* content which is attention-getting and attention-holding can serve as a distractor; therefore, the decrease in aggression is probably independent of content, thereby not strictly falling under the rubric of desensitization. Second, emotional and/or intellectual fatigue from repeated presentations should produce, at least, temporary decreases; and when there are no subsequent events which reward or otherwise reinforce the hostility (or anxiety) during the presentations, this is analogous to temporary extinction of a response. Third, subsequent decreases may be the result of feelings of guilt or feeling sorry for a victim. Fourth, some temporary decreases would be expected if retribution feelings were manifest, e.g., "He got what he deserved." Fifth, while watching violent content, a viewer may reinterpret and/or think about solutions other than aggressive ones, and subsequently enact them (this is analogous to symbolic counter-conditioning). Sixth, through watching violent scenes, and especially when punishments are involved, a viewer may have increases in inhibition associated with the violent settings and acts, perhaps through fear of retaliation or discovery.

As a result of one or more of these mechanisms, a viewer may show a decrease in appropriate emotionality (e.g., anger, fear) to violent behaviours. This may lead to increased tolerance towards violence, one form of which may be the need to see progressively more violent scenes to experience the same level of emotional arousal

previously felt. It may result in the replacement of typical emotions associated with violence by emotions such as laughter; this may be particularly likely with male viewers, since society continues to promote and train boys to alter and deny emotions which are deemed “unmasculine,” e.g., laugh in the face of danger, denying pain when hurt.

Similarly, as decreases in emotion occur while viewing violence, “distancing” may occur, i.e., the emotion is perhaps on the screen, but not in the viewer. And finally, with either the absence of an appropriate emotion or by its replacement with a competing emotion, beliefs of helplessness, expectations of high crime rates, and changes in behaviours may occur.

Questions additional to those mentioned under “sensitization” were these:

“Do you sometimes like to see: People fighting on television? People get angry on television? People calling each other names on television? People being scared on television (et cetera)?” – these questions were also asked outside the context of television watching. “Do these things on television ever frighten (scare) you while watching? Monsters? Police? Shooting? Criminals (et cetera)?”

“When you do get frightened when watching television, what do you do? Hide/close eyes? Turn off television? Watch it anyway? Pretend not afraid (et cetera)?”

These questions and others were asked in the home as well as after watching either a violent or nonviolent program. And the relationships between the magnitude and kinds of desensitization effects and other effects and variables were examined. For example:

1. Which is more important in producing desensitization: the sheer amount of watching violent programming or a variety of different violent programming?
2. Are viewers who have aggressive predispositions less likely to be desensitized?
3. Are males, especially those who are extroverted and active, more or less likely to be desensitized?
4. Are viewers with motives for viewing violence such as “wanting to master and control” one’s own feelings and excitement more likely to be desensitized than those with motives of escape from social situations or home chores?
5. Are there individual differences associated with the occurrence and order of occurrence of sensitization and desensitization, e.g., does sensitization occur before desensitization? Does the ordering depend upon age?

Victimization/Rationalization. Victimization refers to the adoption of attitudes, feelings and/or behaviours of victims of violence due to their awareness of violence (e.g., through observation); this adoption may be influenced by the observed consequences to the victims of violence, e.g., sympathy, attention. Examples of victimization are claiming to be a victim of an act of violence, adopting behaviours which make one a more likely target for violence, and quietly assenting and

cooperating with an agent of violence. This phenomenon has not been studied in young viewers; therefore, questions such as the following were asked:

“Do you learn things you shouldn’t by watching television? What? Do you ever pretend: Being hurt when you really aren’t hurt? That someone took something from you? That someone hurt your feelings (e.g., being sad when you’re really not sad (et cetera)? In the last week, how many times have you been hit? Yelled at? Someone has hurt your feelings (et cetera)?”

The last question was asked after viewing either a violent or a nonviolent program; thus differences among viewers associated with different programs would be evidence for victimization.

Rationalization refers to using television as a means to escape punishments or as a scapegoat. Observation of children by the principal investigator, and especially observations of young teenagers, have produced several instances of such a defence mechanism, e.g., “Everyone else is doing it!” “I saw it on television!” “I heard ‘shut-up’ on ‘Electric Company!’ ” Therefore, questions such as these were asked: “Have you ever done something because you saw it on television? What?” “Have you ever told your mother (or father) that you did something because you saw it on television? What?”

Victimization and rationalization responses were examined in the context of motives for watching, program preferences, and individual differences; for example:

1. Are children who are generally fearful and do not have warm relationships with parents or peers more likely to adopt victimization and/or rationalization strategies?
2. What kinds of motives are associated with watching television to learn such strategies?
3. At what age and level of intelligence do children become aware of using such strategies?
4. How are the perceptions of violence on television and program preferences related to victimization and/or rationalization strategies?
5. Are viewers who are aggressively predisposed more likely to adopt these strategies?

Chapter Two

Method

Experimental Design

There were two phases in this project. Phase I, Home Interviews, consisted of interviewing children individually in their homes and asking parents to complete a questionnaire. There were three interviews for children and were administered in the following consecutive order: "Television Preferences," "Personal Experiences," and "Television Perceptions." The parents were given a questionnaire, "Parents' Questionnaire," to complete either during the interviewing of their child or at a later time; in the latter case, the parents were provided with an addressed and stamped envelope, to mail to the principal investigator. Phase II, Television Reactions, consisted of (a) selecting a subgroup of the original children interviewed in the home, (b) gaining parental permission to bring the child to the Psychology Department on campus to view a popular television program, (c) presenting one of 16 programs to the child (usually in groups of children), and (d) subsequently interviewing each child individually concerning his/her reactions to and perceptions of the program. For each phase a child received \$1.50 for participating.

Phase I

Development of Interviews and Questionnaire

Personnel. The personnel involved in the development of the assessment instruments and their administration were four research assistants¹ and the principal investigator. Three of the research assistants were graduate students in the Psychology Department (University of Calgary); the fourth was a fourth-year undergraduate psychology major in the Honours program. Each research assistant had had a minimum of three courses in child/developmental psychology and/or considerable research experience involving children. Each research assistant also had experience with experimental design, statistical approaches, and analysis of data.

Preparation by Personnel. The first month of this project involved familiarizing the research assistants with the major constructs associated with the effects of television on children (e.g., distortion, sensitization/de-

sensitization, motives for viewing) and particular measures of the effects of viewing television (e.g., measures of kinds of aggression, perceptions, emotional reactions). This familiarization was accomplished by numerous meetings which involved discussion of joint readings as well as discussion of the perceptions, biases, and experiences associated with television, imitation and violence. The readings were typically theoretically-based articles, and the discussions emphasized the complexity and subtlety of possible effects of viewing programs of various contents. Theoretical approaches to televised violence were emphasized in this familiarization phase for the following reasons: (a) there was little research dealing with the effects of televised violence on kinds of aggression perceived and understood by children of differing ages; (b) there was little research dealing with the motives of children for viewing violence; (c) the kinds of information sought were not the simple relationships and effects typically found in the literature (e.g., imitation, television viewing habits), but the complex interrelationships among preferences, perceptions, personal experiences, and reactions to televised violence; and (d) the level of sophistication required for the development of assessment instruments sensitive to complex constructs and effects necessitated an understanding of the theoretically possible interrelationships and the dovetailing of the effects of various influences, thus preventing premature foreclosure and rigidifying of the assessment instruments.² During this time, each research assistant was required to watch numerous programs of various contents, e.g., crime shows, cartoons, situation comedies, dramas, soap operas, in order to familiarize them with the wide range of programming, to discuss various aspects of the programs subsequently, and to reveal their own biases in program selection and perception.

Development of Assessment Instruments. Following this familiarization period, the development of the instruments for assessment was undertaken. Each research assistant was required to generate independently interview/questionnaire items which he/she thought would assess the effects of the many variables

associated with viewing televised violence as well as their interrelationships – keeping in mind specific aggressive contents, children's motives, perceptions, previous aggressive experiences, distortion, and sensitization/desensitization. Several meetings ensued in which the principal investigator's own lists of items were combined with those of the research assistants. A thorough discussion of each question was held, and each question was assessed in terms of understandableness (to the researchers and presumably children), relatedness to the presumed effects of watching television in general, assumed sensitivity to the numerous effects of viewing aggression, and objectivity (being able to score and code the answers for subsequent analysis). Emphasis was placed upon (a) objectivity of the data generated – e.g., if a question could be scored as “yes/no” or through objective choices, this format was preferred over recording verbatim answers and later attempting to translate the meaning of the answers (nevertheless, some questions did require verbatim recording of answers since other formats would be inappropriate for the information sought), and (b) possible comprehension of the questions for children of all ages (5½ – 14 years). After reaching consensus on the questions (each question required one or more revisions) for each interview schedule, a first complete draft of the instruments was prepared.

Each research assistant interviewed a minimum of two pilot children between the ages of six and 14 years, using this first draft of the three interviews; the principal investigator tested seven children individually. At this juncture, there were no mutual observations of one another. After this independent administration of the interviews, problems of comprehension, wording, and the ambiguities of children's answers were discussed in detail. The wording and format of several questions were changed, some questions deleted, others added. A second draft of the interview schedules was developed. Another young child was then interviewed; he was brought to the campus and the researchers took turns asking the questions, while each person could see and observe one another; this session was tape-recorded. After interviewing this child, comparisons were made concerning how each research assistant scored responses (for reliability); problems that still existed in wordings were discussed; and techniques of probing for understanding and completeness of answers were outlined. The principal investigator later listened to the tape recording to check the level and style of questioning used by the research assistants, i.e., were the levels of language, particular wordings, and intonations reasonably uniform and consistent? A second child was brought to the campus for another practice session, and again the research assistants were checked for consistency and reliability. Throughout these practice sessions, the principal investigator monitored the interview skills, inflections of voice, and style of inter-

viewing of the research assistants, and made suggestions when necessary.

The emphasis during training of the research assistants was on uniformity of presenting questions *at the level of the child* being interviewed. Thus, although the final interviews were specifically worded, some degree of freedom was given and encouraged in the presentation of the questions with respect to the age and intelligence of the child, e.g., the wordings for six- and 14-year-olds may differ, but their comprehension should be equal. There were several questions in the final forms of the interviews which had optional wordings in parentheses or wordings which we had discovered were appropriate for children of particular ages, e.g., unhappy (sad), criminal (bad guy), should killers be killed (do you believe in capital punishment?), tell on someone (tattle). This aspect of developing the interviews and the training of sensitivity to age differences among children were considered the most important features of sensitive interviewing. Considerable time was given the research assistants to think about (incubate) and discuss among themselves the sensitivities desired for interviewing. The justification for such practice was that many researchers in child development who use interviews fail to appreciate the fact that children of different ages and even of the same age interpret questions differently; therefore, when differences among different-aged children are found, it is not known whether the differences are due to the particular wordings of the questions or are because the variables and/or effects under investigation actually change with age. Thus, this project attempted to eliminate this problem by emphasizing comprehension over wording; in this way, we attempted to avoid problems such as insulting 14-year-olds by asking very simply stated questions, or having six-year-olds responding “yes” to all questions that they did not understand.

When interviewing of the actual participants in the project began, the research assistants discussed with the principal investigator any problems they were encountering; throughout the three-month schedule of interviewing, the research assistants continuously discussed their interviewing among themselves – in an attempt to profit from one another's experiences and to remain aware of the issues of interview style and sensitivity – which is extremely difficult when interviewing hundreds of children!

The Parents' Questionnaire received similar kinds of development, except that only the principal investigator gave the questionnaires to five pilot parents to complete. Problems of understanding and ambiguities associated with their responses were resolved with the parents, and subsequently with the research assistants. There was no verbal rehearsal of questioning; and no optional wordings of the questions appeared in the final form of the Parents' Questionnaire, since the questions were worded in a straightforward manner and three

additional pilot parents expressed no difficulty in answering the questions on the final form.

Contents of the Assessment Instruments. The three interviews, "Television Preferences," "Personal Experiences," and "Television Perceptions," and the "Parents' Questionnaire" were designed to obtain information concerning the following seven areas associated with the possible effects of televised violence on children: Media Characteristics, Viewer Characteristics, Parental Behaviours Associated with Television, Viewer Behaviours Associated with Television, Viewer Program Preferences, Viewer Perceptions of Television Violence, and Sensitization/Desensitization, Distortion, and Disposition Effects. Table 1 presents these areas and examples of questions from the interviews and the questionnaire; the complete interviews and the questionnaire are presented in Appendix A. An examination of Table 1 reveals that specific information regarding these areas were obtained from all four instruments, using the responses of parents and/or children – whoever was assumed to be most knowledgeable for that particular piece of information; at times, both parents and their children were asked identical questions, especially if differences in perceptions were likely. A variety of question formats were used, e.g., open-ended, two-choice answers ("yes/no"), multiple choice, listings – so that the best and most objective information could be obtained. It should be mentioned that several questions in several areas were not included

because our pilot testing showed that the content, format of questions, and/or reliability of data were not appropriate, given the time restraints and the considerable amount of further testing which would be required to develop indices for the various contents, children's preferences and perceptions, and effects of televised media.

Special attention was given the format and selection of programs for the "Television Preferences" interview. The 26 programs (see Appendix A) which were listed and about which questions were asked came from the four categories of Crime, Family, Drama, and Children's programs, which had 7, 7, 5, and 7 programs, respectively. For example, the Crime programs included *Starsky and Hutch*, *Bionic Woman*, and *S.W.A.T.*; the Family programs included *Happy Days*, *Good Times* and *Welcome Back, Kotter*; The Drama included *The Waltons*, *Emergency*, and *The Beachcombers*; the Children's programs included *The Flintstones*, *Bugs Bunny/Road Runner*, and *Sesame Street*. These particular programs were chosen using the following criteria: (a) their previously demonstrated popularity (1976) with Canadian (Ontario) children and teenagers – these were the most popular programs; and (b) there were some Canadian-produced programs, e.g., *Sidestreet* (Crime) and *The Beachcombers* (Drama) – these were included so as to gather a sampling of preferences and perceptions of Canadian as well as U.S.-produced programs for comparison purposes.

Table 1

Areas of Information, Examples of Questions, and Assessment Instruments.

(1 = "Parents' Questionnaire", 2 = "Television Perceptions", 3 = "Personal Experiences," 4 = "Television Preferences")

Media Characteristics

<i>Information</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Attention-getting/holding	Do you like fast programs on television? If "yes": What are some? (2) When you watch television do you like the sound (volume) soft/loud/very loud? (2) Do you ever get tired of commercials on television? If "yes": Which ones? (2)
Understandableness	Are there any television programs which you don't understand? If "yes": Which ones? (2) When you watch your favourite program, are there things you don't understand (confused)? (2)
Television sets in home	Number of working television sets. Black/white? Colour? (1) Locations of television sets? Do you have cable TV? (1)

Viewer Characteristics

Demographic	Number, ages, and sex of family members (1) Parents' occupations (1)
Intelligence	Grades in school (1)
Ability to empathize	Do you sometimes like to see people fighting? Helping each other? Telling how they feel inside (in real life)? (3)
Sociability	When you don't have anything to do, would you rather watch television/play with a friend (talk)/or play (be) alone? (3) Do you have lots of friends, or two or three friends? (3)
Relationship with parents	When you are talking to your parents, are you usually happy/afraid/ excited/angry? (3) Do your parents understand you/know how you feel? (3)
Emotionality	Are you usually happy, tired, angry, sad? (3) In the past week, how happy have you been? happy, little happy, little sad, sad? (3)
Introversion/extroversion	10-question scale, e.g., Can child be described as lively and outgoing? (1)
Activity level	27-question scale, e.g., During meals—up and down? Inability for quiet play? (1)
Aggressiveness	In the last week, how many times have you hit someone, called someone a name, et cetera? (none, some, lots) (3) Have you ever seen people (in real life) hit each other, not talk when angry, et cetera? (3) Open-ended questions asking what would child do, e.g., when someone breaks something of yours? (3) Do you sometimes like to see people getting hurt, telling on each other, et cetera? (3)
Other learning sources	If you wanted to know about animals (guns, et cetera), how would you find out? (books, friends, parents, television) (3)

Parental Behaviours Associated with Television

Discouragement of television, reasons	Disapprove of program? Watches too much? (1)
Encouragement of television, reasons	To keep quiet, to learn, as a reward? (1)
Programs felt not appropriate	Categories, e.g. crime, drama, cartoons (1)
Child behaviours while watching	Eating? (1)
Social context of television watching	With parents? Alone? (1,2)
Mother's viewing preferences	Categories (1)
Father's viewing preferences	Categories (1)
Discussion of television programs	How much do you talk to your parents about what you've seen on television? (none, some, lots) (1,2) What do you talk about? (2)
Use of program "warnings"	What do you do when "parental discretion" is advised? (1)

Viewer Behaviours Associated with Television

Social context of television watching	With siblings, friends, alone? (1, 2)
Discussion of television programs	How much do you talk with your friends about what you've seen on television? What about? (2)
Motives for watching television	Escape from work, personal problems, learning, entertainment, excitement, lonely? (2, 3) What do you see on television that you would like to do? (wish-fulfilment) (2) Do you like to guess what will happen next on programs? (intellectual) (2) Are kids happier on television than you? (2) When you're watching television, do you sometimes like being scared, excited, sad, or upset (emotional arousal) (2)

When you don't have anything to do, would you rather watch television, play with a friend, or play (be) alone? (escape from boredom) (3)

Viewer Program Preferences

Program preferences

Who is your favourite character on television? (2)

What is your favourite program on television? (2)

How often do you watch:

Crime (seven programs asked individually)

Family (seven programs)

Child (seven programs)

Drama (five programs) (4)

with answers: none, some, lots

How much do you like:

Each of 26 programs asked.

(answers: none, some, lots)? (4)

Kinds of violence preferred

Is it sometimes fun to watch:

Fighting on television?

People calling each other names?

People yelling at each other?

A policeman shoot a criminal?

People get angry on television, et cetera? (2)

Categorization of violent "favourite characters" and "favourite programs" (2)

Categorization of programs child saw the most

Hurt

Physical violence

Psychological violence (4)

Viewer Perceptions of Television Violence

Recognition of violent contents

For each of 26 programs, child was asked: Was anyone hurt?

If "yes," who?

How hurt?

Physical—Body, weapons, accident? Psychological—verbal, passive-aggression, direct-indirect, others?

Why was he/she hurt? (4)

Emotional reasons—angry, hate? Attributions—"bad," "deserved it"?

Personal reasons—to gain/prevent losing power, money?

Acts of nature/accidents? (4)

Sex stereotypes

Have you ever seen the Bionic Woman/Six Million Dollar Man

(Archie/Edith Bunker)?

If "yes": Who is

Stronger

Smarter

Happier

Helps more

Hurts more

Does more things wrong? (2)

Police stereotypes

What do police on television do? (open-ended) (2)

On television, are police

Strong

Smart

Ever get hurt, et cetera? (2)

Criminal stereotypes	On television, what do criminals (bad guys) do? (2) On television, are criminals Strong Smart Exciting, et cetera? (2)
Interpersonal relations	Open-ended questions involving situations depicted on television: If two people were angry, what would they do? If a man called his wife a name, what would she do? (2) On television, do people Like each other Understand each other Usually hurt each other Tell how they feel inside, et cetera? (2)
Incidence, causes, consequences of violence	How many robberies have you seen on television? (2) How many fights? People helping each other? (2) On television, what happens when a criminal is caught by the police? (2) Does a criminal like jail? How do you know? (2) After a robber is sent to jail, and he finally gets out, what does he do? Does he steal again? Does he go to school? Does he get a job? (2) Have you ever seen a child spanked on television? (2)

Sensitization/Desensitization, Distortion, and Dispositions Effects

Distortion	In our city, Calgary, guess how many shootings there are every week. How many robberies? Fights where people really get hurt? (3) Would you like to Stay in jail for a week? Try to rob a bank, et cetera? (3)
Sensitization/desensitization	Do you sometimes like to see people: Fighting, get angry, hurting each other's feelings, et cetera? (3) Do you ever pretend: Being sad when you're really not sad? Having more money than you really do, et cetera? (3) Do you ever think there is a burglar breaking into your house? (3) When you watch your favourite program, how do you feel: Happy, afraid, excited, angry, tired? (2) Is it sometimes fun to watch: Fighting on television? People get scared on television? Do these things on television ever scare you while watching? Monsters, ghosts Police, fighting Crying, hurt feelings? (2) What do you do when you do get frightened when watching television? Hide/close eyes, afraid to move? Turn channel, turn off television? Watch it anyway, et cetera? (2) When you're watching television, do you sometimes like being scared, excited, sad, upset? (2) When you see fighting on television do you sometimes remember when you hit someone? (2)

Do you ever have "nightmares" about things you've seen on television? (2)

Do you think you watch too much television? Why? (2)

Do you learn things you shouldn't by watching television? What? (2)

Is there anything which makes you really upset when you see it on television? What? (2)

Have you ever told your mother (father) that you did something because you saw it on television? What? (2)

If you wanted to know how to break into a house, would you:
Look at a book, ask a friend, watch television, et cetera? (3)

Dispositions

Procedure for the Home Interviews

Children and their families were recruited for this project by two means: (a) sending letters home with children attending public schools, and (b) newspaper advertisement. The contents of these recruitments procedures are presented in Appendix B. Approximately 2,000 letters were sent home with children attending seven of the primary and secondary schools in various locations in the city of Calgary. The letters were designed to elicit participation in the project with a minimum of information, so as to decrease the likelihood of a biased sample over-representing those predisposed to be particularly interested in or sensitized to the issues surrounding popular media and violence. There was no mention of television violence nor the possibility of actually viewing a television program; on the other hand, an attempt to gain parents' cooperation was made by mentioning that the interviews would be in the home and that each child would be paid \$1.50 for his/her participation during the summer holiday. The newspaper advertisement was presented on two consecutive days in the newspaper (*The Calgary Herald*) having the largest circulation in the city; the advertisement possessed characteristics similar to the letter sent home from school.

From these recruitment procedures, over 400 telephone calls from parents and adolescents were received. When a call was received and/or a return call was made to schedule the interview, the following information was obtained: (a) names, ages, and sexes of children who wished to participate, (b) the dates and times that would be most convenient for interviewing in the home, and (c) address and telephone number for the family. The parents were asked if they had any questions concerning the project; if there were questions, they were answered forthrightly without overemphasizing the aspects of the study dealing with perceptions and reactions to televised violence as well as the child's aggressive tendencies. For example, the research assistant might say, "We'll be asking questions about what he watches on television, how he likes the programs," or "We'll ask her questions about programs like *Happy Days*, *Kojak*, *The Waltons* . . ." or "We want to see what he/she thinks about when he/she sees crime on television." The number of children agreeing to participate (with parents' permission) was 455 with the actual number being interviewed being 339; the discre-

pancy between the two latter numbers is the result of children being ill, families going on holidays, and scheduling problems.

The home interviews were conducted from July through August, 1976. The research assistant(s) drove to the home; two or more research assistants went to the home if two or more children were to be interviewed. The research assistants produced identification (see Appendix B) and explained that the child was to be interviewed with as few distractions as possible. If there were more than one child to be interviewed, they were interviewed separately and simultaneously (if possible) in different rooms. Usually, before beginning the interview, the research assistant asked the parent if he/she wished to complete the Parents' Questionnaire while the research assistant was interviewing the child. It was made clear that they could do so or complete the questionnaire and return it by mail. The three interviews were given and lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, usually depending upon the age and verbalness of the child. After the interview, the research assistants occasionally discussed the project with the parent(s). Parents were usually enthusiastic and desirous of further information. Each parent was told that if he/she wished, he/she would receive a short summary of the project when it was completed.

At no time, either in the recruitment procedures, the appointment procedures, or the interviews in the home, was it mentioned that this study was being conducted for or in any way related to The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry. Occasionally a parent mentioned that he/she had read that there was such a commission; the research assistant did not discuss the possibility that this project was related to the Commission's work.

Phase II

Assessment of Television Reactions

Procedure. Approximately one to two months after the home interviews, Phase II began – the assessment of Television Reactions. From the pool of children whose interviews were complete ($n = 308$), 96 children were selected randomly, with the restrictions that there would be equal numbers of boys and girls tested in three age ranges (five to eight, nine to 11, and 12 to 14 years). The parents were called and asked whether they would

permit their child to participate in the second portion of our project which involved presenting an actual television program to the child and assessing his/her reactions: the specific program was mentioned by name, e.g., *Six Million Dollar Man*, *Little House on the Prairie*, *Laverne and Shirley*. This information about the specific program was provided so that parents could decide on the basis of full information whether they wished their child to see the particular program. Of the approximately 50 families contacted about a violent or crime program, not a single parent refused on the basis of violent program content. Only when there were scheduling problems, the family going on vacation, lack of transportation, or illness did the parents decline permission. And as in the home interviews, some of the participants in Phase II were siblings.

Sixteen programs were presented in colour, one to each child. The categories and their associated programs (and duration) were as follows:

Crime: *Adam 12* (30 minutes), *Starsky and Hutch* (60), *SWAT* (60), *Streets of San Francisco* (60).

Crime Adventure: *Six Million Dollar Man* (60), *Bionic Woman* (60).

Drama: *Emergency* (60), *The Waltons* (60), *Little House on the Prairie* (60), *The Beachcombers* (30).

Situation Comedies: *All in the Family* (30), *Excuse My French* (30), *Laverne and Shirley* (30), *Happy Days* (60).

Cartoons: *Bugs Bunny/Road Runner* (30), *The Flintstones* (30).

These programs were chosen in terms of current popularity for Canadian children of five to 14 years of age (Ontario Survey, 1976). Within each category, the most popular were used (regardless of duration³), provided only that (a) they were available and were of good video/audio (production) quality, (b) Canadian content was represented, and (c) they were judged as appropriate for children of this age. This latter criterion was used to eliminate three programs (*Kojak*, *Police Story*, and *Sidestreet*) which were originally considered for use on the bases of popularity and Canadian content. However, these programs were rejected on the grounds that they and/or the commercials interspersed within were judged by the principal investigator and his research assistants (independent judgments) as too violent and/or intense for children 5-14 years of age, i.e., rejected on ethical grounds. *Police Story*, for example, had a scene which depicted a young child witnessing her mother being raped; *Kojak* involved dramatic scenes of blood and intense moods of fright; *Sidestreet* had violent and psychologically intense commercials (e.g., one commercial contained explicit references to incestuous relations between a child and uncle).

In a manner similar to the refinement of procedures for home interviewing, young children were brought to the laboratory and a different program was presented to each. The subsequent interviews revealed problems of wording and comprehension, which were eliminated

through discussion, rewording, and changing of question formats. The following procedure was rehearsed and finally adopted. Testing of children in Phase II lasted for six weeks (September to October, 1976).

Each program was presented to a male and female child of each of three age groups (five to eight, nine to 11, and 12 to 14 years); thus, six children per program. The testing of children occurred immediately after school, in the evening, or on Saturday at the laboratories at the University of Calgary. When each child arrived, he/she was greeted by a female experimenter⁴ and escorted to an interview room. The child was asked how he/she felt that day (assessing mood, see Appendix C for the format) and was told which program was to be presented. He/she was then taken to the adjacent television viewing room.

The room contained three comfortable chairs (with arms), which were located approximately five metres from the 21-inch colour monitor (Sony). The monitor was approximately 20°-30° above the horizontal plane of the child's head. Below the monitor, on the same stand, was the colour video-cassette recorder (Sony). The room was dark except for (a) a directional lamp which illuminated the child's face and body without being uncomfortable for him/her or producing a glare on the monitor, and (b) a small shaded lamp which illuminated ("softened") the remaining portion of the room. The viewing room was carpeted and contained drapes which were drawn; thus the atmosphere was relatively comfortable and "homelike" (compared to many other studies attempting to assess the effects of television in the laboratory). Also in the room were two remote-control television cameras. One was focused on the three chairs; it was located approximately seven metres from the chairs and was approximately 45° above the horizontal plane of the child's head and 15° left of the monitor (as viewed by the child). The second camera was focused on the monitor; it was located approximately 75° above the horizontal plane, approximately 45° right of his head, and about five metres from the monitor.

The child was seated in one of three chairs which were usually occupied by other participating children. A majority of children were tested in groups of two or three; some were tested alone. The groups were formed on the basis of availability for that time slot (this often resulted in siblings being tested in the same group). Therefore, groups were often composed of both sexes and different-aged children (an exception was occasionally made on the basis of very divergent ages, e.g., a six-year-old boy and 14-year-old girl did not view together, unless they were from the same family). This variability of group composition as well as group versus individual viewing was built into the procedure for purposes of generalizability and presenting more "naturalistic" (complex) viewing situations.

When every participant for that time slot had arrived,

the experimenter⁴ told the child(ren) how long the program would last, that she was going to leave while the program was on – but that she would be in the adjacent room (pointing) if he/she/they needed something, and that she would return when the program was over. She asked if there were any questions (usually there were none), turned on the program and left, closing the door. The experimenter entered the control room and turned on the video equipment (ample time was allowed, since there was a commercial before the beginning of the story in the program); the equipment allowed for observation and recording of the child(ren)'s behaviours and program simultaneously using a split-screen technique.

At the end of the program, the experimenter introduced each child to one of the research assistants (by chance, often the one who initially interviewed him/her in the home), and asked the child to follow the research assistant to one of the interview rooms (three were available and adjacent to the viewing room) to "discuss the program" which he/she/they had just observed, i.e., each child was interviewed independently. This interview lasted approximately 20-30 minutes.

Content of "Television Reactions" Interview. The "Television Reactions" interview (see Appendix C) contained the following characteristics. First, whether the child had seen this particular story on this program (series) before and what emotions and thoughts were evoked while viewing it. For example:

"Did the program: make you laugh?
excite you?
scare you?" (et cetera)

(to which he/she responded "No," "Yes – A little bit," or "Yes – A lot").

"Did the program make you think about something? What?"

"Does this really happen (shows you the way things really are)?"

The second section dealt with the child's perceptions of violence (or lack of them). For example, he/she was asked:

"Was anyone hurt or their feelings hurt?" (If "yes," he/she was asked to describe who was hurt and to characterize:

"Was _____ smart?
exciting?
hurts people?" (et cetera).

"What did (*victim*) do when hurt?" (this was open-ended, and the answers were categorized as "nothing, ran away, attempted to conciliate, counteraggression," et cetera).

Questions regarding who (or what) the source(s) of violence was were asked as well as the "victim" (if the assailant were a person), e.g., answers were scored according to whether the assailant was a family member, a friend, a person in an official role (e.g., police, military), et cetera. The child's perceptions of the punishments for the assailant were also assessed:

"Did (*assailant*) ever get hurt or punished or feelings hurt *after* he/she hurt (*victim*)? How?" (Answers were scored for various forms of consequences, e.g., verbal, withdrawal of status, privileges, feelings hurt, et cetera.)

Each child was asked how he/she felt when the assailant was punished:

"When (*assailant*) was punished, how did you feel?"
Happy? Excited? Tired/bored? Angry/upset?
Surprised? Sad?

In this section, no distinction was made between "aggressor" and "victim," or the motives and causes for violence, in order to ascertain that everyone the child perceived as being hurt, i.e., anyone who was hurt, was examined. Thus, it was possible to assess the different forms of violence perceived by children regardless of who the "bad guys" or "good guys" were in the perceptions of the child or the story context. An examination of several of these questions and those in the "Television Preferences" interview reveals identicalness; thus, "before/after" comparisons could be made with regard to particular programs and their possible relationships to various effects of viewing.

The "Television Reactions" interview was designed to assess children's perceptions and reactions to actual programs and to compare them with the "objective" characteristics as judged by trained adults in the Williams/Zabrack/Joy project. The main purpose was to compare and contrast children's perceptions with adult perceptions, and closely examine the discrepancies, comprehension, and memories of different viewers. This is of particular theoretical and practical importance, since what many adults and "experts" view as violent, children may not remember nor perceive as violent. This applies to the consequences of aggression as well, e.g., although many programs include negative consequences for the assailant, children may not see, remember, or understand the punishments (i.e., they have no impact upon the child); thus they may not be effective in teaching the "crime does not pay" slogan.

The third section of "Television Reactions" involved assessing some of the effects of viewing these programs. One strategy was to repeat questions from the original interviews in the home so that "before/after" comparisons could be made. For example:

"Are police in real life (really): Strong?
Ever get hurt?
Smart?" (et cetera)

(the same questions were asked about criminals)
"In our city, Calgary, guess how many shootings (robberies, fights) there are every week."

Another strategy of formulating questions was to assess in greater detail areas briefly examined in home interviews, e.g., many more questions dealing with possible sensitization/desensitization effects:

"Is our city a pretty dangerous (scary, frightening) place to live in?"

"Would you like to own a real gun?"

"Do you sometimes think people are following you?"

"Do you or your parents lock your doors before you go to sleep?"

Additional questions were asked concerning distortion and changes in attitudes:

"Are there just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong?"

"Should killers be killed (do you believe in capital punishment)?"

Questions similar to those in the home interviews, dealing with coping with conflict situations, were also asked:

"When there are two kids but only one swing, what should they do?"

"When two kids are teasing each other, hurting each other's feelings, what should they do?" (their open-ended answers were scored according to several categories, e.g., physical and psychological aggression, intervention by others, find solution by themselves, no solution)

Aggressiveness and victimization feelings and behaviours as well as rationalization were more extensively assessed in this "Television Reactions" interview. For example:

"In the last week, how many times have:

you hit someone?

you been hit? you called someone a name?

you been called names?" (et cetera)

"Have you ever told your mother (father) that you did something because you saw it on television? What?

Results

Subjects

Initially, there were 339 children interviewed in their homes. Of these, 31 were eliminated from the analyses because (a) the children were unable to understand and/or respond to the questions (despite repeated rewordings and probing) – these were typically five- and six-year olds (and in two cases, they were retarded/-emotionally disturbed); or (b) the parents did not return the “Parents’ Questionnaire” through the postal system. Another 116 children had volunteered to participate in the project, but were not used because of time constraints; they received letters of thanks for volunteering.

Training of Coders

Personnel. Ten coders were used to score and code the data obtained in the interviews and the questionnaire in Phases I and II. These coders had not been involved in any way with either phase, i.e., they were not associated with the data-gathering portion of this project. These “naive” coders were used in order to eliminate several possible sources of “contamination” or bias in the scoring and coding of the data. For example, the training of these coders (a) required as complete objectivization as possible of each piece of information, e.g., criteria for judging viewers’ perceptions of kinds of violence, strategies that viewers suggested for conflict resolution, interpretations of consequences and motives, (b) eliminated many of the impressions and perceptions of the interviewers, and (c) allowed for efficient coding by virtue of the number of coders involved. The coders were homemakers or students, and/or had part-time jobs elsewhere. Most of them had had previous experience in coding materials for projects in other disciplines, e.g., sociology, economics. Of these coders, 40 per cent coded approximately 85 per cent of the data from Phases I and II.

Before coder training began, the research assistants and the principal investigator met on several occasions to discuss and refine the scoring and coding formats for the five assessment instruments in Phases I and II. The objectivity and meaningfulness of the scores developed were of primary concern in these discussions; formats

compatible with computer analyses were also discussed (the coding schedules for each assessment instrument are available from the principal investigator upon request). There were 443 scores calculated and/or coded per viewer participating in Phase I and 692 per viewer participating in Phases I and II. Therefore, a total of 160,348 scores were examined in this project, with the combinations and permutations of all possible correlations and effects that could be examined approaching infinity.

Training. The training of coders involved meeting with each, demonstrating the scoring and coding, giving examples, and then giving them data for practice at home; coders returned the materials for examination and correction of coding. After training, they coded the inventories and questionnaire at their own pace. They were encouraged to contact the research assistant supervisor¹ if and when any problems of interpretation were encountered – and these problems and solutions were then communicated to the other coders for uniformity of coding. During the coding period for all the data (approximately 2 months), there were occasions of changing the coding format (especially for “Television Preferences”), which necessitated recording for all the previously coded data for that item/question(s). The research assistant supervisor also randomly checked the coding to insure accuracy, reliability, and consistency across the coders.

Analyses of Data

Phase I. The descriptive data for viewers and their parents provided by the home interviews (Phase I) are presented in Table 2.² The data are summarized largely in terms of percentages of viewers/parents responding in a particular manner to each question, and occasionally by an average score. The numbers in parentheses at the extreme right of the table indicate the item numbers which were subsequently analyzed; missing numbers, e.g., 82-101, indicate these data were not individually analyzed, usually because they were components which made up other items which were analyzed.

Table 2

Descriptive Data for Viewers and Parents Giving Responses in Phase I: Parents' Questionnaire, Personal Experiences, Television Preferences, and Television Perceptions Interviews

Question/item

Parents' Questionnaire

Number of children in family:

	Percentage	
1	27	(1)
2	37	
3	15	
4	8	
5	7	
6+	4	

*Average number of children/family: 2.3

Number of children in family interviewed:

1	33	(2)
2	33	
3	18	
4	13	
5+	2	

*Average number of children interviewed/family: 2.2

Birth order of viewer:

First/only born	33	(3)
Second	35	
Third	16	
Fourth	7	
Fifth+	7	

Age of viewer in years:

5	3	(4)
6	10	
7	10	
8	10	
9	12	
10	14	
11	10	
12	11	
13	10	
14	8	

*Average age of children: 9.8 years

Sex of viewer:

Male	54	(5)
Female	46	

Grades in school:

A	10	(6)
A & B	19	
B	4	
B & C	6	
C	43	
C & D	2	
D	0	
D & F	0	
Failed	1	

Question/item	Percentage	
Socio-economic status of parents:		
Professional, Managers (regardless of store size)	52	(8)
Skilled, Trades	21	
Semi-skilled, unskilled, labourers, unemployed	13	
Uncodable	14	
Marital status of parents ¹ :		
Single (e.g., divorced, widowed)	14	(9)
Married	85	
Number of working televisions in home:		
1	44	(10)
2	40	
3+	15	
Number of colour televisions:		
1	67	(11)
2	9	
Location of television:		
Living room	43	(13)
Rumpus/family room	58	(14)
Child's bedroom	5	(16)
Bedroom other than child's	28	(15)
Cable television in home:	77	(18)
1. ^a How often parents discourage television watching:		
Never	8	(19)
Occasionally	70	
Often	21	
Reasons for discouraging:		
Needs to do schoolwork	50	(20)
Needs to do chores	50	(21)
Needs to play with other children	38	(22)
Use as punishment	23	(23)
Disapprove of program	67	(24)
Someone wants to watch different program	28	(25)
Watches too much television	46	(26)
*Average number of reasons parents use: 3.2		(28)
2. Viewer eats while watching television:		
Never	27	(29)
Occasionally	59	
Often	13	
Watching Distance from television set:		
1 - 3 feet	3	(30)
3 - 6 feet	35	
6 -10 feet	51	
10+ feet	10	
3. Resolution of conflict when two children wish to watch different programs—Conflict occurs:	91	(31)
Parent decides which program to watch	52	(32)
Children decide	48	(33)
Have a rule that they take turns	41	(34)
Have more than one television, watch separately	39	(35)

Question/item	Percentage	
Resolution of conflict when parent and child wish to watch different programs—Conflict occurs:		
Parent decides	89	(37)
Child decides	67	(38)
Have a rule that they take turns	18	(39)
More than one television, watch separately	26	(40)
	35	(41)
4. When “parental discretion” warnings are presented on television, the parent:		
Claims not to have heard this kind of announcement	12	(44)
Does not allow child to watch program	43	
Does not believe announcement	35	
Sometimes allows child to watch—since assumes child is “mature” enough	10	
5. Kinds of programs parents believe are inappropriate for child(ren):		
Soap Operas	39	(45)
News	4	(46)
Religious	12	(47)
Sexual	56	(48)
Sports	2	(49)
Movies	35	(50)
Crime	60	(51)
Crime Adventure	20	(52)
Adult Family	25	(53)
Family	6	(54)
Children’s Family	5	(55)
Medical	18	(56)
Drama	4	(57)
Children’s Shows	1	(58)
Cartoons	8	(59)
Game Shows	0	(60)
Musical & Variety	9	(61)
Documentaries	1	(62)
Ethnic	6	(63)
*Crime + Crime Adventure programs (both inappropriate):	18	(65)
*Total aggressive: Sports + Crime + Crime Adventure + Adult Family (all 4 believed inappropriate):	1	(66)
*Average aggressive program kinds inappropriate: 1.1 (4 is maximum)		
*Average number of program kinds discouraged: 4.2		(67)
6. How often parents encourage television watching:		
Never	18	(68)
Occasionally	77	
Often	2	
Reasons for encouraging:		
Keep child quiet	17	(69)
Remind child of favourite program	51	(70)
To learn new things	68	(71)
To discuss things on television	37	(72)
Relieve boredom of child	20	(73)
To calm child	16	(74)
Use as reward	8	(75)
*Average number of reasons parents use: 2.3		(77)
7. How often child watches with parent(s):		
Never	5	(78)
Occasionally	47	
Often	40	
Almost always	8	

Question/item

	Percentage	
How often child watches television with friends/siblings:		
Never	3	(79)
Occasionally	25	
Often	46	
Almost always	26	
*Total socialness of viewing television ^b : 5.4		(80)
8. Television as "background noise":		
Never	71	(81)
½-3 hours/day	25	
More than 3 hours/day	4	
9. Mother's viewing habits:		
*Amount of television watched ^c : 33.9 (60 is maximum possible)		(102)
*Average number of kinds of aggressive programs watched: 2.6 (4 is maximum)		(103)
*Total aggression watched ^d : 7.0 (12 is maximum)		(104)
Father's viewing habits:		
*Amount of TV watched ^c : 23.0 (60 is maximum)		(125)
*Average number of kinds of aggressive programs watched: 1.9 (4 is maximum)		(126)
*Total aggression watched ^d : 5.5 (12 is maximum)		(127)
*Total aggression watched by mother + father ^e : 15.0 (24 is maximum)		(128)
10. Average Activity Level score ^f : 9.6 (range is 0-54)		(129)
11. Average Introversion-extroversion score ^g : 46.2 (range is 10-70)		(130)
Personal Experiences		
1. Having talked to a policeman/woman before:	72	(131)
2. Having seen a real criminal before:	16	(132)
3. Aggressive disposition of viewer + Solutions to problems ^h :		
Average Physical aggression:		
1.0/situation; percentage suggesting any physical aggression:	54	(133)
Average Verbal aggression:		
1.5/situation; percentage suggesting any verbal aggression:	76	(134)
Average Passive aggression:		
.6/situation; percentage suggesting any passive aggression	42	(135)
Average Indirect aggression:		
.5/situation; percentage suggesting any indirect aggression:	29	(136)
Average Constructive solution (nonaggressive):		
2.5/situation; percentage suggesting any constructive solution:	86	(137)
*Total aggressiveness score ^d : 3.7 (32 is maximum)		(140)
4. Would you like to be a policeman/woman:	47	(141)
5. Would you like to be a criminal:	1	(142)
6. Use of aggression in the "last week" by viewer:		
Hit someone		
1 or 2 times	37	(143)
Some (3 or 4 times)	14	
Several times (5 +)	11	
Yelled at someone		
1 or 2 times	38	(144)
Some	29	
Several	20	

Question/Item	Percentage	
Called names		
1 or 2 times		
Some	36	(145)
Several	22	
	8	
Told how felt		
1 or 2 times		
Some	33	(146)
Several	9	
	3	
Helped someone		
1 or 2 times		
Some	43	(147)
Several	31	
	20	
Tattled		
1 or 2 times		
Some	33	(148)
Several	14	
	8	
Not talked to (ignored)		
1 or 2 times		
Some	34	(149)
Several	6	
	4	
Hurt someone's feelings		
1 or 2 times		
Some	34	(150)
Several	6	
	2	
*Total use of aggression ^j : 10.2 (20 is maximum)		(151)
*Total verbal aggression: 4.7 (8 is maximum)		(152)
*Overall use of aggression: 13.7		(153)
7. With parents, viewer is:		
Happy	92	(154)
Afraid	13	(155)
Excited	44	(156)
Angry/upset	25	(157)
Confused	39	(158)
Tired	25	(159)
When alone, viewer is:		
Happy	66	(160)
Afraid	15	(161)
Excited	22	(162)
Angry/upset	17	(163)
Confused	17	(164)
Tired	40	(165)
*Average "happy" and "excited" ^k : 2.3 (maximum is 4)		(166)
*Average "afraid" and "angry" ^k : .7 (maximum is 4)		(167)
8. Viewer perceiving that parents:		
Always know what to do	57	(168)
Understand him/her	87	(169)
Help him/her	97	(170)
Know how viewer feels	79	(171)
*Average parent relationship ^l : 2.8 (maximum is 3)		(172)

Question/item

		Percentage	
9.	Viewer in real-life having seen:		
	Physical aggression	94	(182)
	*Verbal aggression ^m	97	(183)
	Passive aggression	71	(184)
	Indirect aggression	91	(185)
	*Pro-social behaviours ⁿ	91	(186)
10.	Perception of crime in Calgary every week:		
	Modal number of shootings: 5		(187)
	robberies: 5		(188)
	fight: 50		(189)
11.	Positive perceptions of criminal activities:		
	Would like to stay in jail	9	(190)
	Try to rob a bank	4	(191)
	Be chased by police	3	(192)
	See a real bank robbery	60	(193)
*Total attractiveness of criminal activities ^o : .4 (maximum is 4.0)			
12.	Attractiveness of real-life aggression—sometimes like to see people:		
	Fighting	20	(195)
	Get angry	19	(196)
	Scared	29	(197)
	Hurt	6	(198)
	Helping people	99	(199)
	Tell how feel	81	(200)
	Yelling	14	(201)
	Name-calling	11	(202)
	Hurting feelings	4	(203)
	Tattling	17	(204)
	Ignoring	13	(205)
*Average attractiveness of aggression ^p : 1.2 (maximum possible is 9)			
*Average pretending/victimization—pretending score ^q : 3.0 (maximum possible is 6)			
13.	Average sensitization score ^r : 2.1 (maximum is 3)		(208)
15.	Motives for watching television:		
	When angry with someone	49	(218)
	When sad	56	(219)
	When want to be alone	60	(220)
	To avoid homework	49	(221)
	To avoid chores	44	(222)
	When lonely	75	(223)
	When bored	88	(224)
*Average social motives ^r : 1.8 (maximum is 3)			
*Average non-social motives ^r : 1.8 (maximum is 3)			
*Average number of motives ^r : 4.1 (maximum is 7)			
16.	When bored, viewers' preferences are:		
	1st Preference: Play with friend	67	(228)
	2nd Preference: Watch television	21	
	3rd Preference: Play (be) alone	11	
17.	Other sources of learning:		
	To learn about animals, viewer would:		
	Look at book	54	(229)
	Ask friend	2	
	Ask parents	19	
	Watch television	19	

Question/item

	Percentage	
To learn how people hurt people:		
Look at book	17	(230)
Ask friend	6	
Ask parents	22	
Watch television	46	
To learn how to help people:		
Look at book	18	(231)
Ask friend	8	
Ask parents	52	
Watch television	12	
To learn about weapons:		
Look at book	47	(232)
Ask friend	4	
Ask parents	19	
Watch television	25	
To learn about criminals:		
Look at book	32	(233)
Ask friend	2	
Ask parents	19	
Watch television	40	
To learn about criminal techniques:		
Look at book	20	(234)
Ask friend	10	
Ask parents	12	
Watch television	46	
*Average potential for using books ^a : 1.9 (maximum is 6)		(235)
*Average potential for asking friends ^a : .3		(236)
*Average potential for asking parents ^a : 1.5		(237)
*Average potential for watching TV ^a : 1.9		(238)
18. Viewer says he/she has:		
Two or three friends	20	(240)
Lots of friends	79	
19. Mood of viewer in the past week:		
Happy	70	(241)
Little happy	25	
Little sad	3	
Sad	1	

Television Perceptions

1. Favourite television character:		
Male	81	(242)
Female	17	
Perceived characteristics of favourite character:		
Strong	74	(243)
Smart	83	(244)
Exciting	90	(245)
Hurts people	46	(246)
Happy	93	(247)
Helps people	92	(248)
Gets hurt	62	(249)
Does some things wrong	57	(250)

Question/item	Percentage	
2. Perception that <i>Bionic Woman</i> is “greater than” <i>Six Million Dollar Man</i> for the following characteristics:		
Stronger	11	(251)
Smarter	39	(252)
More exciting	44	(253)
Hurts more people	8	(254)
Happier	61	(255)
Helps more people	49	(256)
Gets hurt more	32	(257)
Does more things	26	(258)
*Sexual stereotyping associated with <i>Six Million Dollar Man/Bionic Woman</i> , <i>Archie/Edith Bunker</i> , & <i>Sonny/Cher</i> (percentage reflects viewers’ response of “yes” for 1 or more female characters): ¹ Female is:		
Stronger	29	(275)
Smarter	71	(276)
More exciting	65	(277)
Hurts more people	23	(278)
Happier	85	(279)
Helps more people	84	(280)
Gets hurt more	61	(281)
Does more things wrong	43	(282)
4. Perceiving that police on television are:		
Strong	95	(283)
Smart	96	(284)
Exciting	90	(285)
Get hurt	87	(286)
Happy	78	(287)
Help people	97	(288)
Hurt people	84	(289)
Do some things wrong	61	(290)
6. Perceiving that criminals on television are:		
Strong	83	(291)
Smart	47	(292)
Exciting	68	(293)
Get hurt	97	(294)
Happy	38	(295)
Help people	10	(296)
Hurt people	96	(297)
Do some things wrong	94	(298)
7. Favourite program:		
Soap operas	0	(299)
News	0	
Religious	0	
Sexual	0	
Sports	1	
Movies	1	
Crime	15	
Crime Adventure	14	
Adult Family	6	
Family	22	
Children’s Family	5	
Medical	0	
Drama	9	
Children’s shows	4	
Cartoons	9	

Question/item

Percentage

Game shows		1	
Musical & Variety		8	
Documentaries		1	
Ethnic		0	
How viewer feels when watches favourite program:			
Happy	92	(300)	
Afraid	18	(301)	
Excited	87	(302)	
Angry	10	(303)	
Confused	27	(304)	
Tired	21	(305)	
*Average positive feelings: happy + excited ^u : 1.8 (maximum is 2)		(306)	
*Average negative emotions: afraid + angry ^u : .3 (maximum is 2)		(307)	
8. Are there television programs which viewer doesn't understand?			
No	44	(308)	
Yes	55		
No response/Don't know	1		
Programs not understood by viewers:			
Soap operas	4	(309)	
News	3		
Religious	0		
Sexual	0		
Sports	1		
Movies	3		
Crime	6		
Crime Adventure	3		
Adult Family	4		
Family	2		
Children's Family	0		
Medical	0		
Drama	3		
Children's shows	0		
Cartoons	1		
Game shows	2		
Musical & Variety	1		
Documentaries	3		
Ethnic	4		
9. Solutions to problems as perceived on television ^h : Average			
*Physical aggression: 2.2 (maximum is 8)		(310)	
*Verbal aggression: 1.4		(311)	
*Passive aggression: .3		(312)	
*Indirect aggression: .7		(313)	
*Constructive solution (nonaggressive): 1.5		(314)	
*Total perceived aggressiveness score ⁱ : 5.6 (maximum is 32)		(317)	
10. Perceived characteristics of people on television (in general):			
Like each other	96	(318)	
Talk a lot	97	(319)	
Hurt each other's feelings	81	(320)	
Help each other	97	(321)	
Tattle on each other	68	(322)	
Understand each other	84	(323)	
Do not talk when angry	56	(324)	
Friendly	96	(325)	
Know what to do	92	(326)	
Yell at each other	93	(327)	

Question/item	Percentage	
Hurt each other	92	(328)
Tell how feel inside	55	(329)
*Average aggressive characteristics ¹ : 3.4 (maximum is 4)		(330)
*Average nonaggressive characteristics: 4.7 (maximum is 5)		(331)
11. Perception of robberies seen on television:		
Some	21	(332)
Lots	75	
Perceptions of fights seen on television:		
Some	27	(333)
Lots	68	
Perception of people helping each other on television:		
Some	54	(334)
Lots	42	
Perception of killings on television:		
Some	34	(335)
Lots	61	
*Total perceptions of aggressive activities ¹ : 2.9 (maximum is 3)		(336)
12. Perception of what happens to criminal when caught by police on television:		
Unknown	11	(337)
Punishment	52	
Punishment and/or legal-system involvement	35	
Perception of what happens on television when police stop fights:		
Unknown	37	(338)
Punishment	27	
Punishment and/or legal-system involvement	30	
*Total perception of consequences: 4.0 (maximum is 6)		(339)
13. Perceives that criminals like jail:	6	(340)
14. Believes that he/she has seen a child spanked on television:	52	(341)
15. Viewer likes "fast" programs:	64	(342)
Programs perceived as "fast":		
Soap operas	0	(343)
News	0	
Religious	0	
Sexual	0	
Sports	4	
Movies	1	
Crime	23	
Crime Adventure	11	
Adult Family	2	
Family	2	
Children's Family	0	
Medical	0	
Drama	2	
Children's shows	1	
Cartoons	6	
Game shows	0	
Musical & Variety	1	
Documentaries	0	
Ethnic	0	
6. After criminal "serves time" and is released from jail, viewer perceives criminal as ² :		
Repeating crime	29	(344)
Going to school	58	
Getting a job	11	

Question/item	Percentage	
17. Enjoy viewing violent/nonviolent behaviours on television:		
Fighting	70	(345)
People angry	56	(346)
People scared	65	(347)
People helping people	82	(348)
People getting hurt	36	(349)
Police shooting criminals	51	(350)
People being friendly	92	(351)
People yelling at each other	47	(352)
Name-calling	39	(353)
*Average number of violent behaviours enjoyed on television ¹ : 2.4 (maximum is 5)		(354)
*Average number of negative emotions enjoyed on television ² : 1.2 (maximum is 2)		(355)
*Average number of pro-social behaviours enjoyed on television ³ : 1.8 (maximum is 2)		(356)
18. Average number of things (e.g., monsters, screaming, criminals) which frighten viewers on television ⁴ : 3.3 (maximum is 11)		(357)
19. What viewer does when frightened by contents on television:		
Hide/close eyes	48	(358)
Too afraid to move	30	(359)
Turn off television	26	(360)
Tell someone	31	(361)
Change channel	40	(362)
Watch it anyway	74	(363)
Pretend not afraid	49	(364)
Average number of ways viewer avoids television contents when frightened: 1.8 (maximum is 5)		(365)
20. Viewer talks to parents about what seen on television:		
Some	52	(366)
Lots	31	
21. Viewer gets tired of commercials on television:	75	(367)
23. When watching television, viewer likes being:		
Scared	60	(368)
Excited	91	(369)
Saddened	25	(370)
Upset	17	(371)
Average number of emotions: 2.0 (maximum is 4)		(372)
24. Viewers talks with friends about what seen on television:		
Some	37	(373)
Lots	51	
25. Perceptions and comparisons between television and viewer:		
Homes on television are nicer than viewers ⁵	80	(375)
Kids happier on television than viewers	60	(376)
Kids on television have more things than viewers	59	(377)
Kids on television have more friends than viewers	50	(378)
Average number of negative evaluations of self by viewers: 2.5 (maximum is 4)		(379)
26. Television as "background noise" as perceived by viewer:		
Some	44	(380)
Lots	14	
27. Viewers' television watching habits:		
Watch television by self	94	(381)
Watch television with friends	87	(382)
Watch television with parents	94	(383)
Watch television while doing homework	42	(384)
Watch television while eating	67	(385)

Question/item	Percentage	
28. Viewers' ability to guess next events on television: *Average proportion of time can guess*: 85 per cent		(386)
29. Average number of times television engenders guilt or shame in viewer through recalling past aggressions ^y : 1.3 (maximum is 4)		(387)
30. Viewer prefers volume on television: Soft Loud Very loud	33 63 2	(388)
31. Average "rationalization" score (e.g., claimed to do something because saw it on television) ^y : .7 (maximum is 2)		(390)
32. Viewer dreams at nights about television contents: Viewer has nightmares about television contents:	77 57	(391) (392)
33. Viewer believes watches "too much television":	42	(393)
34. Viewer believes that he/she learns things on television that shouldn't learn: Violent themes/behaviours Non-violent themes/behaviours	54 36 9	(395) (396)
35. Viewer claims being "really upset when he/she sees it on television": Violent themes/behaviours ^z Non-violent themes/behaviours	54 33 16	(397) (398)
36. Viewers' preference for programs—those which: Tell a story Just show something	54 28	(399)

Television Preferences

Derived Scores

How often viewer watches (the greater the score, the more watched)^{aa}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure ^{bb}	1.86 (1 = None, 2 = Some, 3 = Lots)	(400)
*Situation Comedies	1.90	(410)
*Children's Programs	2.03	(420)
*Drama	1.85	(430)

How much viewers like (the greater the score, the greater the liking)^{aa}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	2.60 (1 = None, 2 = Some, 3 = Lots)	(401)
*Situation Comedies	2.58	(411)
*Children's Programs	2.62	(421)
*Drama	2.49	(431)

How often viewer said someone (or feelings) hurt (the greater the score, the more people perceived as hurt)^{cc}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	.87 (1.00 = 1 perception of hurt/program watched)	(402)
*Situation Comedies	.12	(412)
*Children's Programs	.39	(422)
*Drama	.55	(432)

Viewer's perceptions of physical means (e.g., body, weapons, accidents) of being hurt (the greater the score, the greater the means were perceived as physical)^{dd}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	.87	(403)
*Situation Comedies	.12	(413)
*Children's Programs	.34	(423)
*Drama	.70	(433)

Viewers' perceptions of psychological means (e.g., verbal, passive aggression, indirect aggression) of being hurt (the greater the score, the greater the means were perceived as psychological)^{dd}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	.00	(404)
*Situation Comedies	.09	(414)
*Children's Programs	.00	(424)
*Drama	.03	(434)

Question/item

Percentage

Viewer's failure to understand why a person was hurt (the greater the score, the greater the lack of understanding)^{ee}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	1.60	
*Situation Comedies	.21	(405)
*Children's Programs	.29	(415)
*Drama	.91	(425)
		(435)

Viewers' emotional/attributional explanations (e.g., "angry," "criminal," "deserved it") for why someone was hurt (the greater the score the greater the emotional/attributional explanations perceived by viewers)^{ff}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	.39	
*Situation Comedies	.03	(406)
*Children's Programs	.03	(416)
*Drama	.06	(426)
		(436)

Viewers' explanations in terms of personal/"selfish" reasons (e.g., assailant wishes to gain status, money, love) why someone was hurt (the greater the score, the greater the personal reasons for assailant perceived by viewers)^{ff}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	.21	
*Situation Comedies	.04	(407)
*Children's Programs	.04	(417)
*Drama	.04	(427)
		(437)

Viewers' explanations in terms of accidents (e.g., unintentional, acts of nature) of why people were hurt (the greater the score, the greater the accidental causes of pain perceived by viewers)^{ff}:

*Crime/Crime Adventure	.11	
*Situation Comedies	.03	(408)
*Children's Programs	.12	(418)
*Drama	.46	(428)
		(438)

Percentage Data: Comparisons Among Crime/Crime Adventure, Situation Comedies, Children's Programs, & Drama

Viewers' Preferences: Programs watched most:

Crime/Crime Adventure	9%	(439)
Situation Comedies	25	
Children's Programs	33	
Drama	17	
Other (including no preferences)	16	

Viewers' Preferences: Programs liked most:

Crime/Crime Adventure	16	(440)
Situation Comedies	19	
Children's Programs	11	
Drama	8	
Three kinds of programs tied as most liked	15	
Other (including no preferences at all)	30	

Perceptions of which programs contained the most people getting hurt (or their feelings hurt), i.e., violence:

Crime/Crime Adventure	44	(441)
Situation Comedies	0	
Children's Programs	8	
Drama	7	
Crime/Crime Adventure & Drama tied for most violence	11	
Crime/Crime Adventure & Children's Programs tied for most violence	14	
Other (including no distinctions among programs)	16	

Perceptions of which programs contained the most physical means of violence:

Crime/Crime Adventure	27	(442)
Situation Comedies	0	
Children's Programs	1	
Drama	4	

Question/item	Percentage
Crime/Crime Adventure tied for most physical violence	28
Three kinds of programs tied	22
Other (including no distinctions)	18
Perceptions of which programs contained the most psychological means of violence:	
Crime/Crime Adventure	1 (443)
Situation Comedies	8
Children's Programs	0
Drama	2
Other (including no distinctions)	74

^aThe number in the extreme left column corresponds to the question number on the inventories and the questionnaire. Some percentages may not total to 100 per cent; this is due to some children not responding and/or rounding. An * indicates a derived score, one which used more than one item for its determination.

^bDerived by combining scores for watching with parents and watching with friends/siblings.

^cDerived by combining number of kinds of programs watched with how often, i.e., kinds X often.

^dDerived by combining number of kinds of aggressive programs watched with how often watched, i.e., kinds X often.

^eDerived by combining scores from mothers' and fathers' "total aggression watched."

^fDerived by (a) assigning 1 = little bit and 2 = very much for each item, (b) summing over all 27 items, and (c) dividing total points by number of items checked

27

^gFor all items (except H & J, which were the reverse), (a) assigning 1 = never . . . 7 = always, (b) summing over all 10 items, and (c) dividing total points by

number of items checked

10

^hScore based upon solutions suggested in eight situations.

ⁱAverage number of items involving all forms of aggression.

^jDerived by combining the kinds and incidence of aggression.

^kDerived by combining answers when "with parents" and "alone."

^lDerived by combining answers to the last three items in Question 8.

^mDerived by combining instances of "yelling" and "name-calling."

ⁿDerived by combining instances of "helping" and hearing people "say they were sorry."

^oDerived by combining answers to all four items.

^pDerived by combining answers to all the aggressive items.

^qDerived by combining answers to the items.

^rDerived by combining answers to the three items.

^sDerived by combining answers to the seven items.

^tDerived by combining answers to the three comparison stimuli.

^uDerived by combining answers to the two emotions.

^vDerived by combining answers to two items.

^wDerived by combining answers to 11 items.

^xDerived by combining answers to three items.

^yDerived by combining answers to four items.

^zDerived from score spontaneous answers.

^{aa}Derived scores by combining appropriate programs (see note bb) and dividing number of programs asked about by interviewer (occasionally not all programs were asked because of diminished attention-span).

^{bb}Crime/Crime Adventure programs: *Bionic Woman*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Six Million Dollar Man*, *Adam 12*, *S.W.A.T.*, *Sidestreet*, *Kojak*.

Situation Comedies: *Happy Days*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Rhoda*, *Welcome Back Kotter*, *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Phyllis*, *Good Times*.

Children's programs: *Flinstones*, *Sesame Street*, *World of Disney*, *Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Show*, *Partridge Family*, *Gilligan's Island*, *Brady Bunch*.

Drama programs: *Waltons*, *Little House on the Prairie*, *Emergency*, *Forest Rangers*, *Beachcombers*.

^{cc}Derived score reflecting the number of times someone was hurt divided by the number of shows watched for that category.

^{dd}Derived score reflecting the number of times physical or psychological aggression was used per victim.

^{ee}Derived score reflecting the number of times a viewer did not understand why the aggression occurred per victim.

^{ff}Derived score reflecting the explanations given for aggression per victim.

Table 3 presents the significant ($p < .05$) Pearson Correlation Coefficients calculated among the items in Phase I. To read this table, one merely finds the item number listed under "Positive" or "Negative Correlation" in the right-hand portion of the table and looks up the corresponding number in parentheses in Table 2. For example, the "Number of children in family" (item number 1 in Table 3) is positively and significantly correlated with item number 10 in Table 3 ("The number of working televisions in home", item number 10 in parentheses in Table 2). Or, if one desires to know all the variables significantly correlated with the "Viewer's birth order" (item number 3 in Table 3), one examines all the item numbers listed to the right of that item in Table 3 and looks up the wordings of the items in Table 2. Another example is the reverse process: if a person is interested in a variable *not* listed in the left-hand column of Table 3, e.g., whether viewers perceive "Kids on television have more friends" than themselves (item number 378 in parentheses in Table 2), one merely examines the right-hand columns in Table 3 for the item (number 378); thus, one would find item numbers 4 ("Age of viewer" translated from Table 2), 18 ("Cable television in home"), 43 ("Conflict occurs when two viewers wish to watch different programs") and so on. Thus, every significant correlation among the selected variables is listed in Table 3 and is available to the reader. When a corresponding item number is *not* present in the right-hand columns in Table 3, this indicates that it was *not* significantly correlated with the variable in the far left-hand column of the table.

The availability of all significant correlations among the selected variables listed in Table 3 enables the reader to examine each relationship in which he has interest – even relationships not discussed elsewhere in this project (e.g., Introduction, Discussion). To illustrate: if one had a "pet" hunch about the relationship between two variables, one could go to Tables 2 and 3 and test the hypotheses, e.g., if one had the hypotheses that "Parents encourage television watching to keep younger children quiet more than older children": one would look up that variable ("Reasons for encouraging") in Table 2 and determine the item number (number 69 in parentheses), and then look to see if number 69 occurred in Table 3 in either the "Positive" or "Negative Correlation" columns for item number 4 ("Age of viewer"); and indeed it does occur under the "Negative Correlation" heading – which indicates that as the age of children increases, the use of this reason for encouragement of television-watching decreases.

Table 3

Selected Significant^a Correlations Among Answers to Questions/Items in Phase I: Parents' Questionnaire, and Personal Experiences, Television Preferences and Television Perceptions Interviews

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
1. Number of Children in Family	10, 12, 14, 15, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 79, 131, 133, 135, 143, 150, 151, 153, 154, 161, 169, 173, 179, 186, 187, 188, 189, 231, 237, 284, 294, 377, 387, 402, 415, 425, 427, 430, 435	25, 29, 37, 39, 42, 78, 102, 103, 104, 126, 127, 128, 129, 160, 166, 275, 276, 303, 323, 326, 366, 371, 381, 385, 406
3. Viewer's Birth Order 1 = Oldest 2 = Next Oldest, etc.	10, 12, 14, 15, 31, 32, 35, 36, 79, 131, 150, 158, 161, 223, 229, 237, 284, 287, 294, 297, 310, 336, 365, 410, 422	25, 29, 39, 65, 102, 103, 104, 139, 235, 276, 320, 327, 350, 381, 383, 388, 406
4. Age of Viewer in Years	10, 14, 16, 20, 21, 78, 131, 132, 134, 144, 145, 146, 152, 157, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 183, 184, 185, 188, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 206, 208, 217, 221, 224, 226, 227, 228, 231, 235, 245, 249, 250, 276, 277, 279, 280, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 297, 298, 310, 311, 315, 318, 319, 320, 324, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 335, 336, 345, 346, 352, 353, 354, 355, 367, 369, 370, 372, 373, 384, 386, 387, 388, 399, 402, 403, 405, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 417, 434	65, 66, 69, 70, 73, 74, 77, 102, 129, 130, 136, 148, 149, 158, 159, 161, 187, 219, 229, 233, 239, 244, 278, 299, 304, 305, 308, 309, 313, 314, 365, 376, 378, 392, 420, 421, 430, 431, 440
5. Sex of Viewer 1 = Male 2 = Female	135, 138, 172, 187, 188, 192, 209, 237, 242, 275, 277, 312, 315, 357, 365, 410	19, 26, 28, 129, 130, 133, 150, 198, 246, 289, 310, 320, 339, 342, 344, 345, 347, 349, 350, 354, 380, 381, 390, 400, 432
6. Grades in School 1 = F's, Unsatisfactory 9 = A's	10, 11, 17, 71, 76, 146, 154, 160, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 185, 186, 200, 208, 221, 222, 226, 234, 235, 249, 279, 280, 285, 286, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 311, 320, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 335, 342, 346, 353, 355, 367, 369, 373, 381, 384, 387, 388, 390, 400, 402, 403, 410, 411, 414, 439	65, 66, 102, 129, 136, 141, 148, 149, 159, 193, 219, 233, 239, 301, 313, 391, 392, 420, 421, 430, 431, 433, 441

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
8. Socio-Economic Status of Parents 1 = Professional 2 = Skilled 3 = Semi/Unskilled	73, 104, 137, 141, 412, 414	12, 134, 244, 287, 290, 323, 326, 347, 355, 375
9. Marital Status of Parents 1 = Single 2 = Married	30, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 103, 104, 125, 126, 127, 137, 138, 147, 163, 174, 185, 228, 234, 239, 244, 245, 300, 306, 351, 356, 365, 366, 369, 381, 388, 390, 397	13, 21, 66, 81, 129, 133, 135, 139, 177, 201, 415, 425
10. Number of Working Televisions in Home	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 32, 35, 37, 41, 69, 81, 102, 103, 104, 125, 126, 132, 139, 168, 174, 175, 185, 189, 191, 198, 221, 239, 329, 335, 353, 354, 355, 386, 393, 410, 415, 425	19, 65, 66, 67, 129, 154, 166, 201, 301, 304, 308, 368 375, 381, 440
16. Television Located in Child-Viewer's Bedroom 1 = No 2 = Yes	125, 126, 127, 133, 134, 142, 145, 146, 175, 177, 198, 218, 221, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 234, 329, 332, 335, 340, 341, 353, 354, 367, 368, 385, 401, 402, 403, 410, 413, 426, 433	19, 23, 24, 31, 33, 65, 66, 67, 143, 158, 167, 187, 215, 235, 244, 304, 308, 310
18. Cable Television in Home 1 = No 2 = Yes	26, 34, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 68, 74, 78, 80, 81, 102, 103, 104, 132, 144, 146, 148, 153, 177, 192, 193, 216, 222, 227, 232, 233, 238, 279, 280, 285, 287, 293, 302, 306, 329, 341, 342, 345, 346, 350, 354, 355, 378, 379, 384, 387, 400, 401, 410, 411, 413, 415, 422, 423, 425, 426, 441	19, 24, 66, 130, 135, 138, 154, 156, 159, 166, 172, 235, 315, 319, 339, 394, 497, 407, 419, 430, 431, 433
19. How Often Parents Discourage Television Watching 1 = Never 2 = Occasionally 3 = Often	34, 40, 65, 66, 67, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166, 205, 228, 235, 304, 339, 357	103, 104, 125, 126, 127, 135, 143, 145, 146, 149, 151, 153, 174, 175, 185, 187, 222, 279, 319, 335, 373, 391, 392, 397, 400, 442, 443

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
28. Number of Reasons for Discouraging Television-Watching	32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 65, 66, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 129, 133, 152, 157, 159, 161, 167, 173, 178, 182, 183, 197, 204, 205, 235, 247, 249, 333, 334, 349, 354, 356, 357, 386, 393, 410, 427, 430, 435, 437	76, 105, 107, 130, 168, 187, 189, 200, 231, 232, 237, 282, 292, 314, 370, 372
29. Viewer Eats While Watching Television 1 = No 2 = Occasionally 3 = Often	31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 72, 102, 104, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 154, 193, 213, 214, 218, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 233, 245, 246, 249, 290, 314, 317, 319, 326, 327, 328, 330, 336, 346, 348, 356, 370, 375, 379, 381, 384, 385, 393, 395, 402, 412, 413, 414	65, 66, 67, 131, 135, 146, 147, 179, 186, 201, 408, 415, 420, 421, 425, 430, 431, 435, 443
30. Watching Distance from Television Set 1 = 1 - 3 Feet 2 = 3 - 6 Feet 3 = 6 -10 Feet 4 = 10+ Feet	38, 70, 76, 103, 125, 126, 127, 130, 137, 171, 174, 181, 185, 220, 247, 293, 300, 311, 351	67, 81, 133, 140, 143, 151, 153, 155, 167, 189, 194, 236, 281, 282, 315, 350, 375, 376, 379, 391, 399, 405, 406, 415, 425, 426, 432, 433, 435
43. Conflict When Two Viewers Wish to Watch Different Programs	138, 144, 147, 158, 162, 163, 164, 190, 191, 233, 242, 243, 248, 287, 290, 300, 312, 324, 333, 341, 356, 369, 373, 375, 378, 379, 388, 405, 406, 417	70, 75, 131, 133, 136, 140, 141, 150, 172, 207, 208, 209, 211, 237, 240, 289, 310, 337, 342, 382, 391, 399, 421, 440, 442, 443
65. Crime/Crime Adventure Programs Deemed Inappropriate for Children by Parents	155, 156, 159, 162, 164, 228, 301, 304, 313, 420, 426, 431, 433	73, 74, 79, 80, 103, 104, 125, 126, 127, 128, 139, 144, 150, 151, 152, 169, 175, 176, 177, 180, 184, 186, 189, 201, 203, 206, 219, 226, 227, 231, 238, 243, 246, 285, 286, 290, 291, 292, 311, 318, 320, 321, 323, 329, 331, 332, 335, 345, 346, 353, 368, 372, 373, 390, 400, 401, 410, 411

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
66. Total Aggressive Programs Deemed Inappropriate for Children by Parents	136, 155, 159, 162, 186, 228, 301, 304, 312, 420, 421, 430, 433	73, 74, 79, 80, 103, 104, 125, 126, 127, 128, 144, 150, 151, 152, 169, 172, 175, 177, 180, 184, 189, 203, 219, 221, 222, 226, 227, 232, 238, 246, 283, 285, 286, 287, 291, 292, 311, 318, 321, 323, 329, 331, 335, 336, 348, 353, 366, 368, 370, 372, 373, 378, 400, 401, 410, 411, 442
67. Average Number of Programs Deemed Inappropriate by Parents	148, 149, 155, 156, 159, 163, 167, 192, 222, 236, 304, 317, 384, 390, 395, 396, 433, 437, 438	68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 76, 103, 104, 125, 126, 127, 130, 168, 176, 202, 242, 243, 300, 311, 345, 400, 401
68. How Often Parents Encourage Television-Watching 1 = Never 2 = Occasionally 3 = Often	130, 218, 233, 234, 238, 240, 249, 303, 366, 383, 401, 423, 426	135, 140, 144, 153, 163, 167, 172, 236, 350, 351, 416
77. Number of Reasons for Encouraging Television-Watching	79, 80, 81, 102, 103, 104, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 136, 140, 148, 149, 233, 244, 308, 376, 383, 390, 406, 420, 427	138, 145, 165, 200, 284, 286, 288, 290, 294, 297, 315, 327, 333, 372, 377, 410, 411, 412, 413, 438
80. "Socialness" of Television Viewing	81, 102, 103, 104, 126, 128, 149, 175, 182, 185, 247, 300, 329, 335, 387, 436	135, 164, 165, 196, 217, 228, 230, 282, 291, 298, 304, 347, 349, 352, 355, 377, 381, 438
81. Use of Television as "Background Noise"	102, 103, 104, 129, 143, 144, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 189, 203, 216, 376, 378, 379, 380, 398, 413, 415, 425, 427	130, 154, 156, 159, 160, 165, 166, 179, 223, 225, 289, 319, 320, 348, 381, 414, 431
102. Amount of Television Watched by Mother	125, 126, 129, 139, 143, 148, 151, 153, 233, 238, 244, 247, 296, 378, 381, 400, 401, 421, 431, 442	134, 138, 160, 178, 179, 192, 199, 208, 217, 235, 237, 286, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 297, 298, 310, 319, 352, 353, 354, 370, 372, 377

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
103. Number of Aggressive Programs Watched by Mother	125, 126, 127, 132, 143, 144, 148, 149, 151, 187, 222, 226, 227, 242, 244, 277, 305, 318, 321, 323, 324, 331, 335, 341, 348, 369, 378, 383, 400, 401, 402, 410, 411, 412, 414, 421, 428, 431, 432, 440, 441	179, 199, 237, 291, 294, 315, 384, 415, 425
104. Total Aggression Watched by Mother	125, 126, 132, 139, 143, 148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 187, 193, 222, 233, 244, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 321, 323, 325, 331, 348, 356, 383, 400, 401, 411, 412, 414, 421, 428, 431, 432, 441, 442	137, 178, 179, 208, 298, 310, 347, 352, 355, 377, 384
125. Amount of Television Watched by Father	130, 131, 137, 187, 230, 233, 305, 314, 319, 331, 345, 350, 381, 395	135, 139, 141, 143, 177, 199, 201, 211, 216, 217, 282, 327, 341, 375, 391, 400, 415, 425, 430
126. Number Aggressive Programs Watched by Father	181, 187, 221, 226, 233, 249, 305, 319, 323, 331, 345, 350, 367, 369, 381, 390, 395, 414, 421, 423	135, 177, 199, 201, 211, 215, 216, 217, 282, 287, 341, 391, 425, 430, 439
127. Total Aggression Watched by Father	181, 187, 233, 276, 279, 280, 281, 305, 314, 319, 350, 381, 390	139, 201, 287, 313, 327, 330, 341, 375, 391, 398, 400, 415, 425, 430, 439
128. Total Aggression Watched by Mother and Father	157, 222, 305, 314, 323, 331, 336, 401, 412, 413, 416, 421, 428	170, 174, 175, 177, 185, 197, 211, 216, 217, 230, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 297, 298, 299, 310, 320, 327, 330, 377, 411, 443
129. Activity Level of Viewer	130, 133, 141, 143, 144, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155, 157, 158, 159, 161, 167, 198, 203, 207, 219, 227, 229, 233, 236, 238, 244, 246, 248, 276, 305, 345, 380, 396, 405, 433, 440, 442	174, 175, 180, 181, 184, 185, 186, 235, 237, 289, 293, 311, 321, 331, 386, 391

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
130. Introversion- Extroversion	141, 232, 233, 234, 240, 247, 319, 322, 339, 381, 385, 396, 421	140, 163, 167, 192, 235, 236, 293, 335, 346, 350, 352, 354, 386, 405, 425, 435
133. Physical Aggression as Solution to Problems Suggested by Viewer	142, 143, 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 193, 195, 197, 198, 203, 204, 206, 207, 233, 243, 246, 249, 294, 310, 332, 345, 346, 350, 354, 378, 380, 387, 395, 396, 401, 420, 421, 422, 423, 430, 431, 441	137, 138, 139, 147, 181, 235, 242, 311, 315, 320, 327, 330, 331, 351, 356, 357, 369, 370, 372, 397, 438
134. Verbal Aggression as Solution to Problems Suggested by Viewer	142, 153, 165, 176, 177, 178, 180, 183, 184, 195, 196, 206, 207, 220, 221, 222, 224, 226, 227, 231, 246, 249, 275, 276, 279, 286, 289, 290, 291, 293, 311, 323, 326, 329, 330, 331, 335, 339, 340, 342, 345, 346, 352, 353, 354, 355, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 372, 373, 384, 391, 397, 399, 410, 411, 416, 434	137, 139, 168, 187, 242, 421, 430, 431
135. Passive Aggression as Solution to Problems Suggested by Viewer	172, 196, 216, 275, 276, 280, 281, 285, 310, 312, 317, 332, 335, 373, 410, 411, 430, 431, 437, 443	137, 138, 148, 168, 185, 191, 210, 241, 299, 314, 349, 376, 379, 381, 385
136. Indirect Aggression as Solution to Problems Suggested by Viewer	148, 149, 214, 216, 237, 254, 278, 281, 299, 305, 308, 309, 313, 421, 440	137, 138, 144, 145, 146, 147, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 185, 199, 200, 208, 218, 221, 224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 234, 235, 238, 243, 245, 248, 249, 252, 280, 285, 286, 289, 290, 291, 294, 298, 311, 315, 319, 327, 328, 330, 332, 333, 335, 340, 346, 349, 354, 367, 369, 372, 373, 387, 388, 400, 402, 403, 407, 410, 411, 422, 435, 438
137. Constructive Solutions to Problems Suggested by Viewer	147, 168, 176, 177, 194, 200, 235, 241, 286, 289, 314, 351, 381, 386, 388, 403, 405, 407, 417, 418, 435, 438	138, 139, 151, 156, 161, 167, 195, 196, 206, 209, 211, 222, 232, 244, 282, 287, 305, 337, 350, 380, 401, 408, 430

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
140. Total Aggressive Solutions to Problems Suggested by Viewer	142, 149, 153, 166, 167, 178, 192, 195, 196, 204, 206, 207, 216, 222, 237, 242, 249, 277, 275, 279, 288, 301, 304, 305, 310, 313, 317, 345, 346, 347, 350, 353, 354, 355, 373, 387, 391, 396, 408	147, 168, 179, 181, 185, 210, 315, 351, 435, 438
151. Total Use of Aggression by Viewer	152, 153, 155, 157, 161, 163, 167, 175, 180, 184, 188, 189, 195, 197, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 213, 216, 221, 222, 226, 227, 236, 246, 247, 249, 324, 329, 332, 333, 335, 336, 341, 347, 355, 367, 373, 376, 378, 379, 380, 387, 388, 390, 392	154, 160, 168, 292
166. Overall Positive Emotions of Viewer	167, 193, 204, 207, 245, 297, 308, 323, 331, 338, 346, 347, 348, 355, 356, 368, 372, 374, 385, 401, 402, 403, 406, 411, 431, 432, 433, 435, 438	181, 222, 241, 399, 415
167 Overall Negative Emotions of Viewer	173, 182, 193, 195, 196, 197, 205, 206, 207, 208, 212, 214, 215, 216, 241, 275, 276, 281, 282, 304, 305, 308, 312, 322, 327, 328, 330, 341, 344, 347, 349, 353, 354, 355, 357, 365, 371, 376, 378, 379, 384, 387, 391, 392, 395, 396, 401, 402, 403, 405, 408, 411, 416, 421, 423, 427, 428, 432, 438	168, 240, 292, 293
172. Positive Parent Relationship	187, 188, 200, 223, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 293, 294, 297, 298, 310, 311, 324, 330, 335, 366, 367, 382, 386, 387, 388, 394, 406, 410, 411, 413, 416	191, 192, 197, 198, 233, 282, 304, 350, 376, 423, 426, 432, 433, 435, 437, 438
182. Seen Physical Aggression in Real Life	183, 184, 185, 186, 208, 294, 297, 315, 332, 334, 335, 349, 392, 399, 405, 421, 430	201, 209, 211, 212, 214, 217, 239, 251, 275, 278, 311, 340, 371, 411

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
183. Seen Verbal Aggression in Real Life	185, 186, 199, 208, 221, 224, 226, 227, 235, 245, 283, 285, 286, 288, 289, 291, 302, 306, 315, 320, 322, 323, 325, 327, 328, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 346, 355, 367, 373, 375, 376, 379, 384, 387, 388, 399, 402, 403, 410, 411, 430	187, 192, 201, 209, 211, 215, 275, 278, 282, 305, 313, 421
184. Seen Passive Aggression in Real Life	185, 195, 199, 200, 202, 206, 207, 208, 210, 213, 216, 217, 221, 222, 224, 226, 227, 231, 234, 248, 250, 276, 280, 283, 286, 290, 298, 311, 320, 322, 324, 327, 328, 330, 335, 342, 343, 352, 353, 354, 367, 369, 377, 386, 387, 388, 391, 392, 410, 411, 428	187, 244, 292, 374
185. Seen Indirect Aggression in Real Life	186, 191, 192, 200, 207, 208, 221, 223, 224, 226, 227, 235, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 293, 294, 297, 302, 306, 320, 322, 323, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 341, 353, 361, 367, 368, 373, 386, 387, 390, 392, 399, 407, 410, 411, 413, 422, 423, 432	214, 239, 278, 281, 282
194. Overall Attractiveness of Criminal Activities	195, 206, 275, 289, 304, 314, 333, 345, 352, 354, 390, 407	223, 232, 238, 378, 384, 386
206. Overall Attractiveness of Real Life Aggression	207, 216, 217, 221, 234, 236, 239, 245, 246, 249, 285, 290, 295, 296, 329, 332, 340, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 368, 370, 371, 372, 384, 385, 388, 390, 399, 400, 401, 404, 414, 417, 419, 434, 437	421
207. Amount of Pretend Victimization	208, 212, 213, 216, 219, 220, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 232, 236, 238, 246, 249, 250, 279, 290, 299, 301, 302, 303, 304	237, 242, 316

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
	306, 307, 308, 310, 313, 320, 326, 328, 329, 330, 332, 339, 341, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 365, 366, 367, 368, 370, 372, 373, 376, 381, 382, 384, 387, 390, 391, 392, 395, 396, 402, 403, 411, 412, 413, 416, 422, 427, 432, 436	
208. Amount of Sensitization	213, 215, 219, 220, 221, 223, 225, 226, 227, 230, 234, 238, 241, 249, 252, 276, 286, 291, 293, 311, 312, 313, 320, 327, 328, 330, 332, 340, 341, 348, 351, 357, 365, 367, 375, 377, 379, 381, 382, 384, 386, 387, 392, 395, 402, 403, 407, 410, 412, 413, 414, 416	239, 281, 321
225. Social Motives for Watching Television	226, 233, 238, 243, 245, 247, 249, 283, 286, 287, 291, 298, 300, 302, 306, 318, 320, 323, 326, 328, 329, 330, 332, 335, 339, 340, 341, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 372, 373, 375, 379, 380, 384, 385, 387, 390, 391, 392, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 410, 411	228, 308, 309, 313, 415, 425, 431
226. Non-social motives for Watching Television	230, 231, 232, 234, 238, 246, 247, 249, 252, 255, 276, 279, 284, 285, 287, 289, 290, 291, 298, 302, 306, 310, 311, 317, 318, 319, 320, 322, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 335, 336, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, 347, 349, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 372, 373, 375, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391, 393, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 410, 411, 413, 416, 420, 434	228, 308, 309, 313, 415, 425, 431

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
235. Use of Books as Sources for Information	319, 320, 327, 328, 330, 353, 367, 369, 373, 386, 399, 407	236, 237, 238, 239, 278, 281, 282, 295, 299, 313, 340, 380, 382, 401, 420, 421
238. Use of Television as Source for Information	249, 277, 279, 284, 285, 287, 294, 302, 304, 305, 306, 332, 333, 335, 337, 339, 340, 349, 351, 354, 356, 357, 366, 368, 370, 371, 380, 381, 383, 385, 387, 399, 401, 402	272, 407
240. Number of Friends of Viewer	287, 288, 297, 298, 319, 320, 325, 330, 347, 353, 367, 373, 375, 376, 380, 391, 394, 395, 406	244, 245, 302, 308, 312, 378, 405, 408, 419, 425, 427, 428, 435, 438
276. Sexual stereotyping: Females are "Smarter"	277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 301, 303, 304, 307, 310, 317, 319, 328, 330, 335, 346, 348, 357, 365, 367, 369, 370, 371, 385, 397, 402, 406, 410, 412	313, 389
277. Sexual Stereotyping: Females are "More Exciting"	278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 286, 289, 297, 303, 307, 311, 321, 328, 348, 357, 365, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 382, 383, 385, 387, 406, 410, 412, 413, 414, 417, 426, 438	378, 420
278. Sexual stereotyping: Females Hurt More People	279, 280, 281, 282, 299, 301, 303, 307, 344, 371	287, 288, 290, 300, 318, 321, 323, 325, 326, 327, 331, 353, 367, 373, 379, 384, 387, 390, 393, 399, 401, 403
280. Sexual stereotyping: Females Help More People	281, 282, 286, 289, 290, 291, 298, 303, 307, 321, 328, 331, 335, 346, 348, 356, 357, 365, 368, 369, 372, 375, 388, 402, 405, 412, 416	313, 316, 378, 381, 421, 436
281. Sexual Stereotyping: Females Get Hurt More	282, 301, 303, 304, 307, 310, 315, 336, 369, 371, 372, 406	284, 287, 318, 321, 323, 327, 331, 339, 367, 377, 399

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
283 Sexual Stereotyping: Females Make More Mistakes	303, 304, 307, 315, 365, 366, 368, 370, 371, 372, 385, 391, 397	283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 291, 318, 323, 325, 331, 334, 339, 367, 381, 388
306. Positive Feelings While Watching Favourite Program	328, 329, 334, 335, 346, 351, 355, 356, 357, 365, 366, 367, 373, 382, 384, 387, 391, 392, 399, 401, 402, 410, 411, 413, 420	316, 371, 377, 381
307. Negative Feelings While Watching Favourite Program	317, 320, 332, 350, 352, 354, 357, 366, 368, 370, 371, 372, 379, 391, 392, 395, 396, 432, 434	314
310. Television Solutions to Problems: Physical Aggression	317, 320, 324, 332, 336, 338, 342, 343, 345, 346, 349, 353, 354, 367, 384, 398	313, 314, 315, 316, 321, 334, 351, 356, 420, 437
311. Television Solutions to Problems: Verbal Aggression	317, 318, 320, 322, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 335, 340, 342, 343, 346, 352, 353, 355, 367, 373, 377, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 397, 400, 402, 403, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 416, 417, 434	312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 420, 421, 430, 431
312. Television Solutions to Problems: Passive Aggression	317, 343, 387, 404, 420, 431	316, 376, 379, 393
313 Television Solutions to Problems: Indirect Aggression	325, 360, 374, 378, 379, 420, 421, 430, 431	315, 318, 328, 332, 333, 335, 367, 373, 384, 388, 400, 410, 435
314. Television Solutions to Problems: Constructive	326, 351, 365, 377, 379, 427, 431	315, 316, 317, 318, 329, 332, 333, 336, 353, 391, 398, 410, 411
330. Perception of Aggressive Characteristics in Television Characters	331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 341, 342, 343, 346, 347, 353, 354, 355, 357, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371, 372, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 384, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391, 392, 395, 397, 398, 399, 400, 402, 403, 410, 414, 433, 438	421

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
336. Total Perception of Crime on Television	339, 342, 349, 352, 353, 354, 368, 372, 388, 391, 400, 401, 410, 412, 413	365, 366
339. Perception of Consequences for Criminals on Television	367, 369, 376, 381, 385, 388, 395, 416	386, 425
340. Perception that Criminals Like Jail	351, 366, 370, 382, 383, 385, 387, 388, 392, 401, 402, 404, 408, 412, 428, 434	381, 415, 425
342. Viewer Prefers "Fast" Programs	345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 354, 355, 367, 368, 369, 372, 381, 382, 384, 386, 390, 397, 411	420, 425, 430, 431, 435
344. Perception of Rehabilitation of Criminals	346, 347, 349, 353, 355, 366, 369, 374, 375, 376, 381, 392, 400, 408, 413, 422, 428	415, 426
354. Violent Behaviour	355, 363, 368, 369, 370, 372, 373, 375, 379, 380, 382, 384, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391, 392, 398, 400, 401, 402, 403, 411, 413, 414, 422	420
356. Pro-social Behaviours Enjoyed on Television	357, 365, 368, 369, 371, 372, 373, 375, 379, 381, 382, 383, 385, 390, 391, 392, 401, 402, 403, 411, 431, 438	415, 425
357. Number of Things on Television That Frighten Viewers	365, 368, 372, 387, 391, 392, 393, 397, 398, 416, 426, 430, 434	
363. Viewers Watch Frightening Contents	366, 368, 369, 372, 373, 375, 376, 379, 386, 387, 388, 391, 392, 393, 396, 402, 403, 412, 413, 416, 417	425

Question/item correlated with:	Question/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
365. Number of Ways to Avoid Frightening Contents	366, 368, 369, 371, 372, 384, 391, 392, 397, 398, 411, 420, 421, 430, 434	413, 415
368. Viewer Likes Being Scared	369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 381, 384, 385, 387, 388, 390, 391, 392, 393, 400, 401, 402, 403, 408, 411, 412, 413, 422, 423, 426, 434	415, 425
372. Number of Emotions of Viewer While Watching Television	373, 375, 376, 379, 381, 382, 384, 385, 387, 388, 390, 391, 392, 397, 398, 403, 404, 411, 412, 413, 419, 422, 434	431, 433, 436
373. Viewer Talks with Friends About Television Contents	381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 410, 411, 432, 434, 438	
379. Viewer Negative Self-evaluations	381, 385, 392, 393, 398, 422, 437	410
386. Ability to Guess Next Events on Programs	387, 388, 390, 399, 402, 403, 410, 411, 423, 428, 437	430, 431
387. Recalling Past Transgressions	390, 391, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 410, 411, 413, 416, 422, 423	
388. Preference for Loud Volume	402, 403, 405, 410, 411, 412, 413, 418, 423, 434	
390. Blaming Television	395, 396, 402, 403, 404, 407, 410, 437	415, 425, 434
391. Dreams About Television Contents	392, 393, 397, 398, 401, 406, 410, 411, 420, 421, 430	407, 414, 415
392. Nightmares about Television Contents	395, 396, 397, 398, 400, 420, 421, 430	437

Question/item correlated with	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
393. Viewer Believes Watches Too Much Television	394, 395, 397, 398	415, 425, 437
395. Viewer Believes Learns Things on Television That Should Not	396, 398, 413, 426, 436	415
400. Crime/Crime Adventure: How Often Watch	401, 402, 403, 405, 406, 410, 411, 413, 430, 438	
401. C/CA: How Much Liked	402, 403, 408, 411, 420, 421, 422, 423, 428, 430, 431, 432	415, 417, 436
402. C/CA: Victims Perceived Victims Perceived	403, 405, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 420, 422, 423, 432, 433, 435, 438	
403. C/CA: Physical Violence	405, 406, 407, 408, 410, 411, 412, 413, 422, 423, 432, 433, 435, 438	404
404. C/CA: Psychological Violence	414	420, 431
405. C/CA: Lack of Understanding	406, 407, 410, 412, 414, 415, 416, 417, 425, 426, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438	421
406. C/CA: Emotional Motives	434	407, 408
407. C/CA: Personal Motives	414, 416, 418, 427, 433, 435, 438	408
408. C/CA: Accidental	423, 425, 428, 432, 433, 435, 436	
410. Situation Comedies: How Often Watched	411, 412, 413, 416, 418	421, 431
411. Sitcom: How Much Liked	413, 422, 423, 428, 430	415
412. Sitcom: Victims Perceived	413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 422, 423, 426, 428, 432, 433, 434, 435, 438	

Question/item correlated with:	Question/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
413. Sitcoms: Physical Violence	415, 416, 417, 418, 423, 426	430
414. Sitcoms: Psychological Violence	415, 416, 417, 418, 432, 434	421
415. Sitcoms: Lack of Understanding	416, 417, 418, 425, 426, 434, 435	421
416. Sitcoms: Emotional Motives	418, 423	
417. Sitcoms: Personal Motives	423, 426, 434, 435, 437, 438	420, 421
418. Sitcoms: Accidental	432, 435, 438	421
420. Children's Programs: How Often Watched	421, 422, 423, 428, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 436	
421. CP: How Much Liked	422, 423, 428, 430, 431, 433	
422. CP: Victims Perceived	423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 432, 433, 435	
423. CP: Physical Violence	425, 426, 427, 428, 431, 432, 433, 435, 438	
424. CP: Psychological Violence		
425. CP: Lack of Understanding	426, 427, 428, 435	
426. CP: Emotional Motives	435, 437, 438	
427. CP: Personal Motives	432, 435, 436	
428. CP: Accidental	432, 433, 435, 438	
430. Drama: How Often Watched	431, 433, 435, 438	
431. D: How Much Liked	432, 433, 438	

Question/item correlated with:	Questions/items Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
432. D: Victims Perceived	433, 434, 435, 436, 438	
433. D: Physical Violence	435, 436, 437, 438	434
434. D: Psychological Violence	437	
435. D: Emotional Motives	436, 437, 438	
436. D: Personal Motives		438
437. D: Accidental	438	

^a“Significant” refers to $p < .05$, using the Pearson Correlation Coefficient ($N = 308$). The following item numbers were not correlated with other items because: (a) they were components of items, i.e., repetitious; or (b) the correlations would be uninterpretable: 43–64, 82–101, 105–124, 251–274, 309, 316, 337–338, 343, 358–364, 374, 389, 394, 439–443.

Phase II. The descriptive data for viewers participating in Phase II, “Television Reactions” to actual programs, are presented in Table 4. As in Table 2, the numbers in parentheses at the extreme right indicate the item numbers which were subsequently analyzed.

Table 5 presents the items that produced significant differences ($p < .05$) among the children watching Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies. The group averages for each item and the p values are also presented. These differences were initially tested using analyses of variance; and when overall significant F 's were found, the followup tests for differences among the groups was performed using the Student Neuman-Keuls procedure. Included in Table 5 are also items which produced differences approaching significance ($.10 > p > .05$) in the analyses of variance. Table 6 presents the items, p -values and group averages which resulted in significant differences between children watching Crime Adventure and Cartoons; also included were the items which produced differences that approached significance.

Table 7 presents the significant correlations among responses to questions/items before and after seeing an actual program (combining all viewers in Phase II). This table is identical in structure and usage with Table 3 in Phase I.

Phase I and Phase II. The significant correlations for selected variables in Phase I and reactions (effects) to television programs in Phase II are presented in Table 8. The structure and usage of this table are identical with those of Tables 3 and 7.

Table 4

Descriptive Data for Viewers Giving Responses in Phase II ("Television Reactions") for Each Type of Program^a

Question/item	Crime Percentages	Drama	Sit. Com.	Crm. Adv.	Cartoon	
Before program: How do you feel?						
Happy	75 ^b	75	58	67	67	(2)
Little Happy	21	17	38	17	33	
Little Sad	04	08	04	08	0	
Sad	0	0	0	0	0	
Tired	17	25	17	8	17	(3)
Little Tired	38	25	25	42	17	
Not Tired	46	50	58	50	67	
Excited	33	42	21	33	33	(4)
Little Excited	38	42	54	25	25	
Not Excited	29	16	25	33	42	
After presentation of program:						
1. ^c Have you seen this program before?						
No	62	42	71	42	33	(5)
Yes	38	58	29	58	58	
3. Did the program:						
Make you laugh?						
No	54	46	17	25	42	(6)
Yes—little	42	54	54	58	42	
Yes—lot	4	0	29	8	8	
Scare you?						
No	83	88	100	83	91	(7)
Yes—little	17	8	0	17	0	
Yes—lot	0	4	0	0	0	
Make you feel tired?						
No	62	46	71	42	75	(8)
Yes—little	13	46	29	50	17	
Yes—lot	4	8	0	8	0	
Make you feel sad?						
No	88	71	92	83	92	(9)
Yes—little	12	25	8	8	0	
Excite you?						
No	29	33	38	25	42	(10)
Yes—little	29	58	38	50	50	
Yes—lot	42	8	25	25	0	
Make you feel angry?						
No	92	88	83	91	92	(11)
Yes—little	4	12	12	0	0	
Yes—lot	4	0	4	0	0	
Make you feel happy?						
No	37	29	33	25	17	(12)
Yes—little	46	58	38	67	75	
Yes—lot	17	12	29	8	0	
Surprise you?						
No	62	67	42	50	50	(13)
Yes—little	33	29	42	50	25	
Yes—lot	4	4	17	0	17	

Question/item	Crime Percentages	Drama	Sit. Com.	Crm. Adv.	Cartoon	
* ^d Average number of "yeses" to feelings of "laugh," "happy" & "excited": (3 is maximum)	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.2	1.8	(14)
*Average number of "yeses" to feelings of "scared" & "angry": (2 is maximum)	.2	.3	.2	.2	.0	(15)
Does this make you think about something?						
No	71	79	62	75	50	(16)
Yes	29	21	33	25	42	
Does this really happen?						
No	25	50	50	75	75	(17)
Yes	71	46	46	17	8	
4. Would you like to see this program again?						
No	46	54	21	50	33	(18)
Yes	54	42	79	50	58	
*Average number of people perceived as hurt on program: (4 is maximum)	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.2	1.2	(19)
5. Perceiving the person(s) hurt as:						
* ^c 1 or more						
Smart	58	58	46	58	42	(116)
Rich	8	8	12	33	17	(117)
Strong	54	71	42	42	50	(118)
Do anything wrong	71	67	54	67	42	(119)
Exciting	62	46	42	42	42	(120)
Happy	38	42	42	58	50	(121)
Shows how feels inside	50	62	54	58	42	(122)
Gentle/kind	67	79	54	58	33	(123)
Likes people	75	83	50	67	50	(124)
Likes to hurt people	33	12	17	58	17	(125)
Brave	54	71	50	50	58	(126)
Would like to meet	58	62	58	50	42	(127)
* ^e Perceiving the person(s) hurt on program as doing:						
Nothing	8	17	21	17	25	(128)
Being incapacitated, dead	46	17	0	17	17	(129)
Showing pain, feelings	25	33	29	42	25	(130)
Leaving, running away	17	8	12	8	8	(131)
Calling for help	4	0	0	0	0	(132)
Reconciliating, negotiating	12	12	4	8	8	(133)
Verbally retaliating	0	0	17	0	0	(134)
Physically retaliating	4	4	0	8	0	(135)
* ^e Perceiving who hurt person on program:						
Family member	4	17	25	0	25	(136)
A friend	29	42	46	42	25	(137)
Someone in an official role (e.g., military, police)	25	8	8	33	0	(138)
A stranger	33	8	8	17	8	(139)
An act of nature	0	12	0	0	8	(140)
* ^e Perceiving consequences to assailant on program for hurting person:						
No consequences	42	54	58	50	33	(142)
Consequences but unknown	8	12	4	0	8	(143)
Legal (e.g., arrest, jail)	42	0	0	17	0	(144)
Physical (e.g., killed, hit, shot)	21	12	0	17	8	(145)
Psychological-verbal (e.g., scolding)	0	0	8	0	0	(146)
Psychological-withdrawal (e.g., fewer privileges, lower status)	0	12	0	0	0	(147)
Psychological-emotional (e.g., guilt, remorse)	0	0	0	8	17	(148)

Question/item	Crime Percentages	Drama	Sit. Com.	Crm. Adv.	Cartoon	
*Viewer feelings associated with consequences to assailant:						
Happy	42	17	4	25	8	(149)
Excited	25	8	4	8	17	(150)
Afraid	8	4	0	0	0	(151)
Tired	17	0	0	0	0	(152)
Angry	4	0	4	0	0	(153)
Surprised	17	4	4	8	8	(154)
Sad	4	0	4	0	0	(155)
*Average number of "yeses" to feelings of "happy" and "excited" combined: (2 is maximum)	.7	.2	.1	.3	.2	(156)
*Average number of "yeses" to feelings of "afraid" and "angry": (2 is maximum)	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	(157)
6. Believing that police in real life are:						
Strong	96	100	100	92	92	(158)
Get hurt	92	100	92	92	100	(159)
Happy	92	92	88	92	75	(160)
Smart	96	100	96	100	100	(161)
Exciting	79	88	88	67	75	(162)
Hurt people	83	58	83	92	83	(163)
Do some things wrong	67	62	58	42	75	(164)
Help people	96	100	100	100	100	(165)
Believing that criminals in real life are:						
Strong	71	96	96	92	100	(166)
Get hurt	96	96	100	100	92	(167)
Happy	62	46	42	50	50	(168)
Smart	46	67	42	58	58	(169)
Exciting	71	62	67	17	50	(170)
Hurt people	96	96	100	92	100	(171)
Do some things wrong	96	100	100	100	83	(172)
Help people	12	8	12	17	8	(173)
7. Believing that "our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in."	21	33	33	42	33	(174)
Believing that "most killers get caught by the police."	92	96	88	83	83	(175)
Believing that "being a criminal is sometimes exciting."	29	25	42	33	33	(176)
Believing that "criminals know that they hurt people."	96	92	96	83	75	(177)
Believing that "criminals like being chased by the police."	4	4	8	8	25	(178)
Believing that "burglars/thieves like to steal."	83	83	92	100	83	(179)
Believing that "criminals are afraid of going to jail."	88	88	67	83	83	(180)
Believing that "most robbers get caught by the police."	88	100	92	75	83	(181)
Believing that "criminals are afraid of the police."	83	79	71	83	100	(182)
*Average criminal stereotype score: (9 is maximum)	4.8	5.0	4.8	5.1	4.9	(183)
8. Perceptions of why criminals shoot people:						
Emotional motives, e.g., like to hurt	12	17	12	8	8	(184)
Rational motives, e.g., keep people from calling police	79	79	83	83	75	

Question/item	Crime Percentages	Drama	Sit. Com.	Crm. Adv.	Cartoon	
9. Perception of crime in Calgary every week:						
Modal number of shootings:	1.	1	5.	0.	10.	(185)
Modal number of robberies:	5.	1	10.	50.	5.	(186)
Modal number of fights:	10.	5.	5.	1	5.	(187)
10. Perception of easiest way to get money:						
Rob store	42	8	33	50	17	(188)
Work	54	92	67	50	75	
Perception of easiest way to hurt feelings and make person angry: (4 is maximum) ^a						
* Hit person	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.2	(195)
* Call person names	2.0	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.3	(196)
* Don't talk to person	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.7	1.6	(197)
11. Program viewer would like to see next:						
Crime/Crime Adventure	25	38	50	17	25	(198)
Drama	17	17	0	0	25	
Situation Comedy	46	29	42	58	42	
Cartoon	8	12	8	25	8	
12. Sensitization						
Being scared "when you go outside after dark."	75	62	75	75	92	(199)
Wanting to own a real gun.	17	21	29	17	17	(200)
Believing sometimes "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	96	75	88	92	50	(201)
Wanting to learn karate or kung fu.	79	46	83	83	25	(202)
Parents lock doors when leave home.	100	100	96	100	100	(203)
Putting your bicycle away at night "so that someone won't steal it."	88	92	96	92	67	(204)
Believing that "your parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house."	25	17	29	33	17	(205)
Hiding money "so that someone won't steal it."	79	71	71	58	67	(206)
Sometimes thinking "someone is following you."	75	75	71	58	67	(207)
Feeling safe "when you see a policeman."	83	88	75	100	75	(208)
Parents locking doors before "you go to sleep."	100	92	92	92	92	(209)
*Total sensitization score ^b : (11 is maximum)	7.2	6.5	7.3	6.2	5.9	(210)
13. Interest in guns:						
Play with toy guns	88	88	83	92	75	(211)
Have shot real guns	62	42	38	58	25	(212)
Own a real gun	8	4	12	8	8	(213)
*Total interest in guns score ^c : (3 is maximum)	1.6	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.1	(214)
14. Solutions to violent situations ^d :						
* Physical aggression	.1	.0	.3	.1	.0	(215)
* Psychological aggression	.3	.4	.1	.6	.5	(216)
* Non-aggressive intervention	1.6	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.7	(217)
* Non-intervention	.8	1.0	.8	.8	.8	(218)

Question/item	Crime Percentages	Drama	Sit. Com.	Crm. Adv.	Cartoon	
15. If a burglar is breaking into someone's house, is it all right for the owner to shoot the burglar?	42	21	42	17	25	(220)
16. Aggressive Attitudes/dispositions: Believing that:						
Police should carry guns	100	96	96	100	100	(221)
All criminals should be punished	96	96	92	100	100	(222)
People should have guns in homes to protect themselves	58	25	50	42	50	(223)
There are just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong	8	17	12	33	17	(224)
In capital punishment	67	46	54	83	50	(225)
If someone hits a person, that person should hit back	46	38	38	50	33	(226)
If someone hurts a person's feelings, he should have his feelings hurt back	33	38	67	42	42	(227)
*Total aggressive attitude score ^k : (21 is maximum)	14.6	13.5	14.5	14.6	14.3	(228)
17. Solutions for conflict situations: Suggesting (4 is maximum)						
* Physical aggression	.1	.0	.1	.1	.0	(229)
* Psychological aggression	.0	.2	.3	.3	.2	(230)
* Cooperation	3.0	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.9	(231)
* Intervention by others	.1	.1	.9	.2	.1	(232)
* Leave situation, no solution	.6	1.0	.7	.2	.8	(233)
*Total aggressive solutions: (4 is maximum)	.1	.2	.4	.6	.2	(234)
18. Total pretending score: (4 is maximum)	2.3	1.5	2.3	1.1	1.2	(235)
19. Use of aggression in the last week:						
* Hitting someone	33	58	62	67	50	(236)
* Yelling	75	75	88	67	58	(237)
* Name calling	29	62	67	33	50	(238)
* Telling how feel inside	25	21	50	8	58	(239)
* Tattling	50	21	62	42	42	(240)
* Hurt feelings	25	50	46	8	42	(241)
*Total aggression score ^m :	8.6	8.5	10.2	8.3	8.7	(242)
Being victimized in the last week ^l :						
* Being hit	38	79	75	58	75	(243)
* Being yelled at	67	75	83	58	67	(244)
* Being called names	50	71	67	58	58	(245)
* Being told how someone feels inside	46	25	33	17	42	(246)
* Being told on	38	25	62	42	33	(247)
* Having feelings hurt	21	29	50	58	25	(248)
*Total victimization score ^m :	8.9	9.3	10.3	8.8	8.8	(249)

^aCrime programs were *Adam 12*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *S.W.A.T.*, *Streets of San Francisco*; Drama were *Emergency*, *The Waltons*, *Little House on the Prairie*, *Beachcombers*; Situation Comedies were *All in the Family*, *Excuse my French*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Happy Days*; Crime Adventure programs were *Bionic Woman*, *Six Million Dollar Man*; and Cartoons were *Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Show*, *Flintstones*. There were 24 viewers per category of Crime, Drama and Situation Comedies; 12 viewers per category of Crime Adventure and Cartoons. Any number in this table with a decimal point is not a percentage, but an average score.

^bIf the total percentage does not sum up to 100 per cent, this is due to some children's not responding and/rounding.

^cThe number in the extreme left-hand column of table coincides with the question number on the "Television Reactions" inventory.

^dAn * indicates a derived score, one which used more than one item for its determination.

^ePercentage of viewers indicates that one or more persons were perceived as possessing this characteristic.

^fDerived by combining answers to seven items.

^gDerived score by combining answers in two situations.

^hDerived by combining answers to 11 items.

ⁱDerived by combining answers to three items.

^jDerived by combining answers to three situations.

^kDerived by combining answers to seven items.

^lPercentage of viewers indicating that they had used this behaviour at least once in the last week.

^mDerived by combining the appropriate items for aggression or victimization.

Table 5

Significant^a Results in the Comparisons among Children Viewing Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies, Phase II: Television Reactions

Question/item	Averages Crime		Drama		Sit-Coms
1. Did the program make you laugh? (p = .001)	1.5	=	1.5	<	2.1
2. ^b Was the person who was hurt or had his/her feelings hurt in the program gentle/kind? (p = .011)	.9	=	1.3	>	.6
3. Did the person who was hurt or had his/her feelings hurt in the program like people? (p = .011)	1.0	=	1.4	>	.6
4. When the person was hurt, did she/he die or become incapacitated? (p = .003)	.6	>	.2	=	0
5. When the person was hurt, did she/he verbally aggress afterwards? (p = .013)	0	=	0	<	.2
6. Was the assailant who hurt the person a stranger? (p = .02)	.4	>	.1	=	.1
7. Was the person hurt by an act of nature? (p = .04)	0		0		.1 ^c
8. How was the assailant punished—by involvement with the legal system? (p = .001)	.6	>	0	=	0
9. How was the assailant punished—through the psychological means of withdrawal (of prestige, privileges, status)? (p = .043)	0		.1		0 ^c
10. How viewer felt when assailant punished—happy? (p = .003)	.5	>	.2	=	0
11. How viewer felt when assailant punished—tired? (p = .002)	.2	>	0	=	0
12. How viewer felt when assailant was punished—combined happy and excited? (p = .008)	.7	>	.2	=	.1
13. Are criminals in real life strong? (p = .009)	1.7	<	2.0	=	2.0
14. What is the easiest way to get money: rob a store or work? (the lower the score, the greater the preference for robbing, p = .011)	1.5	<	1.9	=	1.7 ^d
15. What is the easiest way to hurt a person's feelings: Hit or call names or don't talk to him? (score reflects "hits" as easiest; p = .045)	1.4 (1.4 < 1.8)		1.6		1.8 ^e
16. Would you like to learn karate or kung fu (or have already learned)? (p = .007)	1.8	>	1.4	<	1.8
17. If someone hurts a person's feelings, should he have his feelings hurt back? (p = .043)	1.6	1.8 (1.6 < 2.3)	2.3 ^e		

Question/item	Averages Crime		Drama	Sit-Coms
18. Do you ever pretend being hurt, angry, etc. when you are not really? ($p = .036$)	2.3	1.4	2.3 ^c	
19. In the last week, how many times have you told someone how you feel inside? ($p = .045$)	1.2	1.3	1.8 ^c	

Results Approaching Significance^f in the Comparisons among Children
Viewing Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies

1. Did the program make you sad? ($p = .088$)	1.1	1.3	1.1
2. Did the program surprise you? ($p = .089$)	1.4	1.4	1.8
3. ^b Was the person who was hurt or had his/her feelings hurt in the program strong? ($p = .084$)	.7	1.0	.5
4. Was the person who was hurt or had his/her feelings hurt in the program brave? ($p = .067$)	.8	1.1	.6
5. How was the assailant punished—physically, e.g., killed, hit, shot? ($p = .070$)	.2	.1	0
6. How viewer felt when assailant was punished—surprised? ($p = .076$)	.3	0	0
7. Viewer reactions to real-life violence—physical aggression preference ^g ($p = .054$)	.1	0	.3
8. Should people have guns in their homes to protect themselves? ($p = .067$)	1.9	1.4	1.8
9. In the last week, how many times have you tattled on someone? ($p = .063$)	1.8	1.2	1.8

^a"Significant" refers to statistically significant differences among the three groups of viewers (one group for each kind of program, i.e., Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies) at, at least, the .05 level, i.e., the difference among groups is such that it would be expected to occur no more than five per cent of the time by chance. Thus, p -values will be presented and indicate the probability of the difference occurring by chance, e.g., $p = .012$ indicates that the difference would be expected to occur at a chance level 1.2 per cent of the time. When a significant difference was obtained among the three groups, follow-up, pairwise comparisons were made using the Student Newman-Keuls procedure (using the .05 level of significance) to determine which of the groups were significantly different from the others. P -values less than .001 are presented as .001.

The "greater than" (>) and "less than" (<) signs among the group averages indicate the direction of significant differences. Each group contained 24 viewers, with each group being equated in terms of number of programs shown (4), number of each sex and same-aged children and teenagers. There were many results which were meaningful and important by virtue of the *lack* of statistical differences among the three groups; the use of the word "significant" will not be used to describe such results, and these are not reported in this table.

The wording of the questions/items may not correspond to the exact wordings in the Television Reactions interview; this is done simply to make the questions more readable and to shorten for the purposes of this table.

^bResults 2–12 refer to composite scores derived over all persons in the programs being perceived as hurt or their feelings hurt.

^cAlthough the overall analysis of variance for the three groups yielded a significant difference, the subsequent follow-up, pairwise comparisons revealed no significant differences between each possible pair combination. This occasionally occurs and is due to differences in "power" of the statistical procedures.

^dThe pair combinations of Crime/Situation Comedies and Drama/Situation Comedies were not statistically different.

^eThe pair combinations Crime/Drama and Drama/Situation Comedies were not statistically different, but the Crime/Situation Comedies were significantly different.

^fResults which did not reach the .05 level of significance, with the p -value being between .05 and .10. These are reported since the number of viewers in each group was small, the experimental control was unknown, and the variability among viewers considerable. These factors (and others) result in analyses of variance being less powerful in detecting "real" differences; therefore, a less stringent requirement for significance may be used.

^gA composite score derived from three open-ended questions which were scored for physical aggression, psychological aggression, nonaggressive intervention (e.g., call for help, tell to stop) and non-intervention. This was from Question 14. The score reported is for physical aggression as a solution to the situation posed, e.g., "If you saw a kid stealing a candy bar, what would you do?"

Table 6

Significant^a Results in the Comparisons among Children Viewing Crime Adventure and Cartoons, Phase II: Television Reactions

Question/item	Averages Crime-Adv.		Cartoons
1. Did the program make you tired? ($p = .024$)	1.7	>	1.1
2. ^b Does the person who was hurt or had his/her feelings hurt in the program like to hurt people? ($p = .036$)	.6	>	.2
3. Was the assailant who hurt the person acting in an official role, e.g., police, military? ($p = .028$)	.3	>	0
	.3	>	0
4. Do you ever think there is a burglar trying to get into your house? ($p = .024$)	1.9	>	1.5
5. Would you like to learn karate or kung fu (or have already learned)? ($p = .003$)	1.8	>	1.2
6. In the last week, how many times have you told someone how you feel inside? ($p = .008$)	1.1	<	1.6
7. In the last week, how many times have you hurt someone's feelings? ($p = .035$)	1.0	<	1.6

Results Approaching Significance^c in the Comparisons among Children Viewing Crime Adventure and Cartoons

1. Did the program scare you? ($p = .088$)	1.2	.9
2. Did the program excite you? ($p = .055$)	2.0	1.4
3. ^d Was the assailant who hurt the person a family member? ($p = .090$)	0	.3
4. Are criminals in real life exciting? ($p = .090$)	1.2	1.5
5. Do you feel safe when you see a policeman? ($p = .069$)	2.0	1.8
6. Have you ever shot a real gun? ($p = .055$)	2.2	1.3

^aSignificant refers to statistically significant difference between the two groups of viewers (one group for each kind of program, Crime Adventure and Cartoons) at, at least, the .05 level of significance. Each group contained 12 viewers, with each group being equated in terms of number of programs shown (2), number of each sex and same-aged children and teenagers.

^bResults 2-3 refer to composite scores derived over all persons in the programs being perceived as hurt or their feelings hurt.

^cResults which did not reach the .05 level of significance, with p -values being between .05 and .10. A less stringent requirement for significance is particularly useful in the comparisons between viewers of Crime, Adventure, and Cartoons, since the number of viewers (12/group) is quite small.

^dResult 3 refers to a composite score derived over all persons in the programs being perceived as hurt or their feelings hurt.

Table 7

Significant^a Correlations Among Answers to Selected Questions/Items in Phase II: "Television Reactions"

Question/item	Correlation
A. Degree of feeling "happy" <i>before</i> viewing program, correlated with:	
1. Total amount of feeling "happy," "excited" and laughing <i>during</i> program, e.g., Did the program make you laugh, feel happy, feel excited?	+ .275 (p = .003)
2. When the person on the program was hurt, did he/she leave or run away?	+ .178 (p = .042)
3. Perception of assailant who hurt person on the program as a "stranger."	+ .221 (p = .015)
4. Perceiving assailant as receiving consequences but not knowing how.	+ .353 (p = .001)
5. Believing that police in real life do things wrong.	+ .175 (p = .044)
6. Believing that being a criminal is sometimes "exciting."	+ .170 (p = .049)
7. Believing that criminals are afraid of going to jail.	+ .188 (p = .033)
8. Criminal stereotype score ^b .	+ .200 (p = .027)
9. Being scared "when you go outside alone after dark."	-.191 (p = .031)
10. Wanting "to learn karate or kung fu (or already learned)."	+ .236 (p = .010)
11. Believing "sometimes someone is following you."	-.208 (p = .021)
12. Suggesting psychologically aggressive solutions for conflict situations. ^c	+ .279 (p = .003)
13. Believing that "police should carry guns."	-.351 (p = .001)
14. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	-.200 (p = .028)
B. Degree of "feeling excited" <i>before</i> viewing program, correlated with:	
1. Degree of feeling "happy" and "excited" and laughing <i>during</i> program. ^d	-.240 (p = .009)
2. Total amount of feeling "scared" and "angry" <i>during</i> program. ^e	-.218 (p = .016)
3. Perception that person hurt on program was "exciting."	-.187 (p = .034)
4. When person on the program was hurt, did he/she show feelings, e.g., pain, anger?	-.179 (p = .040)
5. Believing that police in real-life are "smart."	-.187 (p = .034)
6. "exciting."	-.229 (p = .013)
7. Believing that criminals in real-life "do things wrong."	-.175 (p = .044)
8. How many shootings are there every week here in Calgary?	-.171 (p = .048)
9. Being "scared when you go outside alone after dark."	-.194 (p = .029)
10. Believing sometimes "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	-.283 (p = .003)
11. Believing that sometimes "someone is following you."	-.174 (p = .045)
12. Feeling "safe when you see a policeman."	-.323 (p = .001)
13. Total sensitization score. ^f	-.288 (p = .002)
14. Employing non-aggressive intervention strategies in violent situations.	-.304 (p = .001)
15. Non-intervention in violent situations. ^g	.330 (p = .001)
16. Use of name-calling aggression "in the last week."	.171 (p = .048)
17. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	-.319 (p = .001)
C. Degree of feeling "happy" and "excited" and laughing <i>during</i> program, ^d correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person hurt on program as "incapacitated or dead."	-.185 (p = .035)
2. Perceiving that when the person on the program was hurt, he/she physically retaliated, e.g., hit, shot?	-.176 (p = .043)
3. Believing that police in real life are "strong."	.210 (p = .020)
4. "exciting."	.173 (p = .044)

Question/item	Correlation
5. "help people."	.208 (p = .021)
6. Believing that criminals in real life are "strong."	.197 (p = .027)
7. Being scared "when you go outside alone after dark."	.405 (p = .001)
8. Believing sometimes "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	.170 (p = .049)
9. Believing that "your parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house."	.190 (p = .032)
10. Hiding "money so that someone won't steal it."	.198 (p = .027)
11. Believing that "sometimes someone is following you."	.174 (p = .045)
12. Feeling "safe when you see a policeman."	.205 (p = .023)
13. Total sensitization score. ^f	+ .239 (p = .010)
14. Employing physical aggression in violent situations.	.177 (p = .042)
15. Employing psychological aggression in violent situations. ^e	-.185 (p = .036)
16. Use of yelling aggression "in the last week."	.193 (p = .030)
17. Having someone confide in viewer (tell feelings) "in the last week."	-.189 (p = .033)
D. Degree of feeling "scared" and "angry" <i>during</i> program correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on the program. ^h	.169 (p = .050)
2. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "rich."	-.177 (p = .042)
3. "strong."	.234 (p = .011)
4. "doing something wrong."	.257 (p = .006)
5. "exciting."	.246 (p = .008)
6. "gentle/kind."	.268 (p = .004)
7. "liking people."	.180 (p = .040)
8. Perceiving that when the person on program was hurt, he/she physically retaliated.	+ .211 (p = .019)
9. Perceiving that someone in an official role (e.g., police, military) hurt person(s) on the program	.203 (p = .024)
10. Believing that police in real life are "exciting."	.170 (p = .049)
11. Believing that criminals in real life are "exciting."	.260 (p = .005)
12. Believing that "our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in."	.177 (p = .042)
13. Believing that "criminals are afraid of going to jail."	.70 (p = .049)
14. How many shootings are there every week here in Calgary?	+ .212 (p = .019)
15. How many fights are there every week here in Calgary?	+ .217 (p = .017)
16. What is the easiest way to hurt a person's feelings and make him/her angry? Hit, Call names or Don't talk (score reflects name-calling).	+ .207 (p = .021)
17. Putting your bicycle away at night "so that someone won't steal it."	.179 (p = .041)
18. Believing that "your parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house."	.211 (p = .019)
19. Non-intervention in violent situations. ^e	-.180 (p = .039)
20. Believing in capital punishment.	.241 (p = .009)
21. Use of yelling aggression "in the last week."	.171 (p = .048)
22. Having someone confide in viewer (tell feelings) "in the last week."	.178 (p = .041)
E. Degree to which viewer would like to meet the person(s) perceived as hurt on program correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on the program. ^h	.597 (p = .001)
2. Perceiving the person(s) hurt on program as "smart."	.501 (p = .001)
3. "strong."	.451 (p = .001)

Question/item	Correlation
4. "does something wrong."	.433 (p = .001)
5. "exciting."	.360 (p = .001)
6. "happy."	.429 (p = .001)
7. "shows how feels inside."	.405 (p = .001)
8. "gentle/kind."	.380 (p = .001)
9. "likes people."	.456 (p = .001)
10. "likes to hurt people."	.352 (p = .001)
11. "brave."	.461 (p = .001)
12. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as doing nothing.	.296 (p = .002)
13. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as showing feelings, e.g., pain, anger.	+ .383 (p = .001)
14. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program attempting to discuss, reconcile, negotiate.	+ .312 (p = .001)
15. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program verbally retaliating, e.g., yell, call names.	+ .188 (p = .033)
16. Perceiving the assailant who hurt person as a friend.	+ .374 (p = .001)
17. Perceiving no consequences to assailant for hurting person(s) on program.	.275 (p = .003)
18. Perceiving the assailant as receiving consequences but not knowing how.	.241 (p = .009)
19. Believing that criminals in real life are "smart."	.234 (p = .011)
20. "exciting."	.240 (p = .009)
21. Believing that "most killers get caught by the police."	.174 (p = .045)
22. Believing that "criminals are afraid of going to jail."	.171 (p = .048)
23. Being "scared when you go outside alone after dark."	.194 (p = .029)
24. Not knowing how to solve conflict situations. ¹	.201 (p = .025)
25. Degree to which viewer felt "happy" and "excited" when assailant received consequences. ¹	+ .335 (p = .001)
26. Degree to which viewer felt "afraid" and "sad" when assailant received consequences. ¹	+ .182 (p = .038)
27. What is the easiest way to hurt a person's feelings and make him/her angry? Hit, Call names or Don't talk? (Score reflects viewer's use of name-calling.)	+ .212 (p = .019)
F. Degree to which viewer perceived person(s) hurt on program as showing feelings correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on program. ^h	.462 (p = .001)
2. Perceiving the person(s) on program as "smart."	.295 (p = .002)
3. "strong."	.323 (p = .001)
4. "does something wrong."	.493 (p = .001)
5. "exciting."	.242 (p = .009)
6. "happy."	.391 (p = .001)
7. "shows how feels inside."	.341 (p = .001)
8. "gentle/kind."	.295 (p = .002)
9. "likes people."	.338 (p = .001)
10. "likes to hurt people."	.186 (p = .035)
11. "brave."	.364 (p = .001)
12. Viewer would like to meet.	.383 (p = .001)
13. Perceiving assailant who hurt the person as a friend.	+ .506 (p = .001)
14. Perceiving no consequences to assailant for hurting person(s) on program	.379 (p = .001)

Question/item	Correlation
15. Perceiving assailant receiving verbal consequences, e.g., scolded, told off.	+ .246 (p = .008)
16. Degree to which viewer felt "happy" and "excited" when assailant received consequences.	+ .185 (p = .036)
17. How many fights are there every week here in Calgary?	+ .237 (p = .010)
18. Suggesting that persons cooperate in conflict situations. ^c	.180 (p = .040)
19. Use of name-calling aggression "in the last week."	-.183 (p = .037)
G. Degree to which viewer perceived person(s) hurt on program as leaving or running away correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on the program.	.232(p = .011)
2. Perceiving the person(s) hurt on program as "strong."	.232 (p = .012)
3. "does something wrong."	.258 (p = .006)
4. "happy."	.201 (p = .025)
5. "show how feels inside."	.315 (p = .001)
6. "likes to hurt people."	.194 (p = .029)
7. "brave."	.277 (p = .003)
8. Perceiving that someone in an official role (e.g., police, military) hurt person(s) on the program.	.275 (p = .003)
9. Perceiving person hurt on program physically retaliating, e.g., hit, shoot.	+ .311 (p = .001)
10. Perceiving assailant who hurt the person as a friend.	+ .204 (p = .023)
11. Perceiving assailant receiving psychological consequences through feelings, e.g., guilt, remorse.	+ .204 (p = .023)
12. Believing that police in real life "do some things wrong."	.215 (p = .018)
13. Believing that "being a criminal is sometimes 'exciting'."	.173 (p = .046)
14. Hiding money "so that someone won't steal it."	.231 (p = .012)
15. Total sensitization score. ^f	+ .216 (p = .017)
16. Degree of interest and attitudes about guns. ^k	+ .209 (p = .021)
17. Employing non-aggressive intervention strategies in violent situations. ^e	-.185 (p = .036)
18. Believing that if "someone hits a person, that person should hit back."	.202 (p = .024)
H. Degree to which viewer perceived person(s) hurt on program as calling for help correlated with:	
1. Perceiving assailant as a friend of person hurt.	.180 (p = .040)
2. Perceiving assailant as receiving consequences but not knowing how.	.302 (p = .001)
3. Degree to which viewer felt "happy" and "excited" when assailant received consequences.	+ .252 (p = .007)
4. Perception of "how many fights are there every week here in Calgary."	+ .210 (p = .020)
5. Believing that "your parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house."	.183 (p = .037)
6. Degree of total aggressive dispositions. ^l	+ .215 (p = .018)
7. Believing that "there are just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong."	.246 (p = .008)
8. Suggesting that other people should intervene (or help) in conflict situations.	.302 (p = .001)
9. Do you ever pretend being hurt, angry, etc. when you are not really?	+ .177 (p = .042)
10. Use of name-calling aggression "in the last week."	.204 (p = .023)
11. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	.274 (p = .003)
12. Use of hurting someone's feelings aggression "in the last week."	.315 (p = .001)
13. Degree of total aggression score. ^m	+ .229 (p = .012)
14. Being victimized through being yelled at.	.169 (p = .050)

Question/item	Correlation
I. Degree to which viewer perceived person(s) hurt on program as attempting to discuss, reconcile, and/or negotiate with assailant correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on program.	.240 (p = .009)
2. Perceiving the person(s) hurt on program as "smart."	.193 (p = .030)
3. "does some things wrong."	.172 (p = .047)
4. "exciting."	.183 (p = .038)
5. "likes people."	.266 (p = .004)
6. "brave."	.244 (p = .008)
7. Viewer would like to meet.	.312 (p = .001)
8. Perceiving assailant receiving psychological consequences through feelings, e.g., guilt, remorse.	+ .236 (p = .010)
9. Degree to which viewer felt "afraid" and "sad" when assailant punished. ^a	+ .246 (p = .008)
10. Believing that criminals in real life are "strong."	-.201 (p = .025)
11. Believing that "criminals like being chased by the police."	-.176 (p = .043)
12. How many shootings are there every week here in Calgary?	-.223 (p = .014)
13. How many fights are there every week here in Calgary?	-.211 (p = .020)
J. Degree to which viewer perceived person(s) on program as verbally retaliating correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "shows how feels inside."	.290 (p = .002)
2. Viewer would like to meet.	.188 (p = .033)
3. Perceiving no consequences to assailant for hurting persons on program.	.326 (p = .001)
4. Perceiving assailant receiving verbal consequences, e.g., scolding, telling off.	+ .202 (p = .024)
5. Believing that "most killers get caught by the police."	-.201 (p = .025)
6. Feeling "safe when you see a policeman."	-.186 (p = .034)
7. Believing that "all criminals should be punished."	-.286 (p = .002)
K. Degree to which viewer perceived person(s) on program as physically retaliating correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "smart."	.205 (p = .023)
2. "brave."	.256 (p = .006)
3. Perceiving that someone in an official role (e.g., police, military) hurt person(s) on program.	.235 (p = .011)
4. Perceiving no consequences to assailant for hurting persons on program.	.178 (p = .042)
5. Degree to which viewer felt "happy" and "excited" when assailant received consequences.	+ .175 (p = .044)
6. Believing that "all criminals should be punished."	-.213 (p = .019)
7. Having someone confide in viewer (tell feelings) "in the last week."	.227 (p = .013)
L. Degree to which viewer perceived assailant on program as a family member correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on program. ^b	.264 (p = .005)
2. Perceiving the person(s) hurt on program as "smart."	.266 (p = .004)
3. "rich."	.339 (p = .001)
4. "happy."	.285 (p = .002)
5. "shows how feels inside."	.182 (p = .038)
6. "gentle/kind."	.280 (p = .003)
7. "likes people."	.312 (p = .001)
8. Perceiving no consequences to assailant for hurting persons on program.	.331 (p = .001)
9. Perceiving assailant receiving psychological consequences through feelings, e.g., guilt, remorse.	+ .305 (p = .001)

Question/item	Correlation
10. Believing that police in real life are "exciting."	-.196 (p = .028)
11. Believing that "criminals are afraid of police."	-.250 (p = .007)
12. What is the easiest way to hurt a person's feelings and make him angry? Hit, Call names, or Don't talk (score reflects viewer's use of hits).	+.172 (p = .047)
13. Employing nonaggressive intervention strategies in violent situations. ^e	.203 (p = .024)
14. Noninterference in violent situations. ^e	-.211 (p = .020)
15. Believing sometimes "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	-.179 (p = .041)
16. Parents locking doors before going to sleep.	-.289 (p = .002)
17. Believing that "if someone hurts a person's feelings, that person should have his feelings hurt back."	.200 (p = .025)
M. Degree to which viewer perceived assailant on program as a friend correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on program. ^h	.565 (p = .001)
2. Perceiving the person(s) hurt on program as "smart."	.456 (p = .001)
3. "strong."	.470 (p = .001)
4. "does some things wrong."	.376 (p = .001)
5. "exciting."	.279 (p = .003)
6. "happy."	.347 (p = .001)
7. "show how feels inside."	.386 (p = .001)
8. "gentle/kind."	.433 (p = .001)
9. "likes people."	.439 (p = .001)
10. "likes to hurt people."	.226 (p = .013)
11. "brave".	.381 (p = .001)
12. Viewer would like to meet.	.374 (p = .001)
13. Perceiving person who was hurt on program as "incapacitated or dead."	.232 (p = .011)
14. Perceiving no consequences to assailant for hurting persons on program.	.347 (p = .001)
15. Perceiving assailant as receiving legal consequences (e.g., arrest, jail).	.244 (p = .008)
16. Perceiving assailant receiving physical consequences, e.g., killed, hit, shot.	+.294 (p = .002)
17. Perceiving assailant receiving verbal consequences, e.g., scolding, telling off.	+.224 (p = .014)
18. Degree to which viewer felt "happy" and "excited" when assailant received consequences. ^j	+.268 (p = .004)
19. Degree to which viewer felt "afraid" and "sad" when assailant received consequences. ^j	+.292 (p = .002)
20. Believing that police in real life are "smart."	-.224 (p = .014)
21. "exciting."	-.187 (p = .034)
22. "help people."	-.213 (p = .018)
23. Believing that criminals in real life are "strong."	-.227 (p = .013)
24. "help people."	-.171 (p = .048)
25. What is the easiest way to hurt a person's feelings and make him angry? Hit, Call names, Don't talk (score reflects hits).	-.171 (p = .048)
26. Believing sometimes "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	.208 (p = .021)
27. Degree of interest and attitudes about guns. ^k	+.258 (p = .006)
28. Suggesting physical aggression as a solution for conflict situations. ^c	.182 (p = .038)
29. Suggesting that persons cooperate in conflict situations. ^c	.168 (p = .050)
30. Believing that "there are just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong."	-.173 (p = .046)
31. Being victimized through name-calling "in the last week."	.201 (p = .025)

Question/item	Correlation
N. Degree to which viewer perceived assailant as receiving physical consequences—e.g., killed, shot, hit—correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on program. ^h	.305 (p = .001)
2. Perceiving the person(s) hurt on program as “smart.”	.357 (p = .001)
3. “rich.”	.182 (p = .038)
4. “strong.”	.188 (p = .033)
5. “exciting.”	.277 (p = .003)
6. “gentle/kind.”	.318 (p = .001)
7. “likes people.”	.360 (p = .001)
8. “brave.”	.199 (p = .026)
9. Perceiving person who was hurt on program as “incapacitated or dead.”	.307 (p = .001)
10. Perceiving assailant as a friend of hurt person.	.348 (p = .001)
11. Degree to which viewer felt “happy” and “excited” when assailant received consequences. ^j	+ .447 (p = .001)
12. Degree to which viewer felt “afraid” and “sad” when assailant received consequences. ^j	+ .210 (p = .020)
13. Believing that police in real life are “strong.”	-.204 (p = .023)
14. “smart.”	-.240 (p = .009)
15. “help people.”	-.285 (p = .002)
16. Believing that criminals in real life are “strong.”	-.256 (p = .006)
17. “do some things wrong.”	-.204 (p = .023)
18. Believing that “criminals know they hurt people.”	-.276 (p = .003)
19. Believing that “burglars like to steal.”	-.221 (p = .015)
20. Perception of how many robberies there are every week in Calgary.	-.211 (p = .020)
21. Perception of how many fights there are every week in Calgary.	-.181 (p = .038)
22. Employing psychological aggression (e.g., verbal, passive) in violent situations. ^e	-.176 (p = .044)
23. Putting away bicycle at night “so that someone won’t steal it.”	-.179 (p = .041)
24. Believing “all criminals should be punished.”	-.1834 (p = .037)
O. Degree to which viewer perceived assailant as receiving verbal consequences (e.g., scolded, yelled at), correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as “strong.”	.178 (p = .041)
2. “shows how feels inside.”	.179 (p = .042)
3. Degree to which viewer felt “happy” and “excited” when assailant received consequences. ^j	+ .271 (p = .004)
4. Degree to which viewer felt “afraid” and “sad” when assailant received consequences. ⁿ	+ .382 (p = .001)
5. Believing that criminals in real life help people.	.230 (p = .012)
6. Believing “our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in.”	.200 (p = .025)
7. Believing that “being a criminal is sometimes exciting.”	.196 (p = .028)
8. Perception of how many shootings there are every week in Calgary.	+ .198 (p = .026)
9. Perception of how many robberies there are every week in Calgary.	+ .208 (p = .021)
10. Believing “most robbers get caught by the police.”	-.193 (p = .030)
11. Non-intervention in violent situations. ^e	.210 (p = .020)
12. Believing that “all criminals should be punished.”	-.267 (p = .004)
13. Use of “hurting someone’s feelings” as aggression “in the last week.”	.257 (p = .006)

Question/item	Correlation
P. Degree to which viewer perceived assailant as receiving psychological consequences through withdrawal (e.g., of prestige, privileges), correlated with:	
1. If viewer saw program before.	.180 (p = .040)
2. If viewer thought things seen on program really happen.	.187 (p = .034)
3. Degree to which viewer felt "afraid" and "sad" when assailant received consequences. ⁿ	+ .227 (p = .013)
Q. Degree to which viewer perceived assailant as receiving psychological consequences through feelings (e.g., guilt, shame, remorse), correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on program.	.219 (p = .016)
2. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "smart."	.364 (p = .001)
3. "rich."	.261 (p = .005)
4. "strong."	.180 (p = .039)
5. "shows how feels inside."	.179 (p = .041)
6. "likes people."	.253 (p = .006)
7. What is the easiest way to hurt a person's feelings and make him angry? Hit, Call names, or Don't talk (score reflects hits)	+ .187 (p = .034)
8. Employing psychological aggression (e.g., verbal, passive) in violent situations. ^e	.277 (p = .003)
R. Degree to which viewer felt "happy" and "excited" when assailant received consequences, correlated with:	
1. Number of people perceived as hurt on program. ^h	.398 (p = .001)
2. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "smart."	.412 (p = .001)
3. "rich."	.170 (p = .048)
4. "strong."	.246 (p = .008)
5. "exciting."	.354 (p = .001)
6. "happy."	.230 (p = .012)
7. "shows how feels inside."	.260 (p = .005)
8. "gentle/kind."	.319 (p = .001)
9. "likes people."	.332 (p = .001)
10. "brave."	.393 (p = .001)
11. Viewer would like to meet.	.335 (p = .001)
12. Perceiving person hurt on program as "doing nothing."	.204 (p = .023)
13. Perceiving assailant as a friend of person hurt.	.460 (p = .001)
14. Perceiving assailant as receiving legal consequences (e.g., arrest, jail).	.410 (p = .001)
15. Degree to which viewer felt "afraid" and "sad" when assailant received consequences. ⁿ	+ .228 (p = .013)
16. Believing that "criminals are afraid of police."	.202 (p = .024)
17. Criminal stereotype score. ^b	.185 (p = .035)
18. Wanting to own real gun.	-.185 (p = .035)
19. Use of "hurting someone's feelings" as aggression "in last week."	.184 (p = .036)
S. Degree to which viewer felt "afraid" and "sad" when assailant received consequences, correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "strong."	.219 (p = .016)
2. "exciting."	.218 (p = .017)
3. Viewer would like to meet person hurt.	.182 (p = .038)
4. Perceiving assailant as receiving legal consequences (e.g., arrest, jail).	.216 (p = .017)
5. What is the easiest way to hurt a person's feelings and make him angry? Hit, Call names, or Don't talk? (Score reflects name-calling.)	+ .182 (p = .038)

Question/item	Correlation
6. Degree of interest and attitudes about guns. ^k	+ .194 (p = .029)
7. Suggesting physical aggression as a solution for conflict situations. ^c	.250 (p = .007)
T. Perception of how many shootings there are in Calgary every week, correlated with:	
1. If viewer had seen program before.	-.183 (p = .037)
2. Perceiving person hurt on program as "doing nothing."	-.173 (p = .046)
3. Believing that police in real life are "smart."	.243 (p = .009)
4. "exciting."	.217 (p = .017)
5. "do some things wrong."	-.226 (p = .013)
6. "help people."	.231 (p = .012)
7. Believing that criminals are "exciting."	.196 (p = .028)
8. Believing that "our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in."	.359 (p = .001)
9. Believing "burglars like to steal."	.241 (p = .009)
10. Believing "most robbers get caught by the police."	.170 (p = .048)
11. Criminal stereotype score ^b	.221 (p = .015)
12. Perceiving how many robberies there are every week in Calgary.	+ .482 (p = .001)
13. Perceiving how many fights there are every week in Calgary.	+ .494 (p = .001)
14. Employing psychological aggression (e.g., verbal, passive) in violent situations. ^c	.177 (p = .042)
15. Suggesting that other people should intervene (or help) in conflict situations. ^c	.230 (p = .010)
16. Degree of aggressive solutions score. ^o	+ .174 (p = .045)
17. Believing that "police should carry guns."	.171 (p = .048)
18. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	.171 (p = .048)
19. Being victimized through name-calling.	-.173 (p = .046)
U. Perception of how many robberies there are in Calgary every week, correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "brave."	-.241 (p = .009)
2. Believing that police in real life are "smart."	.277 (p = .002)
3. "help people."	.250 (p = .007)
4. Believing that criminals in real life "help people."	.242 (p = .009)
5. Believing that "our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in."	.206 (p = .022)
6. Believing that "being a criminal is sometimes exciting."	.194 (p = .029)
7. Believing that "criminals know that they hurt people."	.245 (p = .008)
8. Believing that "criminals like being chased by the police."	.189 (p = .032)
9. Perceiving how many fights there are every week in Calgary.	+ .607 (p = .001)
10. Suggesting no solution or leaving conflict situation.	-.212 (p = .019)
V. Perception of how many fights there are in Calgary every week, correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "shows how he/she feels inside."	.183 (p = .037)
2. Perceiving that someone in an official role (e.g., police, military) hurt the person(s) on program.	.186 (p = .035)
3. Believing that police in real life are "strong."	.207 (p = .021)
4. "help people."	.238 (p = .010)
5. Believing that criminals in real life are "exciting."	.182 (p = .038)
6. Believing that "most killers get caught by the police."	.177 (p = .042)
7. Believing that "criminals know that they hurt people."	.253 (p = .006)
8. Believing that "burglars like to steal."	.303 (p = .001)

Question/item	Correlation
9. Employing psychological aggression (e.g., verbal, passive) in violent situations. ^e	.233 (p = .011)
10. Sometimes thinking "someone is following you."	.173 (p = .046)
11. Feeling "safe when you see a policeman."	-.218 (p = .017)
12. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	.191 (p = .031)
13. Being victimized through name-calling "in the last week."	-.174 (p = .049)
14. Having someone confide in viewer (tell feelings) "in the last week."	.176 (p = .043)
W. Degree of aggressive disposition in ease of hurting feelings and angering people through hitting, ^p correlated with:	
1. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "rich."	.196 (p = .028)
2. "hurts people."	-.254 (p = .006)
3. Believing that police in real life are "strong."	.288 (p = .002)
4. "smart."	.192 (p = .030)
5. "help people."	.270 (p = .004)
6. Believing that criminals in real life "help people."	.187 (p = .034)
7. "do some things wrong."	.235 (p = .011)
8. Parents locking "doors when you leave home."	.270 (p = .004)
9. Parents locking doors before "you go to sleep."	-.271 (p = .004)
10. Believing that "there are just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong."	.214 (p = .018)
11. Being victimized through being hit "in the last week."	-.228 (p = .013)
12. Being victimized through having feelings hurt "in the last week."	.238 (p = .010)
X. Degree of aggressive disposition in ease of hurting feelings and angering people through name-calling, ^p correlated with:	
1. Believing police in real-life are "strong."	.212 (p = .019)
2. "smart."	.340 (p = .001)
3. "help people."	.297 (p = .002)
4. Believing criminals in real life are "strong."	.285 (p = .002)
5. "smart."	.252 (p = .007)
6. "exciting."	.173 (p = .046)
7. "do some things wrong."	.212 (p = .019)
8. Believing that "criminals know that they hurt people."	.206 (p = .022)
9. Believing that "criminals like being chased by the police."	.205 (p = .023)
10. Believing that "burglars like to steal."	.173 (p = .046)
11. Being "scared when you go outside alone after dark."	.188 (p = .034)
Y. Degree of sensitization (total sensitization), ^f correlated with:	
1. Perceiving the person hurt on program as "doing nothing."	-.278 (p = .003)
2. Believing police in real life are "strong."	.169 (p = .050)
3. "exciting."	.174 (p = .045)
4. Believing that "most robbers get caught by the police."	.306 (p = .001)
5. Employing physical aggression in violent situations. ^e	.180 (p = .040)
6. Non-intervention in violent situations. ^e	-.240 (p = .009)
7. Being "scared when you go outside alone after dark."	.428 (p = .001)
8. Wanting to own a real gun.	.230 (p = .012)
9. Believing sometimes "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	.479 (p = .001)
10. Wanting to learn karate or kung fu (or already learned).	.377 (p = .001)

Question/item	Correlation
11. Putting bicycle away at night "so that someone won't steal it."	.285 (p = .002)
12. Believing "your parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house."	.312 (p = .001)
13. Hiding "money" so that someone won't steal it."	.498 (p = .001)
14. Believing that "sometimes someone is following you."	.498 (p = .001)
15. Feeling "safe when you see a policeman."	.209 (p = .020)
16. Use of yelling aggression "in the last week."	.183 (p = .037)
17. Use of name-calling aggression "in the last week."	-.198 (p = .026)
18. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	.257 (p = .006)
19. Being victimized through being yelled at "in the last week."	.222 (p = .015)
20. Being victimized through being tattled on "in the last week."	.230 (p = .012)
21. Degree of pretend victimization (e.g., being hurt, angry, when you are not really). ^a	+.286 (p = .002)
22. Degree of victimization. ^f	+.184 (p = .036)
Z. Degree of aggressive disposition, ^a correlated with:	
1. Believing police in real-life are "strong."	.252 (p = .007)
2. Employing psychological aggression (e.g., verbal, passive) in violent situations. ^c	-.226 (p = .014)
3. Believing "parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house."	.348 (p = .001)
4. Suggesting psychological aggression as a solution for a conflict situation. ^c	.206 (p = .022)
5. Use of name-calling aggression "in the last week."	-.206 (p = .025)
AA. Amount of aggressive solutions for conflict situations, ^c correlated with:	
1. If viewer has seen program before.	.184 (p = .036)
2. Perceiving assailant as a friend of the person hurt on program.	.228 (p = .013)
3. Believing police in real life "do some things wrong."	-.193 (p = .030)
4. Believing "our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in."	.185 (p = .036)
5. Suggesting that person cooperate in conflict situations. ^c	-.359 (p = .001)
6. Suggesting no solutions or leaving conflict situations. ^c	-.225 (p = .014)
7. Believing that "there are just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong."	.198 (p = .026)
BB. Degree of pretend victimization (e.g., being hurt when not really hurt, ^a correlated with:	
1. If viewer thought things seen on program really happen.	.248 (p = .007)
2. Perceiving person(s) hurt on program as "strong."	.199 (p = .026)
3. "do some things wrong."	.175 (p = .044)
4. "shows how feels inside."	.180 (p = .040)
5. Believing criminals in real life are "exciting."	.173 (p = .046)
6. Believing "our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in."	-.192 (p = .031)
7. Employing non-aggressive intervention in violent situations. ^c	.171 (p = .048)
8. Wanting "to own a real gun."	.302 (p = .001)
9. Believing "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	.185 (p = .035)
10. Wanting to learn karate or kung fu (or already learned).	.185 (p = .036)
11. Hiding money "so that someone won't steal it."	.297 (p = .002)
12. Suggesting physical aggression as solution to conflict situations. ^c	.212 (p = .019)
13. Use of hitting aggression "in the last week."	.298 (p = .002)
14. Use of yelling aggression "in the last week."	.229 (p = .013)
15. Use of name-calling aggression "in the last week."	.270 (p = .004)

Question/item	Correlation
16. Telling how you feel inside "in the last week."	.204 (p = .023)
17. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	.196 (p = .027)
18. Use of hurting someone's feelings as aggression "in the last week."	.383 (p = .001)
19. Amount of total aggression (aggressiveness of viewer). ^m	.418 (p = .001)
20. Being victimized through being yelled at "in the last week."	.338 (p = .001)
21. Being victimized through name-calling "in the last week."	.267 (p = .004)
22. Having someone confide in viewer (tell feelings) "in the last week."	.218 (p = .016)
23. Being victimized through tattling "in the last week."	.307 (p = .001)
24. Being victimized through having feelings hurt "in the last week."	.190 (p = .032)
25. Amount of total victimization. ^f	.382 (p = .001)
CC. Aggressiveness of viewer, ^m correlated with:	
1. If viewer thought things seen on program really happen.	.201 (p = .025)
2. Perceiving person hurt on program as "doing nothing."	.230 (p = .012)
3. Perceiving assailant as receiving realistic consequences (e.g., arrest, jail)	-.182 (p = .036)
4. Believing police in real life are "smart."	-.250 (p = .007)
5. "help people."	-.196 (p = .028)
6. Believing that "most killers get caught by the police."	-.216 (p = .017)
7. Believing that "most robbers/thieves get caught by the police."	-.242 (p = .009)
8. Wanting to learn karate or kung fu (or already learned).	.202 (p = .024)
9. Suggesting that persons cooperate in conflict situations. ^c	.199 (p = .026)
10. Amount of total victimization. ^f	.765 (p = .001)
11. Believing that "all criminals should be punished."	-.181 (p = .039)
12. Telling how you feel inside to someone "in the last week."	.495 (p = .001)
13. Being victimized by being hit.	.400 (p = .001)
14. Being victimized through being yelled at "in the last week."	.535 (p = .001)
15. Being victimized through name-calling "in the last week."	.634 (p = .001)
16. Having someone confide in viewer (tell feelings) "in the last week."	.334 (p = .001)
17. Being victimized through telling "in the last week."	.538 (p = .001)
18. Being victimized by having feelings hurt by someone "in the last week."	.490 (p = .001)
DD. Amount of total victimization as perceived by viewer, ^f correlated with:	
1. If viewer saw program before.	.186 (p = .035)
2. If viewer thought things seen on program really happen.	.168 (p = .050)
3. Perceiving no consequences to the assailant for hurting persons on program.	.206 (p = .022)
4. Perceiving assailant as receiving legal consequences (e.g., arrest, jail).	-.177 (p = .042)
5. Believing police in real life are "strong."	-.185 (p = .036)
6. Believing that "most killers get caught by the police."	-.258 (p = .006)
7. Believing that "most robbers/thieves get caught by the police."	-.232 (p = .011)
8. Employing physical aggression in violent situations. ^e	.185 (p = .036)
9. Employing psychological aggression (e.g., verbal, passive) in violent situations. ^e	-.201 (p = .025)
10. Wanting to "own a real gun."	.184 (p = .036)
11. Believing that sometimes "there is a burglar trying to get into your house."	.178 (p = .041)
12. Believing your "parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house."	.184 (p = .037)
13. Believing "all criminals should be punished."	-.177 (p = .043)
14. Use of hitting aggression "in the last week."	.582 (p = .001)

Question/item	Correlation
15. Use of yelling aggression "in the last week."	.548 (p = .001)
16. Use of name-calling aggression "in the last week."	.541 (p = .001)
17. Telling how you feel inside to someone "in the last week."	.397 (p = .001)
18. Use of tattling aggression "in the last week."	.413 (p = .001)
19. Use of hurting someone's feelings as aggression "in the last week."	.461 (p = .001)
^a "Significant" correlation refers to $p < .05$ using the Pearson Correlation Coefficient (N = 96).	
^b Derived by combining answers to seven items.	
^c Derived by combining answers to four situations.	
^d Derived by combining answers to the three feelings.	
^e Derived by combining answers to the three situations.	
^f Derived by combining answers to ten items. Depending upon one's theoretical persuasion, a negative correlation may be interpreted as "desensitization."	
^g Derived by combining answers to the two feelings.	
^h Derived by combining all instances of victims perceived by viewers.	
ⁱ See note "c."	
^j Derived over all assailants perceived by viewers as having these two emotions.	
^k Derived over answers to items dealing with attitudes and behaviours towards guns.	
^l Derived by combining answers to seven items.	
^m Derived by combining answers to five items dealing with actual aggression "in the last week."	
ⁿ See note "j".	
^o Derived by combining answers to four situations; score reflects physical and psychological aggression.	
^p Derived by combining answers to two situations.	
^q Derived by combining answers to four items.	
^r Derived by combining answers to five items dealing with actual victimization "in the last week."	
^s See note "l."	

Table 8

Selected Significant^a Correlations Among Answers to Questions/Items Between Phase I and Phase II

Phase II Effects	Phase I Variables Positive Correlations	Negative Correlations
19. People perceived as hurt	208, 414, 430	68, 336, 356, 379, 401
130. Perception: Victim showed feelings	1, 194, 402, 403, 414	
133. Perception: Victim attempted to reconcile, discuss conflict	386, 410, 414, 434	68, 130
134. Perception: Victim retaliated with verbal aggression	3, 140, 194, 226, 238	340, 431, 433
135. Perception: Victim retaliated with physical aggression	238, 340, 430	339
136. Perception: Assailant as family member	339, 414	379, 401, 411, 420, 433
137. Perception: Assailant as friend of victim	4, 411	68, 225, 314, 412, 431
145. Perception: Consequences for assailant were physical	430, 431, 432	330
146. Perception: Consequences for assailant were verbal-psychological	206, 226, 414, 434	431
147. Perception: Consequences for assailant were withdrawal-psychological	19, 414, 434	421
156. Viewer emotional reactions to assailant consequences: Positive	340, 410, 411	194
157. Viewer emotional reactions to assailant consequences: Negative	206, 207, 357, 414, 432, 434	410
183. Viewer criminal stereotyping	130, 172, 411	6, 208
210. Viewer sensitization	8, 207, 208, 225, 238, 357, 387, 401, 412, 420, 421, 422, 423, 430	4
214. Viewer interest in guns	4, 8, 226, 238, 317, 411	5, 9, 208, 314, 357, 365, 412
228. Viewer aggressive attitude/disposition towards criminals	172, 366	4, 6, 67, 128, 208, 235, 314, 403
234. Viewer aggressive attitudes toward solutions of problems	19, 128, 194, 314, 330, 339, 344	4, 8, 30, 226, 238, 354, 410
235. Viewer pretend victimization	140, 153, 207, 225, 365, 422, 423	
242. Viewer actual aggression	153, 401, 410, 411	314, 340
249. Viewer victimization	153, 387, 411	314

^a"Significant" refers to a $p < .05$ using the Pearson correlation coefficient ($N = 94$).

Discussion

Considering the fact that this project attempted to analyse over 100,000 pieces of data in Phases I and II, and that over 250,000 pairwise correlations and effects were examined, it is necessary to summarize and categorize some of the major trends. But before so doing, it should be pointed out that the number of possible other correlations and relationships (e.g., multiple correlations, conditional probabilities) that could be examined by other techniques (e.g., factor analysis, multivariate analysis, profile analysis) approach the tens of millions! The principal investigator has attempted to give a preliminary but thorough analysis of the data; where in actuality, a complete description of all the relationships would take literally over a year and thousands of dollars to complete. Nevertheless, in this preliminary analysis, we have attempted to do exhaustive analyses so that the next step is quite clear – the more complex levels of analyses such as factor analysis and profile analysis. By presenting the thousands of correlations and effects herein, the astute and thoughtful reader can spend many months examining the tables and formulate his/her own hunches, relationships, and interpretations. What we shall attempt now is to group effects and variables, to discern trends, and to ask questions related to individual differences among viewers and the effects upon viewers – but remaining cautious in these initial descriptions. It should also be pointed out that, without question, further analyses will be carried out, to the degree that government agencies, private foundations, and/or educational institutions believe such issues are important. And to the degree that these agents of funding are serious in translating their expressed concern for social issues into real interest, real dollars and realistic time frames for completion of such a project, we shall continue to gain understanding of the effects of television upon our youth, and which youth are most influenced.

We shall present the following sections in the order listed:

- (a) Descriptive Data
- (b) Actual Test of effects of television programs (Phase II)

- (c) Correlations among perceptions and reactions to televised contents (Phase II)
- (d) Correlations among variables and effects in Phase I
- (e) Correlations among variables in Phase I and effects in Phase II

Descriptive Data

An examination of Table I and of the Results section reveals several characteristics of the viewer and his/her television milieu.

Media Characteristics. Forty-four per cent of the homes had one working television set while an additional 40 per cent had a second set; 76 per cent of the homes had at least one colour set. Most of the sets were located in the living-room (43 per cent) or rumpus-room (58 per cent); and only five per cent of the homes had a television in the child's bedroom. Seventy-seven per cent of the homes had cable television which allowed viewing of 11 separate channels (these included three from the United States – ABC, CBS, and PBS – as well as an educational television station and a French-language station).

Forty-four per cent of our viewers said there were programs seen on television which they didn't understand, and the ones most often cited were Crime shows (six per cent, e.g., *Kojak*, *S.W.A.T.*), Soap Operas (four per cent), Adult Family shows (four per cent, *All in the Family*, *Maude*), and Ethnic shows (four per cent, e.g., *Jeffersons*, *Excuse my French*). Sixty-four per cent of the viewers said that they preferred "fast" programs, and those typically cited were Crime (23 per cent) and Crime Adventure (11 per cent, e.g., *Six Million Dollar Man*, *Bionic Woman*). The distance the viewers sat from the television set while watching varied considerably, but 51 per cent watched at a distance from six to ten feet and another 35 per cent at three to six feet from the screen. Sixty-three per cent of our young viewers preferred the volume to be loud as opposed to 33 per cent for soft (two per cent preferred very loud).

Family/Parental characteristics. The socio-economic status of the parents was somewhat higher than would be expected from a random cross-section of people (this undoubtedly was because those people were the most

interested in participating in such a project), with professional and managerial occupations (upper and upper-middle class) being characteristic of 52 per cent of the families, 21 per cent in the skilled and trades occupations, and 27 per cent being semi-skilled, unemployed, labourers, and uncodable (most likely lower class). Although this would appear to be problematic in the interpretation of the many results in the present project, it will soon become apparent that (there were adequate numbers from each class to calculate meaningful correlations) one of the *least* influential variables within the whole project was socio-economic status of the parents (i.e., was correlated with very, very few variables and effects); therefore, seemingly large differences in SES were, in fact, irrelevant in the generalizability of the findings of this project.

Most of the viewers came from families with both parents present (85 per cent), and parents who occasionally or often discourage television watching (91 per cent) for several reasons; the most frequently given were disapproval of program (67 per cent), child needs to do homework (50 per cent) or chores (50 per cent), and believing that their child watches too much television (46 per cent). On the other hand, relatively fewer encourage television watching (79 per cent), with the most popular reasons for encouragement being to learn new things (68 per cent), reminding child of favourite program (51 per cent), and to discuss things seen on television (37 per cent).

According to the parents, their children watch television with them occasionally (47 per cent) or often (40 per cent), and either often or almost always with friends or siblings (72 per cent) – thus indicating a considerable social aspect to television viewing, contrary to the stereotype of television-viewing as a solitary activity. And when there is conflict concerning which program is to be watched at a given time (the incidence of such conflict is very high: 91 per cent of families say conflict occurs between children, 89 per cent between child and parent) the usual way this conflict is resolved is by the parent intervening and deciding (over half the times, regardless of whom the conflict is between). Another form of “conflict” is a moral one for parents, i.e., to believe and utilize the “parental discretion warnings” occasionally appearing before “adult” contents: 43 per cent of parents say that they subsequently do not allow their child to watch the program, while 45 per cent either do not believe the announcement or assume their child is mature enough to watch the program. And regardless of “parental discretion” warnings, the following programs are deemed most inappropriate for children by their parents: Crime (60 per cent), Sexual (56 per cent), Soap Operas (39 per cent), and certain movies (35 per cent). On the other hand, Cartoons received only eight per cent disapproval; Sports, two per cent; and no one disapproved of Game shows.

Another form of parental influence over television

watching is having the television on as “background noise” throughout the day (when no one is particularly watching); we found that 71 per cent claimed that they never did this and only four per cent said that they did more than three hours a day. Although the actual number of hours per day that the mother and father watched television were not obtained, we did obtain relative ratings of watching by mothers and fathers: mothers were found to watch more television than fathers, and to watch *more* violent contents (summing over Crime, Crime Adventure, Sports, and Adult Family) than the fathers. And in general, the relationships of the parents with their children (as viewed by the child) appeared to be quite positive, e.g., 92 per cent of the children claimed that they were happy when talking with their parents, but only 13 per cent afraid; most children believed their parents understood them (87 per cent), helped them (97 per cent), and knew how he/she felt (79 per cent).

Viewer characteristics/behaviours. Of the families interviewed, there were 2.3 children per family and a majority of the children interviewed were first or only borns (33 per cent), second-borns (35 per cent) and third-borns (16 per cent). An even distribution of ages was obtained with each age in years between six and 13 having 10-15 per cent of the children interviewed; 54 per cent were male, 46 per cent female. The viewers’ grades in school (as reported by the parents) were somewhat higher than what would be expected as “average”, i.e., ten per cent were judged as “straight-As,” 29 per cent as having some mixture of As, Bs, and Cs, and 43 per cent as having Cs.

Other characteristics were the following:

- (a) Activity level – it was found that the average activity level of viewers was 9.6 (out of a possible score of 54). This indicates that our sample was not judged as particularly active and fell somewhere between typical and slightly below typical activity level (this level was insignificantly lower than that found in another study, using middle-class children, by the principal investigator).
- (b) Introversion-extroversion – the average introversion-extroversion score of 46.2 indicates the usual finding using this scale (Fouts and Click, 1973; Suda and Fouts, 1974), i.e., most children are ambiverts to extroverts, thus our sample reflects the usual skewness found in the population of children.
- (c) Three aggressive scores:
 - (1) Aggressive solutions – viewers used different forms of aggression to solve several problem situations – physical aggression was proposed by 54 per cent, verbal aggression by 76 per cent, passive aggression by 42 per cent, indirect aggression by 29 per cent and constructive/non-aggressive solutions by 86 per cent (viewers could suggest more than one solution);
 - (2) Actual Aggression – in the last week, the viewers admitted to having hit someone (37 per cent), yelled at someone (38 per cent), called someone names (36 per

cent), tattled on someone (33 per cent), ignored someone (34 per cent) and hurt someone's feelings (34 per cent).

- (3) Vicarious Aggression – whether viewer has observed the different forms of aggression in real life, e.g., 91 per cent or more of the viewers claimed that they had seen physical, verbal, and indirect forms of aggression.
- (d) Exposure to police/criminals – 72 per cent said that they had talked with police while 16 per cent claimed that they had seen a real criminal.
- (e) Emotional disposition – ratings of positive and negative affect – e.g., relative ratings of happiness and “anger” when with parents and alone, approximately three times more positive affect characterizes viewers than negative affect.
- (f) The most popular motives which viewers use for watching television are bored (88 per cent), lonely (75 per cent), want to be alone (60 per cent), and when sad (56 per cent). However, when viewers were given a choice of playing with friend, watching television, or just being alone when bored, 67 per cent would prefer play or talking with friends. Since 79 per cent of the viewers claim to have lots of friends, it was not surprising that viewers stated that they do watch with their friends (87 per cent) as well as occasionally with their parents (94 per cent). And to further document that television-watching isn't a solitary/nonsocial activity, 89 per cent of viewers say that they discuss what is seen on television with their friends and 83 per cent with their parents.
- Another motive for watching television is a sense of intellectual competence, being able to predict outcomes and turns of plots. We found that 85 per cent of our young viewers claim they can guess upcoming events on television, which indicates an active process while viewing, rather than passively taking in the contents. This is further documented by viewers having a preference for programs which have a story, presumably, in part, to provide the medium for active/intellectual participation provided by the meaningfulness of the story, as opposed to passively receiving information and impressions.
- (g) Other sources of learning – in general, the use of books and watching television was rated equivalent, with asking parents and asking friends ranking third and fourth, respectively. However, when specific kinds of information are desired, these rankings change considerably, e.g., to learn criminal techniques, 45 per cent of viewers would watch television and 20 per cent would read a book; but in order to learn how to help people, 52 per cent would ask their parents and 25 per cent would watch television; or to learn about weapons, the preference for books was 47 per cent, with television at only 25 per cent.

Viewer perceptions of televised contents. Viewers' perceptions of how conflict situations are resolved on

television were largely aggressive, i.e., physical aggression as a solution was perceived as most likely, followed by constructive/non-aggressive solutions, with verbal aggression being perceived as slightly less used than constructive solutions; passive and indirect forms of aggression were seldom suggested.

The people that viewers watched on television were perceived positively, i.e., they like each other (96 per cent of viewers felt so), talk a lot (97 per cent), help each other (97 per cent), and are friendly (96 per cent), although they don't often tell each other how they feel inside (55 per cent). The negative characteristics were perceived less often, e.g., they hurt each other's feelings (82 per cent), hurt each other (92 per cent), they yell at each other (93 per cent). The high percentages for both positive and negative characteristics probably reflect the many different characters and conflicting characteristics seen on programs, e.g., many situation comedies have both positive and negative characteristics associated with a single character, e.g., Archie and Edith Bunker like each other but, concomitantly, yell and hurt each other's feelings.

A comparison of the amounts of crime and helping perceived on television reveals that robberies (75 per cent), fights (68 per cent) and killings (61 per cent) are all perceived as occurring often compared with people helping each other (42 per cent). Of the 54 per cent of the viewers who believe that they learn things on television that they shouldn't, the themes most recalled were violent behaviours (36 per cent compared with 9 per cent for nonviolent behaviours).

Viewers' perceptions of what happens to criminals when caught by the police is that only 11 per cent say that there are no punishments or involvements with the legal system, with 37 per cent saying no punishments when the violence is not committed by criminals (e.g., fights). This finding suggests that viewers either see consequences for violent acts by criminals, or believe that they see consequences, and/or assume there are consequences. But regardless of the consequences, viewers often perceive criminals repeating the crime after they are released from jail (29 per cent); however, they believe that most of the criminals subsequently go to school (58 per cent)!

Viewers differ in what they enjoy watching on television, i.e., their perception of what is enjoyable differs markedly. For example, 70 per cent said that they enjoyed watching fighting on television, people being scared (65 per cent), people being angry (56 per cent), police shooting criminals (51 per cent) with other forms of violence receiving less than 50 per cent (e.g., name-calling, yelling). On the other hand, the most enjoyed behaviours were people being friendly (92 per cent), people helping people (82 per cent). A comparison between pro-social and violent behaviours enjoyed on television reveals a greater proportion of positive/pro-social behaviours being enjoyed.

Several kinds of contents were perceived as scary for

our viewers (e.g., monsters, screaming, criminals). The response of viewers is that 60 per cent enjoy being scared, 91 per cent like being excited by the contents, and a surprising 25 per cent and 17 per cent claim they enjoy being saddened and upset, respectively; 30 per cent claimed that at times they were too frightened to move or do anything. But when a viewer is frightened, what does he/she do? The most typical response was to watch the program anyway (74 per cent), since the majority like being scared, and 49 per cent said that they pretend not to be afraid. Children who are too immediately afraid avoid the television contents by hiding or closing their eyes (48 per cent have used this method), while others (40 per cent) change the channel. Less used ways of avoiding scary contents were to tell someone (31 per cent) and to turn off the television (26 per cent).

When children watched their favourite programs [in order of percentages, Situation Comedies were the most popular, 22 per cent, followed by Crime (e.g., *Kojak*, *S.W.A.T.*, 15 per cent) and Crime Adventure (e.g., *Six Million Dollar Man*, *Bionic Woman*, 14 per cent) the main emotion that they felt was happiness (92 per cent), followed closely by excitement (87 per cent; more than one emotion could describe their reactions). Very few watched programs that made them angry (10 per cent) or tired (21 per cent), or confused them (27 per cent). Seventy-five per cent of our young viewers said they got tired of commercials.

A common ability of children is to compare themselves and their homes with what is seen on television. We found that, despite the fact that we have a disproportionate number of viewers from upper-level income groups, 80 per cent of our viewers said that the homes on television were nicer than their own; 59 per cent said that kids on television had more "things" than they did. And this positive view of material goods also applies to social and emotional characteristics, e.g., 60 per cent perceived children on television as happier than themselves, and 50 per cent thought kids on television have more friends than they have. These findings are quite surprising in terms of the number of friends they possess, their positive relations with parents, stated happiness, and SES of parents. This exaggeration may, in part, be because the families on television are presented as relatively conflict-free; the viewers may not see the usual amount of untidiness associated with living on television programs; and perhaps the country of origin of these programs has an effect, i.e., there are material goods which are more plentiful than and different from those found here in Calgary.

While watching television violence, it is possible that a viewer may project him/herself into the situation and thus recall his/her own past transgressions, e.g., the viewer may remember when he/she hit someone, or stole something. On the average, each viewer recalled one instance of some past transgression while watching

televised contents. And many used the televised contents to "rationalize" their own behaviours, i.e., they gave the excuse that they did something because "I saw it on television". Approximately 30 per cent used this strategy of dealing with potential threats.

The favourite television characters of viewers were male (81 per cent), which is not surprising since most lead characters are male, especially in Crime/Crime Adventure programs. And the characteristics that viewers perceive in their favourite characters (and those that may induce their choice of that person as their favourite) are that he/she helps people (92 per cent), is happy (93 per cent), is exciting (90 per cent) and smart (83 per cent). Characteristics that are less often agreed with are strength, whether he/she hurts people, gets hurt, and makes mistakes.

A comparison of the perceptions of police and criminals as portrayed on television reveals overall positive evaluations of the former, negative for the latter. For example, police were likely to be described as stronger (95 per cent) than criminals (83 per cent), smarter (96 per cent versus 47 per cent), exciting (90 per cent versus 68 per cent), helping people more (97 per cent versus 10 per cent), getting hurt less often (87 per cent versus 97 per cent), hurting fewer people (84 per cent versus 96 per cent). It would seem that children do make distinctions between criminals and police, their roles in society – both may engage in violent acts but for different reasons.

Perceptions of how many people were hurt on programs, how they were hurt, and why they were hurt were also obtained. It was found that Crime/Crime Adventure programs produced the highest perceptions of people getting hurt, followed by Drama, Children's programs and finally Situation Comedies. The perception of people/characters being hurt in Children's programs more than in Situation Comedies can be understood by examining the means of violence. For example, the programs were ranked in terms of physical violence (e.g., body, weapons), and unsurprisingly, Crime/Crime Adventure was rated the highest, then came Drama and next Children's programs, followed by Situation Comedies. Thus children can judge cartoon violence as "being hurt" even when they are recognized as cartoons.

Psychological means of perpetrating violence (e.g., verbal, passive, and indirect aggression), as perceived by young viewers, resulted in Situation Comedies being rated more psychologically violent than Drama, with Crime/Crime Adventure and Children's programs not producing perceptions of hurt. These findings may also reflect the belief in children that when the means are psychological (if they are perceived), they may not produce pain in the recipient.

But not only are there differences among programs concerning their perceived violence and the means of such violence, the reasons for violence vary; for example, viewers responded as if they *least* understood

the violence associated with Crime/Crime Adventure programs, with Drama being second least understood, and Situation Comedies and Children's programs apparently being understood. These findings are difficult to interpret since, at least, it is commonly assumed that overt physical violence is "simpler" than psychological means. But on the other hand, the sheer amount of violence perceived on Crime/Crime Adventure programs may increase the likelihood of not understanding, i.e., the more incidents of violence seen, the greater the likelihood of not understanding through attending to the actions rather than motives and meaning.

The latter position is supported when we examine the causes of violence as perceived by our young viewers. In terms of emotional and attributional explanations (e.g., the assailant was angry, he was a "criminal", he "deserved it"), Crime/Crime Adventure programs were rated considerably higher than the Situation Comedies, Drama, or Children's programs. And viewers' perceptions of personal "selfish" reasons for violence by assailants (e.g., increased status, money, protect from loss of love), Crime/Crime Adventure was ranked the highest again with the other categories receiving few explanations in terms of personal motives. And finally, in terms of accidents and events beyond television characters' control, Drama was judged as having considerably more accidents than the other programs, with Children's programs and Crime/Crime Adventure having more than Situation Comedies. Thus, it can be said that young viewers can and do make different judgments associated with the causes of violence; but it remains to be demonstrated (in the following sections) that these perceptions in any way alter the effects of television violence upon young viewers.

Viewer program preferences There are several ways to determine program preferences, e.g., one can use the number of times a viewer watches the program – but this may not accurately reflect the preference since parents can discourage such viewing; or one can use the degree of liking independently of whether they actually watch the program – but this has the problem of the possibility that a child may have never watched the program more than once (and thus presumably be less influenced). Another way to judge preference is by the proportion of viewers who claim that a particular category is their favourite, but this also has the problems previously mentioned. Thus, keeping in mind these difficulties, we attempted to use all three indices and to determine, in our project, which in fact was mostly highly correlated with other variables and effects of television, thereby using the utility criterion as the main means of judgment of the validity of the indices of preference.

Using how often children watch television, the order of program preference (from high to low) is Children's programs (e.g., cartoons, *Sesame Street*), Situation Comedies (e.g., *Happy Days*, *Laverne and Shirley* – but

not adult situation comedies), Crime/Crime Adventure, and finally Drama (e.g., *Waltons*, *Emergency*). On the other hand, using the degree of liking as the index of viewing, we found that Children's programs were still the most preferred, but that Crime/Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies were reversed, with Drama still being the fourth position of preference. And to confuse matters even more, when percentages of viewers who rate programs as "most watched" or "most liked", the orders are the following: (a) most watched – Children's programs, Situation Comedies, Drama, with Crime/Crime Adventure at the end of the list; and (b) most liked – Situation Comedies, Crime/Crime Adventure, Children's programs, and Drama. As one can readily discern, the four ways by which one could order preference (and there are many other ways) yielded four different orderings, although it appears that Drama is probably the least preferred of these categories of programs.

As the reader will recall, program preferences were assessed at two points in time: asking children to mention their favourite program spontaneously during the home interviews dealing with television perceptions, and during the systematic and lengthy interview mentioning all the programs and asking questions for each program (Television Preferences Interview). The results mentioned in the previous paragraph reflect the latter assessment procedure. The former procedure, the spontaneous naming of his/her favourite program, yielded the following order: Crime/Crime Adventure (29 per cent), Situation Comedies (22 per cent), with Children's programs (13 per cent) and Drama (nine per cent) following these. Again, a different ordering of preferences! It should, however, be noted that in the spontaneous questioning of favourite programs, children never mentioned Soap Operas, News, Religious, Sexual, Medical, or Ethnic programs, with Movies, Sports, Game shows, and Documentaries receiving a spontaneous mention one per cent of the time.

Another dimension which may influence preference of programs is whether the program has a "story-line" associated with it or merely shows or demonstrates a behaviour, information, et cetera. It was found that 54 per cent of the viewers prefer programs that have a story-line.

The effects of viewing television were assessed through actual testing by presenting various programs to children (Phase II) and through various correlational means: (a) perceptions and reactions to television contents in Phase II, (b) program preferences/perceptions and other variables with possible effects in Phase I, and (c) numerous variables in Phase I with possible effects in Phase II.

Actual Test of Effects of Television Programs

Each child was presented a Crime/Crime Adventure, Drama, Situation Comedy, or Cartoon program (see

Table 4 for the list); and each child's reactions to these were then statistically analyzed by comparing their responses to Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies with one another and Crime Adventure and Cartoons with one another.

Comparisons among Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies. Only 19 significant differences were found out of 153 tests, and the effects can be divided into roughly two categories: perceptions of viewed contents, and effects of violence. Among the differences in perceptions were that victims in Situation Comedies were perceived as *less* gentle and liking people *less*, with the victim in the Crime programs more likely to die. Interestingly, viewers perceived victims as more likely to retaliate verbally in Situation Comedies than either Crime or Dramatic programs. Also, the assailant in Crime programs was judged more often as a stranger to the victim.

But more importantly, what impact did these programs have upon the viewers? Viewers felt happy and excited when the assailants were punished in Crime programs more than when assailants received consequences in Drama or Situation Comedies. After viewing Crime programs, viewers said that criminals in real life were weak and the easiest way to get money was to steal it. After watching Crime programs, viewers were more likely to say that hitting a person was the easiest way to hurt a person than those viewers who watched Situation Comedies. Also, viewing Crime programs resulted in viewers believing that people should retaliate by hurting a person's feelings. What is unusual in these comparisons is the lack of numerous effects associated with viewing police and criminals stereotypically, the various measures of aggressive attitudes and solutions to conflicts, the paucity of sensitization effects or feelings of victimization. That is, out of 92 possible comparisons for these effects, only seven were significant in these short-run terms.

Comparisons among Crime Adventure and Cartoon Programs. In these comparisons, four of a possible 92 effects were found: there were two instances of viewers responding in a sensitized manner after watching Crime Adventures, e.g., believing that sometimes burglars may be trying to get into their homes, and wanting to learn karate or kung fu. The other two items were in the opposite direction, that is, desensitization, e.g., after watching Crime, the viewers said that they had told someone how they feel inside less often in the last week, and admitted to fewer instances of hurting someone's feelings. The paucity of these effects and the lack of consistent patterning (two sensitization, two desensitization), as well as the findings with Crime, Drama, and Situation Comedies, suggest that if there are effects, even temporary, they were not obtained in a study that presents actual programs. As mentioned in the introduction, this can readily be explained by looking at the complexity of actual television programs and the viewing context, with the objects and aggressive

materials not available and viewing the programs with others present. We were looking at complex perceptual, emotional, and cognitive effects rather than simple imitative behaviours, and found little support for their existence in children of these ages using actual television programs. It may be the case, however, that by presenting just one more program in the large experience of these children, there should be little effect of a single program.

And it is in part for this reason that we examined further the perceptions of viewers (which contain elements of past experience) by using correlational techniques, which not only provide information regarding whether a relationship exists, but also the degree of relationship between two variables.

Correlations among Perceptions and Reactions to Televised Contents

An examination of Table 4, which provides the descriptive data for Phase II, as well as understanding a developmental approach to studying television effects, should indicate to the reader that the attempt to find pervasive and simple effects for viewers differing in age, background, personality, and a host of other characteristics, is rather futile. However, when attempts are made to intercorrelate variables, to see the relative effects and contributions of several variables upon perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours, only then can we gain a more accurate picture of the effects of television on young viewers. In fact, the experience of the principal investigator is such that he is likely to distrust data which show simple and ubiquitous effects, to question the replicability and generalizability of such findings. Therefore, we shall now discuss some of the more complex interrelationships among the perceptions and reactions of viewers in Phase II, while and after viewing an actual television program. This was done by computing the correlations among 153 of the 249 variables and selecting a portion for examination. The approximately 450 significant correlations in Table 7 are particularly recommended for the serious reader to examine closely and to attempt to understand. The following description will confine itself to the categories of effects that were listed on page 1, under the rubric of "Purpose".

Distortion of reality/images of violence. The following list highlights some of the more interesting and meaningful correlations which show various effects upon viewers' images of violence:

- (a) The happier a viewer is *before* viewing a program, the greater his/her belief in criminal stereotypes (e.g., being a criminal is exciting, most killers get caught by the police).
- (b) The more angry and scared a viewer is while viewing a program, the greater his/her perceptions of victims physically retaliating, the greater the estimating of crime in Calgary (e.g., shootings, fights). The happier and more excited a viewer is while watching a program, the lower his/her perception that the victim physically

retaliated, the greater the belief that police in real life are strong and exciting and help people, and feeling safe with police.

- (c) The more a viewer would like to meet the victim on the television program, the greater his/her estimation of the intelligence and excitingness of being a criminal in real life.
- (d) The more a viewer perceived the victim attempting to negotiate with the assailant, the *lower* his/her estimation of crime in Calgary.
- (e) The more a viewer perceived the assailant as a family member, the greater the perception of no consequences; however, when the assailant was perceived as a friend, he/she was perceived to receive various kinds of consequences, e.g., physical, legal.
- (f) The more a viewer perceived the assailant receiving physical consequences (e.g., killed, hit), the happier a viewer was to see these consequences, the weaker criminals were perceived in real life, the stronger and smarter police in real life were perceived, the less viewers believed criminals know they hurt people, the lower his/her estimation of crime in Calgary.
- (g) The more viewers perceived the assailant receiving legal consequences, the happier and more excited the viewers felt, the more viewers believed criminals are afraid of the police, the greater the belief in criminal stereotypes (e.g., being a criminal is exciting).

These results and others suggest that how a viewer feels before as well as during a program influences his/her perceptions of violence during the program and his/her estimation of violence after the program, regardless of whether the programs are labelled as Crime or otherwise. A viewer's perception of victims influences his/her perception of criminal stereotypes, whether police and criminals are viewed as intelligent or helpful. And the consequences and how a viewer reacts to them influence a viewer's perceptions of police in real life and estimations of crime in the community. Although these correlations were significant, they were small – which in part shows the considerable variation among viewers in their effects, their images of violence in the community, and beliefs about police and criminals.

Aggressive attitudes and dispositions. Some of the significant correlations are listed below, according to the kinds of attitudes investigated. First, attitudes associated with guns: (a) the more viewers felt scared and angry while watching a program, the greater their subsequent belief that parents should own a gun to protect themselves; (b) the more viewers perceive victims on television as running away from their assailants, the greater their later interest in guns (e.g., playing with toy and real guns); (c) the greater the perception that a victim calls for help, the greater the belief that parents should own a gun to protect themselves; (d) the greater the degree to which viewers perceive assailants as friends of victims, the greater their subsequent interest in guns; (e) the happier and more excited

viewers feel when the assailant receives consequences on television, the greater their later expressed interest in owning a real gun.

Second, attitudes about use of punishment (e.g., capital punishment, use of guns by police): (a) the happier viewers are before viewing a program, the less they believe that police should carry guns; (b) the greater their feelings of being scared and angry while watching a program, the weaker their belief in capital punishment; (c) the greater the perceptions of verbal or physical retaliation by victims on television, the less they believe that “all criminals should be punished”; (d) the more viewers perceive the assailant as a friend of the victim, the less they believe that “there are just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong”.

Third, suggesting aggressive solutions for conflict and violent (involving crime) situations and use of aggression in “the last week”: (a) the happier a viewer feels before watching a program, the greater the subsequent suggestions for psychologically aggressive solutions in conflict situations; (b) the more excited a viewer feels before a program the less likely he/she would be to intervene in a violent situation; and the greater the likelihood of employing aggressive solutions, the greater and less use of name-calling and tattling, respectively; (c) the happier and more excited a viewer feels during a program the more likely he/she is to employ physical aggression in violent situations, the less likely he/she is to suggest psychological aggression in violent situations, and the greater the use of yelling in the last week; (d) the more a viewer feels angry and scared during a program, the more he/she reports having yelled at someone recently; (e) the more a viewer perceives the victim as showing his/her feelings when hurt, the greater the likelihood of a viewer's subsequently suggesting cooperation in conflict situations; (f) the more a viewer perceives a victim on television as calling for help, the greater the likelihood of a viewer's suggesting that people should intervene in conflict situations, the more a viewer admits to name-calling, tattling, and hurting someone's feelings in the last week; (g) the more a viewer perceives the assailant as a family member, the greater the use of non-aggressive intervention in conflict situations; (h) the more a viewer perceives the assailant as a friend of the victim, the greater the likelihood of suggesting physical aggression as a solution to conflict; (i) the greater the perception of the assailant's receiving physical consequences (e.g., killed, hit), the less likely a viewer is to suggest psychological aggression in violent situations, (j) the more a viewer perceives psychological consequences for the assailant (e.g., guilt), the more he/she suggests psychological forms of aggression in violent situations.

The complexity and variety of these few correlations, e.g., evidence for matching subsequent solutions to conflicts with previously viewed solutions, the inverse relationship between feeling scared and belief in capital punishment, indicates once again the difficulty of

pointing out an “average” young viewer. The viewers’ moods before and during a program, their perceptions of whether a victim shows his/her feelings, and even the relationship of the victim and assailant, all determine subsequent aggressive attitudes and suggestions for solving conflict and violent situations. It would seem that the more “helpless” a victim is perceived to be and the greater the emotion engendered by a program, the greater a viewer’s interest in guns for himself and/or parents.

Sensitization/Desensitization. Sensitization, which involves the increased awareness and mobilization against potential violence in one’s environment, was found in many forms. Some of the findings in Phase II are: (a) the degree of feeling happy and excited engendered while viewing programs subsequently increased several items of sensitization, e.g., being afraid to go outside alone after dark, sometimes believing there is a burglar attempting to get into your house, hiding money so that someone won’t steal it, sometimes believing someone is following you; (b) the greater the amount of being scared and angry during a program, the more viewers felt that the city was a pretty dangerous place to live in, and stated that they should put away their bicycles at night so that someone wouldn’t steal them; (c) the more viewers would like to meet the victim on television, the more viewers were frightened in going outside alone after dark; (d) the more viewers perceived victims as running away from their assailants, the more likely they were to score highly on total sensitization (a combination of several items); (e) the more the assailant was perceived as a friend, the more viewers subsequently admitted they sometimes thought there was a burglar trying to get into their houses; (f) the more viewers perceived the assailant as receiving physical consequences, the more they later thought about putting away their bicycles at night. Other correlations with the total desensitization score were: (a) the less viewers perceived victims as doing nothing when hurt, the greater the sensitization; (b) the more viewers perceived police in real life as strong and exciting and believed that most robbers get caught, the greater the sensitization; (c) the more viewers suggested physical aggression as a solution to violent situations, the greater the sensitization; (d) the more viewers were victimized in the last week (e.g., being tattled on, yelled at), and scored high for total feelings of victimization (a number of items reflecting being recipients of aggressive behaviours from others), the greater the sensitization; and (e) the more a person pretends to be victimized (e.g., pretending to be hurt when not really hurt), the greater the total sensitization score.

The findings for sensitization are somewhat more consistent and form a pattern: the greater the emotional arousal while watching a television program, the greater the subsequent sensitization. It should be pointed out that feelings of happiness and excitement produced more sensitization responses than did negative emotions

– which is contrary to popular beliefs that only crime and frightening programs produce sensitization reactions. Also, those characteristics which increase the relationship between the viewer and television victim may increase the likelihood of sensitization, presumably through more empathetic responses and meaningfulness of the program. The finding that the more the viewers recalled instances of being victimized, the greater the sensitization after the program, may be an example of the chicken-or-the-egg issue: it may be the case that those who are sensitized to violence adopt victim-like behaviours, or vice versa. This issue is also related to the positive correlation between pretend-victimization and sensitization; for example, perhaps those viewers who pretend to be victimized for manipulative reasons are more victimized and thus more sensitized; it may very well be the reverse. It is interesting to note that such feelings/behaviours of sensitization, victimization, and pretend-victimization occur in young viewers whose average age is around 9 years!

Victimization/Rationalization. Although victimization has been mentioned previously in its relationship with sensitization, let us examine a few more correlations with victimization: (a) the more viewers perceived the assailant as a friend, the more viewers admitted to being victimized by name-calling in the last week; (b) the easier viewers thought it was to hurt others’ feelings by hitting them, the greater the recalled instances of victimization, of being hit and having feelings hurt. For total victimization (a composite of several instances of being the recipient of aggression in the last week), the following factors were *positively* correlated: believing the contents seen on television really happen, suggesting physical aggression in violent situations, and the use of aggression in the past week toward others; while the following were *negatively* correlated: perceiving the assailant as receiving legalistic consequences, believing that most killers and robbers get caught by the police, and believing that police in real life are strong.

Correlations with pretend-victimization were as follows: (a) the more viewers perceived television victims calling for help, the more viewers subsequently admitted to pretend-victimization; (b) the more viewers believed that television contents really happen, the greater the pretend-victimization; (c) those believing that criminals in real life are exciting were also those who admitted to pretend-victimization; (d) believing that our city is a pretty dangerous place to live in was negatively correlated to pretend-victimization; (e) the use of non-aggressive means in violent situations, the belief that sometimes a burglar is trying to enter one’s house and wanting to own a real gun were all positively related to pretend-victimization; (f) the use of aggression in the last week (hitting, yelling, name-calling, tattling, and hurting feelings) were all related to the amount of pretend-victimization; (g) the greater the actual victimization, the greater the pretend-victimization.

These findings for actual and pretend-victimization appear to show that victimization and victimizing others (being aggressive) go hand-in-hand, that viewers can probably learn both kinds of behaviours quite well through actual or television experiences – and to the degree that viewers believe the contents of television programs, they are more successful in being victims and pretend-victims. Factors which foster the strengthening of the roles of a victim (real or feigned) are likely to be correlated. In view of these relationships, we must be cautious about placing blame for aggression, i.e., in part, the causes of violence may be victim-precipitated. Further analyses, especially those related to age, intelligence, and other individual difference variables, will clarify this relationship between aggression and victimization, which is partially an arbitrary distinction.

Before summarizing the effects and variables in Phase I, let us point out a trend which has thus far emerged. We initially discussed the effects of particular program contents on viewers, and then attempted to understand some correlations among images of violence and aggressive attitudes; and finally we outlined the correlations associated with issues of sensitization and victimization. As we have done so, we have progressed from few meaningful and cohering findings in the former two categories to more meaningful ones (for sensitization and victimization). This should not be surprising. In a culture which continually bombards its viewers with the complexities and divergencies of violence, both real and televised, socially approved and disapproved, it would be surprising to find that everyone would respond in the same manner – with so many differences of capabilities and styles and experiences abounding across people. On the other hand, in those areas where information is lacking, where the data are more subtle and thus less amenable to the vagaries and frequencies of feedback and shaping, it may be the case that patterns *can* be found, in the sense that our children haven't been brainwashed and exploited by or exposed and overexposed to such issues. We may be studying these effects in a virtual embryonic state of non-contamination from the media – with the implication that within a few years, these effects may also no longer be found. So it is with this bias, that in our society's naiveté and lack of awareness of the complex issues surrounding the effects of television, we shall further pursue these effects and others by examining the effects of many individual difference variables on television perceptions and television preferences as well as some of the effects thus far discussed. That discussion will then be followed by a discussion of the effects of these viewer variables, media characteristics, and program preferences upon the reactions to televised contents, i.e., Phase I and Phase II intercorrelations.

Correlations among Variables and Effects in Phase I

An examination of Tables 2 and 3 reveals the large amount of data available for study and the literally

thousands of significant correlations among the variables and effects tapped in the home interviews dealing with media characteristics, family characteristics, viewer characteristics, viewer behaviours and motives associated with television, viewer perceptions of televised contents, viewer program preferences as well as some effects such as distortion of reality, aggressive attitudes, sensitization/victimization, and rationalization. The advantage of having the correlations listed in Table 3 is that it allows the interested reader to examine the correlations and to discern whatever patterns that he/she may wish to investigate. It also allows some weighting of variables in terms of influence; for example, by merely looking up the item number associated with a particular data point, one can see all the other variables and effects associated with it (by looking at various places in the table). What we shall attempt now is to highlight some of the important clusterings of correlations, to point out the contributions of many variables to the effects of television on young viewers – keeping in mind that the next section of the report will deal with the correlations between selected variables in Phase I and selected effects in Phase II, those effects after actually watching a television program.

Media characteristics. The number of working televisions in the home was positively related to the parents' discouraging watching television because the child needed to do homework and chores (this can be seen from the correlation between item 10 and items 20 and 21 in Table 3), i.e., the more televisions available, the more parents are likely to discourage watching television for these reasons. The more televisions available: the more they use television to keep a child quiet, use it as "background noise", the more mothers and fathers watch television and television violence, the greater the number of fights a viewer believes occur in Calgary, the more attractive real life aggression (e.g., likes seeing people hurt), the more killings a viewer sees on television, the more a viewer enjoys watching name-calling on television, the more a child enjoys seeing violent behaviours and negative emotions on television, the more a viewer believes he/she watches too much television, the more a viewer watches Crime/Crime Adventure programs, the more they don't understand Situation Comedies and Children's programs. On the other hand, the more televisions available in the home, the *lower* the judged activity level of children (item 10 negatively correlated with 129), the *less* happy a viewer is with parents, the less enjoyment of being frightened by television contents, the lower the perception that homes on television are nicer than his/hers, the less a viewer watches alone.

These correlations show that a number of working television sets in the home produces negative or potentially negative effects, e.g., more problems in getting children to do homework and chores, more viewing and enjoyment of violence and negative emotions, less

understanding of programs aimed at children and so forth. Is the number of television sets related to parental neglect?

Even though only five per cent of the children have televisions in their bedrooms, it was found that those who do are more prone to suggest physical and verbal aggression as solutions to problems, to say they would like to be criminals (!), to watch television when angry with someone or want to be alone or are lonely, to perceive people on television as telling how they feel inside, to believe that criminals like jail, to enjoy watching violent behaviours on television, to like being scared while watching television, to watch television while eating, to enjoy watching Crime/Crime Adventure, and to perceive the victims as being hurt by physical but not psychological means. The most striking correlations here are those that indicate that the viewers believe criminals enjoy jail and actually wish to be criminals – which suggests that the availability of the television in the bedroom (with all its implications) may desensitize and perhaps encourage criminal tendencies. Of course, this must be tempered by asking the question whether it is the presence of the television in the bedroom, or the family milieu and reasons for the television in the bedroom.

The availability of cable television (11 stations versus three stations without cable) produced dozens of correlations, some of which are that homes which have cable television have viewers who are more likely to be encouraged to watch television in order to relieve boredom, to have parents who watch with the children, to have the television on as “background noise”, to have mothers who watch television and television aggression a lot (but not fathers); viewers who would like to see a real bank robbery, have many reasons for watching television, use television as the major source of learning (compared to books and other people), have positive feelings while watching their favourite programs, like “fast” programs, enjoy watching violent behaviours and negative emotions (but not pro-social behaviours), believe that homes and friends seen on television are more attractive than their own (negative self evaluation), recall past transgressions through being reminded by events seen on television, watch more and enjoy more Crime/Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies but fewer Children’s programs. These correlations show some beneficial and potentially problematic effects of having cable television in the home.

Family characteristics/parental behaviours. The number of children in the home influenced several variables; that is, the more children in the home, the more conflict arose concerning which programs would be watched, the more children watched together, the more use of aggression in the last week, the more pro-social behaviours they see in real life, the higher their estimation of crime in Calgary, the more they use their parents as sources of information (as opposed to books and television), the more television contents remind

them of past transgressions, the more they perceive victims on Crime/Crime Adventure programs, the less they understand why people get hurt in Situation Comedies and Children’s programs, the less aggression the parents watch on television, the lower the activity level of the children, the less they discuss television contents with their parents. These correlations are basically what would be expected as the number of children in a family increases, especially in terms of the availability of others and limitation of time of parents.

The socio-economic status of parents was one of the least influential variables (in terms of number of significant correlations) in the whole project. The lower the socio-economic status, the more the encouragement of television watching to relieve boredom, the more the mother watches television aggression, the more a child would like to be a policeman/woman, the more a viewer perceived people psychologically hurt in Situation Comedies, the less a viewer enjoys watching negative emotions on television, the less a viewer perceives homes on television as nicer than his/her own (defensive perception?). To account for the paucity of SES correlations, one should keep in mind that the City of Calgary is relatively new and affluent, and class rigidity is practically nonexistent compared with most comparable cities in eastern Canada.

The marital status of parents produced a few correlations. Having the parents married resulted in: parents encouraging television watching in order to remind children of favourite programs or to discuss things seen on television or to relieve boredom of children, mother watching more television and television violence, their children suggesting constructive (non-aggressive) solutions to problems (and avoiding aggressive solutions), children seeing indirect aggression in real life, viewers feeling happy when watching favourite program, avoiding scary contents on television, talking to parents about television contents, preferring the volume loud, use of rationalization (viewer blaming television for transgressions), being upset about some things seen on television. Of note are two findings: first, the viewers suggesting constructive and avoiding aggressive solutions to problems when the parents are together and the use of rationalization (there are few correlations with rationalization). The latter may be due to increased opportunities for learning such a strategy and resolving conflicts when both parents are present in the home.

The positiveness and warmth of the parent-child relationship was found to result in: a greater estimation of shootings and robberies in Calgary, greater attractiveness of seeing people tell how they feel inside in real life (with greater unattractiveness of seeing people scared and hurt in real life), perceiving people on television as resolving problems by physical and verbal aggression, viewers talking to parents about what is seen on television, not believing that kids on television are happier than themselves, increased ability to guess next

events occurring in television programs, viewers recalling past transgressions when watching television, viewers watching and enjoying more Situation Comedies and failing to recognize persons hurt in Drama.

The amount of parental discouragement for watching television was related to the number of programs that parents felt inappropriate for children (especially violent programs), and corresponded with the mother's and father's avoidance of violent programs in their own television-watching. The more parents discouraged their child's television-watching: the less aggression the child used in the last week and the fewer suggested aggression as solutions to problems, the happier and more excited the child is when with parents and alone, the lower the child's estimation of shootings in Calgary, the more attractive seeing people ignoring one another in real life, the more use of books for information, the more a viewer perceives consequences for criminals on television, the more things that frighten him/her, the more a viewer talks to friends about what is seen on television, the less a viewer dreams about (including nightmares) television contents, the less a viewer is upset by what is seen on television, and the less watching of Crime/-Crime Adventure programs. As we can see, parental discouragements have the expected results, i.e., less watching of crime and violence, more use of books, happier and more social children, more emotionally responsive but less aggressive children, sensitivity to consequences for criminals, and fewer traces of violence that might occur in dreams and nightmares. These children would appear "well-adjusted".

On the other hand, parental encouragement of watching television entered into relatively few correlations. The more parents urged their children to watch television: the more the children were rated as extroverted, the fewer aggressive solutions viewers suggested for problems, and the less actual aggression in the last week, the less afraid and angry the children were with parents and when alone but the colder the relationship with parents, the more viewers watched television when angry with someone, the less use of friends as sources of information and more use of television, the more viewers talked with their parents about television contents, and the more viewers watched with their parents.

Another parental influence is parental modelling of program preferences, and specifically, the amount of violence watched (Sports, Crime, Crime Adventure, and Adult Situation Comedies). The more the mother watched violence: the more viewers used aggression in the last week (including verbal aggression and suggesting aggressive solutions to problems), the greater the estimation of shootings in Calgary, the more viewers would like to see a real bank robbery, the lower the sensitization score (i.e., desensitization related to mother's viewing of aggression), the more viewers perceived female television characters as smarter, more

exciting, hurting people more, happier, helping people more than males (the assumed measure of sexual stereotyping); the less viewers saw physical aggression as a solution to problems on television, the more non-aggressive characteristics viewers perceived in television characters, the fewer negative emotions enjoyed on television but the greater enjoyment of pro-social behaviours on television, the lower the belief that kids on television have more things than the viewers, the more frequent and greater enjoyment associated with watching Crime/Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies, the greater the perception of psychological means of aggression in Situation Comedies.

The identical analyses using the same measure of watching violence by the father yielded considerably fewer correlations – the more the father watched violence: the greater the estimation of shootings in Calgary, the greater the sexual stereotyping of female television characters, the fewer instances of indirect aggression perceived on television but the more constructive solutions on television, the fewer aggressive characteristics perceived in television characters, the less often viewers dream about television contents, the more viewers rationalize their aggression (blaming television), the less Crime/Crime Adventure and Drama watched.

It would appear that the mother's viewing of aggression has more influence upon her children's aggression and desensitization than the father's. It is interesting to note that both the mother's and father's television viewing is related to sexual stereotypes, perhaps through the parents' own selection of programs that expose children to these stereotypes. Similarly, the parents' choice of programs resulted in their children seeing fewer aggressive characteristics of people on television even though the modelling of parental preferences was aggressive contents; is it possible that children are in some way sensitized to forms of violence (note the correlation with perceived psychological means on television), and then more closely attend to non-aggressive characters! And finally, it is interesting that the mothers' greater watching of television is not simply due to more non-aggressive contents, but to aggressive contents; she watches more different kinds of aggression as well as more aggression than the father (at least according to the scoring methods we employed) – which is contrary to popular beliefs that males watch more than females. This is particularly surprising since we included sports in the aggressive programs category!

A final family/parental characteristic is the use of television as "background noise". The more the television was on: the more mother watched television and television violence (this was not true for the father), the greater the activity level of the children, the more introverted the children, the more use of aggression and aggressive solutions to problems in the viewers (children), the more unhappy and less excited the children are with parents, the greater the estimation of fights in

Calgary, the fewer the social motives for watching television, the less enjoyment of watching people help each other on television, the greater the negative comparisons between television homes and characters and themselves (e.g., homes on television are nicer, kids on television are happier), the more the viewer is upset by violent themes on television. These findings generally coincide with those expected from a degree of parental neglect of children, especially in terms of greater withdrawal and heightened activity level of the children.

Viewer characteristics/behaviours/motives. Birth order was correlated with a few variables, but it should be kept in mind that birth order is perforce correlated with family size; and at this juncture, we do not know which contributes to these correlations. But in this vein, we shall mention a few of the correlations that occurred with birth order that did *not* show up in the analysis of family size. The later-born (e.g., third as opposed to second) a viewer, the more confused he/she feels with parents, the more a viewer watched television when lonely, the less a viewer uses books for information, the more a viewer sees problems on television solved by physical aggression, the more a viewer sees plenty of robberies, fights, and killings on television, the more a viewer avoids frightening contents on television, the less he/she watches with parents, the softer the volume desired on television, the more he/she watches Situation Comedies.

Sex of viewers was correlated with some variables; being a female viewer resulted in: fewer discouragements for watching television, being rated as lower in activity level and higher in introversion. A female viewer is more likely to suggest passive aggressive solutions to problems (but less likely to suggest physical aggression) to have a warm relationship with her parents, to estimate greater amount of shootings and robberies in Calgary, to view positively being chased by the police, to find it unattractive to see people hurt in real life, to use her parents as a source for information, to have a female television character as her favourite, to perceive physical aggression not used as a solution to problems on television, but to see passive aggression as a solution; less likely to perceive consequences to criminals on television, avoids "fast" programs, perceives criminals as repeating crimes (as opposed to rehabilitation), does not enjoy watching violent behaviours on television, has a large number of things that frighten her on television and avoids them in numerous ways, less likely to watch television alone, avoids rationalizing behaviours by blaming television, and watches more Situation Comedies but avoids Crime/Crime Adventures. These correlations fit the usual sex-typing literature and the presentation in the introduction which argued that female viewers would be more likely to use and perceive passive aggression than overt physical aggression as a means to conflict solution.

The most influential individual difference variable in

the project was the age of viewers; hundreds of correlations were found – of which only a portion are presented in Table 3. The older the viewers: the more they watch television with their parents; the fewer the aggressive programs parents feel are inappropriate, the less parents encourage television watching (especially to keep children quiet or to relieve boredom). The lower their activity levels and the greater their introversion, the more suggestions for verbal aggression as a solution to problems but the fewer suggestions for indirect aggression, the greater the use of verbal aggression in the past week, the more positive their relationships with parents, the greater the likelihood of having seen verbal, passive, and indirect aggression in real life, the more attractive criminal activities are (e.g., would like to stay in jail, rob a bank), the more attractive real life aggression is to watch, the *more* sensitization that has occurred, the more and varied the motives for watching television, the greater the use of books for information, the more female stereotypes they perceive on television, the less confused they are when watching their favourite television programs and programs in general, the more physical and verbal aggressive solutions perceived on television but the fewer indirect aggressive and constructive solutions, the more aggressive and non-aggressive characteristics they perceive in television characters, the greater the number of crimes seen on television, the more enjoyment they derive from watching violent behaviours and negative emotions on television, the fewer ways they use to avoid frightening contents on television, the more different emotions they like to experience while watching television (e.g., scared, sad, upset), the more they talk with friends about what they've seen on television, the less they think that kids on television have more friends and are happier than themselves, the more likely they are to do homework while watching television, the better they can guess the next events in a television program, the more they recall past transgressions while watching television, the louder they prefer the volume, the more they perceive people getting physically hurt on Crime/Crime Adventure programs, the more often and with the more enjoyment they watch Situation Comedies and recognize physical as well as psychological forms of aggression and make judgments about the motives of the assailants, the more they avoid Children's programs and Drama.

The majority of these correlations are consistent with the greater cognitive abilities and experiences of children as they mature and age. They are also consistent with the view that in order to understand the effects of television on a viewer, the age of the viewer is an important determiner in knowing what he/she perceives, what preferences he/she has in watching television contents, his/her complexity of motives and emotions associated with television watching.

The grades (marks, achievements) in school, as reported by their parents, had considerable influence upon viewers' behaviours and preferences associated

with television. The higher the viewers' grades in school: the fewer aggressive programs which parents felt were inappropriate for their children, the less television their mothers watched, the lower their activity levels, the less they suggested indirect aggression as a solution to problems, the less they would like to be policemen/women, the happier they are with their parents, the more they've seen verbal, passive, and indirect aggression in real life as well as pro-social behaviours, the less attractive it would be to see a real bank robbery, the greater the attractiveness of seeing people tell each other how they feel inside in real life, the greater the sensitization, the less they watch television when sad but the more to avoid homework, the more they use books for information, the more they recognize that police on television get hurt, hurt people, and make mistakes; the less afraid when watching their favourite programs, the more they perceive verbal aggression as a solution to problems on television, the more they perceive aggressive and non-aggressive characteristics in television characters, the greater the number of robberies and killings seen on television, the more they like "fast" programs, the more they enjoy watching negative emotions on television, the more they like being excited while watching television, the more they talk with their friends about television contents, the more they watch television by themselves and doing homework, the more instances of recalling past transgressions while watching television, the greater their preference for louder volume, the greater they rationalize their behaviour by blaming television, the less often they dream and have nightmares about television contents, the more often they watch Crime/Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies but avoid Children's programs and Drama, the more they perceive victims in Crime/Crime Adventure and physical means of violence, the greater their perception of psychological forms of aggression in Situation Comedies.

In general, these findings support the notion that children with higher grades are less aggressive and more sensitive to various forms of aggression – and, as a result, are likely to be sensitized. They recognize stereotyping in police and probably become excited and gain emotional and intellectual satisfaction from watching emotional displays on television. Nevertheless, they prefer watching programs which have various kinds of violence, but do not translate these preferences into aggressive behaviours. Such findings argue strongly for knowledge of individual differences, since in this case the brighter person does not conform to the stereotype that "seeing is imitating".

Several findings have already been reported concerning the activity level of viewers and its relation to other variables; we shall report additional correlations here. The greater the activity level of viewers: the more extroverted they are judged, the more physically aggressive solutions they suggest to problems, the more

they desire to be policemen/women, the greater their use of aggression in the last week and suggestions of aggression as solutions to problems, the more afraid and angry they are with parents and alone, the fewer passive and indirect forms of aggression and pro-social behaviours seen in real life, the more attractive is seeing people hurt and their feelings hurt in real life, the greater they use pretend-victimization, the greater they watch television when sad, and the more motives for watching television, the less use of books and parents for information but greater use of friends and television for information, the less they perceive verbal aggression as a solution on television, the less they perceive people helping each other on television, the fewer non-aggressive characteristics they see in television characters, the more they enjoy watching fighting on television, the less they are able to guess next events on television programs, the less likely they are to dream about television contents, the more they believe they learn violent behaviours that they shouldn't from television, the more they perceive physical aggression in Drama.

These findings with higher active children are rather consistently negative, e.g., they are more aggressive and use pretend-victimization, they depend more upon television and friends than books and parents. However, there is little to suggest that these are related to television-viewing and preferences, i.e., they don't prefer violent programs or watch them. It would seem that they are fairly independent of television effects since it is likely that they produce their own stimulation and interests.

A final viewer characteristic is one of introversion-extroversion. Although some findings have already been reported, a few more were found, some of which are presented here. The greater the extroversion of viewers: the more they would like to be policemen/women, the fewer aggressive solutions to problems suggested, the less angry and afraid they are when with parents and alone, the less attractive it is to be chased by the police, the less use of books and friends for information, the more friends they have, the more they perceive people on television as talking a lot and tattling, the fewer killings they've seen on television, the greater their perception of consequences for criminals on television, the less they enjoy watching violent behaviours on television, the more they watch television alone and while eating, the worse their ability to guess next events on television programs, the more they believe they learn violent behaviours from television, the less they understand the motives of assailants while watching television, the more they enjoy children's programs. As a viewer's extroversion increases, we find that they are more sensitive to the consequences for criminals, suggest fewer aggressive solutions, and are particularly sensitive to the verbal interactions of television characters. These findings support the notion that extroverts are more likely to be sensitized to social cues emitted by

others and to guide their own behaviours accordingly. On the other hand, the lack of many correlations suggests that introversion-extroversion is but a small influence in the fabric of television influences and individual differences associated with these influences.

The next few pages of results will detail the *aggressive dispositions/behaviours of viewers* and their relations to television perceptions and preferences and the effects of television. The more viewers suggested *physical aggression* as a solution to problems: the more they wanted to be criminals, the more use of actual aggression in the last week and the greater the overall aggressive tendencies (suggestions and usage), the greater the attractiveness of seeing a real bank robbery, the greater overall attractiveness of aggression in real life (like to see many different kinds), the greater the pretend-victimization, the less use of books for information, the fewer having female favourite characters on television, the more perceived physical aggression on television as a solution to problems, the fewer aggressive and non-aggressive characteristics perceived in television characters, the greater the enjoyment of watching violent behaviours on television while not enjoying watching pro-social behaviours on television, the fewer things frighten them on television, the fewer emotions experienced while watching television, the more they perceive kids on television as having more friends, the more they recall instances of past transgressions while watching television, the more they believe they have learned violent behaviours from television, the less they are upset by watching violent themes on television, the more they enjoy Crime/Crime Adventure, Children's programs, and Drama; and the more they watched Children's programs and Drama, the more they perceived people hurt on Children's programs and through physical means.

To characterize the viewers who suggest physical aggression as a solution to problems: they enjoy violent programs and even perceive violence in Children's programs; real life aggression is also attractive to them and they know how to pretend to be a victim, they enjoy television violence but avoid pro-social behaviours on television; they are "tough" in claiming things don't frighten them and this may be due to being emotionally "flat" (do not experience emotions); and they readily admit they learn violent behaviours from television.

The viewers who suggest *verbal aggression* are characterized by these correlations: would like to be criminals and avoid suggesting constructive solutions to problems, their overall aggressive tendencies (usage and suggestions) are high, they have seen verbal and passive aggression in real life but have a low estimation of the number of shootings in Calgary, they have a greater overall attractiveness of aggression in real life as well as high pretend-victimization scores. The more viewers suggest verbal aggression as solutions: the more they watch television to be alone, to avoid homework and

chores, and when bored, the more their favourite television characters are male, the more they perceive police on television as getting hurt, hurting people and making mistakes; the more they perceive criminals on television as strong and exciting, the more they see verbal aggression as a solution to problems on television, the more they perceive aggressive and non-aggressive characteristics of people on television, the more killings they perceive on television, the greater their perception of consequences to criminals on television, the more they perceive criminals liking jail, the more they like "fast" programs, the more they enjoy watching violent behaviours and negative emotions on television, the more they avoid being frightened when watching television, the more emotions experienced while watching television, the more they have dreams about television contents, the more they get upset about violent themes on television, the more they watch Situation Comedies but avoid Drama, the more they enjoy Situation Comedies but don't enjoy Children's programs.

The picture of viewers who prefer verbally aggressive solutions is quite different from that of viewers preferring physical aggression in terms of style. Although they too would like to be criminals and find and use aggression as attractive and can pretend victimization, their perceptions of police and criminals on television fit stereotypes; and because of their preference over verbal modes of dealing, they have a greater capacity to perceive and label many aggressive and non-aggressive characteristics in others. They perceive consequences and feel emotions and relish these emotions (while the physically aggressive do not); violence permeates their dreams. However, they do *not* prefer or particularly enjoy watching violence on television (although one can assume they watch these because of their answers to television contents). One could argue that they would not admit to their interest and preference for violent programs. Nevertheless, these viewers are sensitive to others; but more importantly, they may enjoy being manipulative. But again, we see the problem of attempting to correlate aggression with what or how much they enjoy violence on television; these viewers apparently do not, while those preferring physically aggressive solutions do.

The more viewers suggest *passive aggressive* solutions to problems: the fewer constructive solutions, the warmer the parent-child relationship, the less indirect aggression they've seen in real life, the more female stereotypes they adhere to, the more physical and passive aggression they perceive as solutions to problems on television, the more overall aggressive solutions seen on television and the fewer constructive solutions, the more robberies and killings they've seen on television, the more they talk to their friends about television contents, the less inclined they are to believe kids and homes on television are nicer than theirs, the less they watch television alone or while eating, the

more they watch and enjoy Situation Comedies and Drama. Again, these viewers are quite different from the previous two types; these do not have the many correlations with the use of aggression, attractiveness of aggression, and criminal activities. They have social contacts. It would be an exaggeration to label these viewers as "aggressive" while the first two types, those using physical and verbal suggestions for problem-solving, clearly are.

An examination of Table 3 reveals one of the unique means by which we can compare the effects of variables: the viewers who suggested *indirect aggression* have many more negative correlations with the same potential number of items than the other viewers; this will soon be evident and requires another classification or typology of aggressive viewer. The more viewers suggested indirect aggression as a solution for problems: the fewer constructive solutions they gave, the less they saw verbal, passive and indirect forms of aggression in real life, the less attractive seeing people helping each other and telling how they feel inside in real life, the greater the *desensitization* (or less the sensitization), the more they watched television when angry with someone or to avoid homework or when bored, the less they used books or television for information but the more they used their parents for information, the more sexual stereotypic responses they gave, the less they perceived police on television as exciting, getting hurt, hurting people, and making mistakes; the less they perceived physical aggression but the more indirect aggression as solution on television, the less they perceived aggressive characteristics in television characters, the less their perception of robberies, fights, and killings on television; the less they perceived criminals as liking jail, the less they enjoyed watching violent behaviours on television, the fewer emotions they experienced while watching television, the fewer friends they had, the more they denied recalling past transgressions while viewing television, the softer the television volume they preferred, the less they watched Crime/Crime Adventure, Situation Comedies (they deny any enjoyment from the latter), the fewer victims they perceived in Crime/Crime Adventure, the more they enjoyed watching Children's programs. The basic style of these viewers is one of rejection, of denying, of hiding feelings – which will probably result in fewer socialization experiences. One cannot know whether this style is due to television since their responses cannot be further analyzed to determine whether they are denying their interest in television violence or whether they just aren't interested. The hunch of the principal investigator is that their aggressiveness is from their environment rather than television; their subtlety of aggression is basically a denial of being aggressive (as mentioned in the introduction) and the instances of modelled indirect aggression in the media are relatively few: thus it is difficult to believe that so few instances

could produce so many negative correlations in this type of aggressive viewer.

Now that we have examined those viewers who gave aggressive solutions to problems, let us examine the viewers who gave constructive solutions to problems posed to them. The more the viewers gave constructive (non-aggressive) solutions: the less actual aggression they used in the last week, the less afraid and angry they are with parents and when alone, the more the overall attractiveness of criminal activities but the less the overall attractiveness of real life forms of aggression, the less they watch television to avoid homework, the more they use books as sources of information, the more they perceive police on television as unhappy, getting hurt, and hurting people; the more constructive solutions to problems they perceive on television, the lower their perceptions of killings on television, the more they enjoy people being friendly on television, the more they watch television alone, the more they can guess next events on television programs, the greater the television volume they prefer, the less they enjoy Crime/Crime Adventure programs, the more they perceive physical violence on Crime/Crime Adventure, the more they perceive personal/"selfish" motives for aggression on Crime/Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies. There is little patterning among these correlations, but they do show considerably fewer correlations with watching and behaving aggressively as well as being sensitive to the motives concerning why people get hurt on television.

Another measure of aggressiveness of viewers is their *actual use* in the past week (to the degree that children respond openly); the more aggression children reported using in the last week: the more unhappy they are with their parents and when alone, the more they are afraid and angry with their parents, the less their parents understand them, the more they perceive passive aggression in real life, the greater their estimation of robberies and fights in Calgary, the more attractive seeing real life aggression is, the greater their pretend-victimization, the more they watch television to avoid homework and chores, the more they use friends as sources of information, the more they perceive people on television understanding each other and telling how they feel inside, the greater their overall perception of crime on television, the greater their enjoyment of watching negative emotions on television, the more they talk to their friends about television contents, the greater the negative evaluations of self and home compared with kids on television, the more instances of recalling past transgressions while watching television, the greater their preference for loud television volume, the greater the tendency to rationalize behaviours by blaming television, the more nightmares about television contents, the more they watch and enjoy Crime/Crime Adventure and perceive physical means of violence, the more they watch Drama. In many ways, these viewers are like those suggesting physical aggression as solutions (the two variables are corre-

lated). However, the main difference is that these viewers are not emotionally flat; they are average and susceptible to socialization experiences. Although they prefer and enjoy television violence, it is not known whether this preference is the cause or the effect of their actual use of aggression.

Before leaving this section on viewer characteristics, suffice it to say that the correlations between the different kinds of aggressive viewers and their motives for watching, their program preferences, and other variables which have been reported to influence them, do not give us "cause-and-effect" relationships; they do give data concerning the complexity and their mutual influences upon one another, and allow the assessment of past experiences and the viewer's impressions of these experiences as well as contemporaneous influences.

Viewer perceptions of television contents and program preferences. We shall begin our description of what viewers perceive on television (we have already reported numerous correlations between viewer characteristics and perceptions of television contents) by examining the correlations between the amount and enjoyment of viewing violent contents to viewers' perceptions of violence, the means of violence, and the perceived motives of assailants for violence.

Amount of Viewing Crime/Crime Adventure. The more viewers watched Crime/Crime Adventure: the more victims they perceived (i.e., someone getting hurt) but the means were only physical (not psychological); the more the reasons for violence were judged emotionally (e.g., assailant was angry) or through labelling (e.g., he was a criminal).

Enjoyment of Crime/Crime Adventure. The more viewers enjoyed Crime/Crime Adventure: the more victims they perceived, but these were hurt by physical means only.

Perception of victims for Crime/Crime Adventure. The more victims perceived: the more physical means perceived, the more reasons were judged emotionally and through labelling, the more the motives of assailants were judged personal/"selfish" (e.g., personal gain), the more victims were hurt accidentally (e.g., unintentionally).

Amount of Viewing Situation Comedies. The more viewers watched: the more they enjoyed, the more victims were perceived via physical means, the more the emotional and accidental justification.

Enjoyment of Situation Comedies. The more viewers enjoyed: the more the perception of physical means of violence.

Perception of victims for Situation Comedies. The more victims perceived: the more physical and psychological means were perceived, the more emotional, personal/"selfish", and accidental reasons perceived for violence.

Amount and enjoyment of viewing Children's programs. The more viewers watched or enjoyed; the

more they enjoyed, the more victims they perceived receiving physical forms of violence, the more accidental justifications.

Perception of victims for Children's programs. The more victims perceived: the more physical means, the more emotional, personal, and accidental justifications.

Amount and enjoyment of viewing Drama. The more they watched or enjoyed: the more physical means of violence were perceived for the victims.

Perception of victims in Drama. The more victims perceived: the more physical and psychological means were perceived, the more emotional and accidental justifications (but not personal).

From these correlations, we see that viewing every kind of program leads to perceptions of victims; however, the means of violence differ – Crime/Crime Adventure and Children's programs have physical forms of violence, while Situation Comedies and Drama have both physical and psychological forms of violence. On the other hand, the motives of assailants or justifications also differed across program kinds: for Crime/-Crime Adventure, Situation Comedies, and Children's programs, all three motives were perceived (emotional, personal, and accidental); while for Drama, only the former and latter. Therefore, viewers' perceptions of the forms of violence and the motives do vary across kinds of programs.

One avenue of assessing viewers' perceptions of television contents is to examine the correlations associated with solutions to problems as perceived by viewers when watching television. The more viewers perceive *physical aggression* on television as solutions for problems presented on television: the greater the amount of crime seen on television, the more viewers enjoy watching violent behaviours on television and dislike watching pro-social behaviours, the more viewers claim to be upset by violent themes on television. The more viewers perceive *verbal aggression* as solutions presented on television: the more viewers perceive aggressive and non-aggressive characteristics of television characters, the more viewers perceive criminals liking jail, the more viewers enjoy watching negative emotions on television, the more viewers talk to friends about television contents, the more viewers can guess the next events on television programs, the more viewers recall past transgressions while watching television, the more viewers watch Crime/Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies and perceive victims in both. The more viewers perceive *passive aggression* as solutions on television: the more viewers recalled instances of past transgressions, the fewer the negative comparisons between television homes and kids and themselves, the greater the perceptions of psychological means of violence in Crime/Crime Adventure programs. The more viewers perceive *indirect aggression* on television as a solution to problems: the less viewers talk with friends about television contents, the more negative comparisons

between television homes and kids and themselves, the less Crime/Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies watched but the more Children's programs and Drama watched and enjoyed. The more viewers perceived *constructive solutions* on television for problems: the less crime perceived on television, the more ways viewers try to avoid frightening television contents, the more negative comparisons between homes and kids on television and themselves, the less they dream about television contents, the less they watch and enjoy Situation Comedies. It would seem that physical and verbal aggression as solutions presented on television are related to viewing and liking violent contents, while passive and indirect forms are less influenced by program preferences, although each form of violence used by viewers is positively correlated with having seen it on television or in real life.

The total amount of crime perceived on television (robberies, fights, and killings) was positively correlated with viewers' perceptions of consequences for criminals on television, enjoyment of watching violent behaviours on television, and negatively correlated with ways to avoid frightening television contents, and talking to parents about television contents. The greater the amount of crime perceived on television: the more viewers liked being scared while watching, the more emotions experienced while watching, the more viewers dreamed about television contents, and the more viewers watched and enjoyed Crime/ Crime Adventure programs and perceived victims hurt by physical means. And the more that viewers perceive consequences for criminals on television programs: the more viewers like being excited while watching television, the more viewers believe they learn things they shouldn't by watching television. These correlations and others show that an important ingredient in perceptions of crime and their consequences are influenced by the emotions generated or expected by viewers. It would seem that viewers watch crime for excitement and emotional arousal, and these leave residues in the form of dreams. It may also indicate that viewers who have learned not to avoid crime and frightening contents on television may estimate or overestimate the violence they think they've seen on television.

Two other kinds of perceptions were investigated: whether viewers perceive criminals as liking jail and whether rehabilitation of criminals occurs – and whether these perceptions are related to viewers' television preferences. The former perception was found to be significantly correlated to viewers' enjoyment of Crime/ Crime Adventure programs and their perception of victims in these programs, especially through psychological means. Similarly, the greater the perception of rehabilitation of criminals (e.g., through going to school or getting a job) is positively related to viewers watching Crime/Crime Adventure programs. Thus we have a classic case of different effects of viewing Crime/Crime Adventure programs: on the one

hand, such programs erroneously create the impression that criminals enjoy going to jail, while on the other, they give the impression that criminals are rehabilitated. Both are distortions, but the latter gives an unrealistic view of our penal system.

Effects of viewing television

We have already discussed several correlations between variables and certain effects of viewing television such as sensitization, desensitization, images of violence, victimization, and rationalization. Before we provide additional correlations, it should be noted that the distinction between effects and perceptions is often arbitrarily made. That is, do the perceptions of television contents produce the effects, are the perceptions themselves effects, and/or do the effects occur and the viewers later change their perceptions to fit the effects? Of course, without systematic and longitudinal research we cannot answer this question, but we can gain enough information so that the next serious attempt at determining causal factors and processes can further refine and explicate these relationships.

The amount of *sensitization* in viewers entered into several correlations. The greater the sensitization: the more often viewers watch television when sad or lonely and want to be alone, the more viewers use television as their source for information, the unhappier they have been recently, the more viewers perceive verbal, passive, and indirect aggression on television as a solution to problems, the more viewers perceive aggressive characteristics in television characters, the more robberies viewers perceive on television, the more viewers perceive criminals like going to jail, the more viewers claim to have seen children spanked on television, the more viewers enjoy watching people help each other and being friendly on television, the more things that frighten viewers on television, the more ways a viewer avoids being frightened by television contents, the more viewers have negative comparisons between homes and kids on television and themselves, the more viewers watch television alone and with friends and while doing homework, the better able viewers are to guess the next events in a program, the more viewers recall past transgressions while watching television, the more viewers have nightmares about television contents, the more viewers believe they learn things on television they shouldn't, the more viewers perceive victims in Crime/-Crime Adventure programs (but have no preferences for these programs), the more Situation Comedies they watch and the more they perceive victims who receive physical and psychological forms of violence. As the reader can readily see, the correlated items are a mixture of motives, moods, observation of different kinds of aggression, enjoyment of pro-social behaviours, being frightened, and possible feelings of guilt, and having behaviours which prevent desensitization (avoids frightening television contents) and sensitivity to victimization by both physical and psychological

means. Further analyses of sensitization will be carried out when comparing correlations between data from Phases I and II.

The amount of pretend-victimization has been previously correlated with individual difference variables and others, but let us add several more to help us understand the factors that may contribute to the processes and results of such behaviours. The more viewers pretend victimization: the greater their sensitization, the more often viewers watch television when sad, want to be alone, lonely and bored: the more viewers use friends and television as sources of information and avoid parents for information, the more viewers have males as favourite television characters; the more viewers feel positive and negative feelings while watching favourite programs, the more programs viewers do not understand, the more viewers perceive physical and indirect aggression as solutions to problems on television, the more viewers perceive aggressive characteristics in television characters, the more viewers perceive consequences for criminals on television, the more viewers enjoy watching violent behaviours and negative emotions on television, the more things which frighten them on television, the more ways viewers use to avoid frightening television contents, the more they talk to their parents and friends about television contents, the more emotions viewers feel while watching television, the more viewers watch alone and with friends and while doing homework, the more they recall past transgressions while watching television, the more viewers rationalize their behaviours by blaming television, the more viewers dream (including nightmares) about television contents, the more viewers believe they learn things on television they shouldn't (especially violent themes), and the more they perceive victims hurt by physical means on Crime/Crime Adventure programs and enjoy watching Situation Comedies, the more viewers perceive victims in Situation Comedies, Children's programs, and Drama.

These findings suggest that in order to pretend victimization, viewers need to have a rich emotional life (e.g., feel what others feel and show feelings), must perceive aggressive features in others, must be sensitized to violence, and know they can rationalize their behaviours if need be, and are sensitive to victimization of all kinds in television programs.

Rationalization, or blaming television for behaviours, has been discussed under several rubrics, e.g., pretend-victimization, viewer characteristics. Let us just add a few correlations and later characterize the rationalizer (after we examine the correlations between Phases I and II). The more viewers rationalize their behaviour: the more they state that they learn things they shouldn't from television, especially violent themes (this is, in fact, the reason they give to others!), the more they perceive victims in Crime/Crime Adventure programs as well as recognize physical and psychological forms of violence and personal/"selfish" motives for assailants.

Having *nightmares* about television content is positively related to the viewers believing that they see things on television that they shouldn't learn about, especially violence; and being upset when seeing violence on television. These nightmares are significantly related to the amount of Crime/Crime Adventure, Children's programs, and Drama watched (but not Situation Comedies).

Correlations among Variables in Phase I and Effects in Phase II

One of the purposes of Phase II was to potentiate the possible effects of television compared with those reported by viewers in Phase I. That is, although correlations were expected between viewer characteristics and effects such as sensitization and pretend-victimization in Phase I (home interviews), the presentation of actual television programs (in Phase II) was expected to increase these effects, thereby allowing correlation of viewer characteristics (and other variables) with the effects of actual programs. Second, a potential problem in correlating the variables and effects within Phase I was that in the home interviews, some viewers may wish to appear consistent and/or give answers they believe are expected. Therefore, by increasing the period of time between assessment of variables and the effects of actual television programs (regardless of which programs they watched), we may compare the strength and durability of these variables. That is, if the same variables are correlated in the same way (direction) to effects in Phases I and II, this offers evidence that these variables have substantial impact on the effects of television (children's impressions as well as actual influences).

Images of Violence. The more victims viewers perceive as hurt in Phase II (see Table 8): the greater the sensitization score in Phase I, the less parents encourage television watching, the lower the perception of crime on television, the less enjoyment of watching pro-social behaviours on television, the fewer negative evaluations of themselves compared with kids and homes on television, the less they enjoyed watching Crime/Crime Adventure programs, the more they perceived psychological aggression in Situation comedies, the more they watched Drama.

The more viewers perceived victims as showing feelings (e.g., pain, grief): the more children there were in the family, the less television was used as "background noise", the more attractive criminal activities were perceived (e.g., would like to stay in jail, try to rob a store), the less they perceived criminals as liking jail, the less they believe in rehabilitation of criminals, the more they perceive victims being hurt physically, the more they perceive psychological aggression in Situation Comedies, the less physical aggression they perceive in Drama.

The more viewers perceived victims as attempting to reconcile and discuss the conflict: the less parents

encourage television watching, the more introverted the viewers, the greater the viewers' abilities to guess upcoming events in television programs, the more Situation Comedies they watch, the greater their perception of psychological aggression in Situation Comedies and Drama.

The more viewers perceived victims as verbally retaliating: the later-born the viewer, the more viewers suggest aggressive solutions to problems, the more attractive criminal activities were perceived, the more they watched television for non-social motives (e.g., to avoid homework and chores and eliminate boredom), the more they watched television as a source of information, the less they perceived that criminals like jail, the less they enjoyed Drama and perceived physical aggression in Drama.

The more viewers perceived victims as physically retaliating: the more they use television as a source for information, the less they perceive consequences for criminals on television, the more they perceive criminals as liking jail, the more they watch Drama.

The more viewers perceived assailants as family members (related to victims): the more they perceive consequences to criminals on television, the fewer negative evaluations of themselves compared with kids and homes on television, the less they enjoy Crime/-Crime Adventure and Situation Comedies or watch Children's programs, the more they perceive psychological aggression in Situation Comedies but do not perceive physical aggression in Drama.

The more viewers perceived assailants as friends of victims: the older the children, the less their parents encourage television watching, the less they watch television for social motives (e.g., when angry with someone or want to be alone), the fewer constructive solutions they see on television for conflict situations, the more they enjoy Situation Comedies but dislike Drama, the fewer victims they perceive in Situation Comedies.

The more viewers perceive physical consequences (e.g., being shot, hit) for assailants: the fewer aggressive characteristics they perceive in television characters, the more they watch and enjoy Drama and perceive victims.

The more viewers perceive verbal/psychological consequences (e.g., scolded, "told off") for assailants: the more attractive criminal activities were perceived, the more non-social motives (e.g., boredom) for watching television, the less they enjoy Drama, the more they perceive psychological aggression in Drama and Situation Comedies.

The more viewers perceive psychological withdrawal (e.g., loss of status and love) as consequences for assailants: the more their parents discourage television watching, the less they enjoy Children's programs, the more they perceive psychological aggression in Situation Comedies and Drama.

The more viewers perceive assailants as experiencing

psychological/emotional consequences (e.g., guilt, remorse): the younger the child, the lower the viewers' activity level, the more introverted the viewers, the more programs the parents believe are inappropriate for their children, the less viewers believe in rehabilitation of criminals, the greater viewers' abilities to guess upcoming events in television programs, the less viewers watch Crime/Crime Adventure.

The happier viewers were when they saw the consequences for assailants: the less attractive were criminal activities, the more they believe criminals like jail, the more they watch and enjoy Situation Comedies. The more sad and angry viewers were when they saw consequences for assailants on television: the more attractive seeing real life aggression, the greater their pretend-victimization, the more things which frighten them on television, the less they watch Situation Comedies, the more they perceive victims in Drama, the more they perceive psychological aggression in Situation Comedies and Drama.

The greater viewers' criminal stereotyping (e.g., criminals like being chased by police, being a criminal is exciting): the lower their grades in school, the more extroverted they are, the closer the parent-child relationship, the greater their sensitization (e.g., afraid when alone after dark), the more they enjoy Situation Comedies.

The variables which most influence viewers' perceptions of: violence, the reactions of victims, and the consequences for victims, and the viewers' emotional reaction to these consequences, were: their preferences for programs other than Crime/Crime Adventure (and often the avoidance of these programs as shown by negative correlations), their sensitivities to psychological forms of aggression, and their parents' lack of encouragement or discouragement of television watching. That is, children who avoid violent programs recognize overt and subtle forms of violence. They have parents who take an active role in helping them make the best selections for television viewing; and as a result the children's perceptions of violence are the most discerning and sensitive. Three other important trends should be noted. First, *younger* children perceive more emotional consequences on television than older children; this may imply increased desensitization as children grow older (although other findings are inconsistent with this notion) and/or young children respond spontaneously to the emotional reactions of others by virtue of their lack of cognitive/interpretative overlay, i.e., the older the child, the more he/she may deny, interpret, and/or distort the emotional consequences for criminals. Second, depending upon the kinds of perceptions of violence, the motives for television-watching appear to be important, e.g., children who watch television to avoid homework and chores and to eliminate boredom and/or avoid social motives are likely to be sensitive to verbal forms of violence (e.g., the victims retaliate by "telling off") and the

relationship between the victim and assailant. Third, it appears that introverted children may be more sensitive to threat and violent situations, e.g., they see alternatives to violence and perceive subtle forms of violence on television, while extroverted children stereotype criminals (i.e., not sensitive to differences among people and kinds of violence).

Aggressive attitudes and dispositions. Viewers who have aggressive attitudes toward criminals (e.g., believe in capital punishment, believe people should have guns) were found to be related to several variables. The greater this aggressive attitude toward criminals: the younger the child and the lower his/her grades in school, the less his/her mother and father watch aggression on television, the warmer the parent-child relationship, the greater the desensitization (less sensitization), the less use of books as sources for information, the fewer constructive solutions for problems perceived on television, the more he/she talks with parents about television contents, the less physical violence seen on Crime/Crime Adventure programs.

The more viewers suggest aggressive solutions for conflict situations: the younger the children, the higher the socio-economic status of the family, the more parents discourage television-watching, the closer the viewers sit to the television, the more their parents watch violence on television, the more attractive criminal activities are, the fewer non-social motives for watching television, the less use of television as a source for information, the more aggressive characteristics perceived in television characters, the greater the perception of consequences for criminals on television, the more they believe in rehabilitation of criminals, the less they enjoy watching violent behaviours on television, and the less they watch Situation Comedies.

The more viewers admit that they used aggression in the last week: the more aggressive (actual and aggressive solutions) they were in Phase I (approximately six weeks before; this correlation shows the stability of such a measure), the fewer constructive solutions they saw on television, the less they believed that criminals like jail, the more they enjoyed Crime/Crime Adventure and watched and enjoyed Situation Comedies.

It appears that aggressive attitudes of viewers and what influences them depend upon the particular attitude or disposition. For example, viewers who take a "hard line" with criminals appear to be desensitized, see few constructive solutions on television, and have parents who have avoided exposing their children to aggression. On the other hand, those who suggest aggressive solutions have parents who do watch television violence and are somewhat sensitive to various forms of violence on television. Both, however, are more likely to be found in younger children, and both do not prefer to watch violent programs – which might sensitize them.

Sensitization. The greater the viewers' sensitization

(e.g., would like to learn karate, believe someone is following them, believe parents should have a gun): the younger the viewers (implies desensitization with age?), the lower the socio-economic status of the family, the greater the pretend-victimization, the greater the sensitization score in Phase I (this shows stability of sensitization), the greater the social motives for watching television (e.g., when lonely), the more they use television as a source for information, the more things frighten them on television, the more times viewers recall past transgressions while watching television, the more viewers watch children's programs and Drama and enjoy Crime/Crime Adventure and Children's programs, the more they perceive victims in Situation Comedies and Children's programs, with the latter perceived as having physical forms of aggression.

The greater the viewers' interest in guns (i.e., play and real and ownership): the older the viewers, the lower the socio-economic status of their parents with the family having a single parent present, the more viewers watch television for non-social reasons (e.g., boredom), the greater their desensitization, the greater use of television as a source for information, the fewer constructive solutions and the more aggressive solutions they see for problems presented on television, the fewer things that frighten them on television and the fewer ways they attempt to avoid frightening contents, the more they enjoy Situation Comedies and the less they see victims in Situation Comedies.

The two measures for sensitization probably parallel the two aspects mentioned in the introduction: awareness (and vigilance) of the potential for violence and mobilization. And even a casual inspection of the correlations shows quite different pictures for these two aspects. For example, awareness and vigilance may be the result of being frightened more by television contents, being younger and feelings of guilt and watching violence; whereas for mobilization, perhaps a degree of desensitization is necessary (in order to justify the potential use of guns against people) – and as a result, they are no longer frightened by television contents and do not prefer violence (or they otherwise may be sensitized). That the mobilized viewers are older and from lower socio-economic-status parents may also account for their desensitization, this being due to perhaps more real life exposure than televised exposure to violence (assuming as some authorities do, that lower socio-economic people are exposed to more violence through being victimized more often and having fewer resources available).

Victimization. Pretend-victimization (e.g., pretending hurt when not really hurt) in Phase II was correlated with a few variables from Phase I. The greater the pretend-victimization: the more aggressive solutions to problems, the more pretend-victimization admitted to in Phase I (this indicates stability of this characteristic), the more they watched television for social motives (e.g., when lonely, angry with someone), the more ways

they use to avoid being frightened by television contents, the more victims they perceive on Children's programs, and the more physical violence they say they see on Children's programs.

Actual victimization (e.g., how many times they claim to have been hit, yelled at, called names in the last week) was also related to their previously reported aggressiveness (actual aggression and suggestions for aggressive solutions to problems). The more they were victimized: the fewer constructive solutions they perceived on television to problems, the greater the recall of past transgressions while watching television, and the more they enjoy Situation Comedies.

Both actual and pretend-victimization are related to being aggressive, i.e., those who are aggressive probably invite retaliation and their own victimization. Neither kind of victimization is related to preference for watching violence, although they do watch television and are somewhat sensitive to violent contents. It was found that pretend-victimization is a rather stable characteristic, which may allow a child to manipulate others, to change roles from victim to victimizer – depending upon his/her anticipations of consequences.

Chapter Five

Summary

The main purpose of this study was to determine the effects of television upon young viewers. By “effect”, we mean either that we can show a change in behaviour due to experimental manipulation (as in Phase II where differences among children viewing different programs were found), or a behaviour which should not occur but does (e.g., a child who expresses fears about burglars breaking into his/her home shows a behaviour change from what should be a base rate of zero).

The following section presents the effects and summarizes the variables (kinds of viewers and their milieu) which *significantly* influence these effects. When there was considerable discrepancy among the variables and/or their direction of correlation, these variables were omitted from the lists under effects.

Distortion of Reality/Images of Violence

Variables influencing these effects were as follows:

Believing in criminal stereotypes

- Lower grades in school
- Extroverted
- Warm and positive parent-child relationship
- Sensitized
- Perceives subtle forms of violence on television
- Enjoys violent television programs

High estimation of crime in Calgary

- Female
- Larger family
- More than one television set
- Warm and positive parent-child relationship
- Mother and father watch television violence
- Lack of parental discouragement of television watching
- Television on as “background noise”
- Negative mood while watching television

Perceives retaliation by victim/consequences (physical, verbal)

- Male
- Extroverted
- Later born
- Lack of parental discouragement of television watching

- Suggests aggressive solutions to everyday problems
- Negative mood while watching television
- Prefers watching television as source of information about world

Motives for watching television: boredom, avoidance of homework and chores

Criminal activities perceived as attractive

Positive perception of criminals, criminal activities, and violence in real life

- Older child
- High activity level
- More than one television set
- Television in child's bedroom
- Cable television (11 channels)
- Mother watches television violence
- Perceives victims on television as retaliating
- Sad when aggressor receives consequences

Positive perception of criminals, violence, and negative emotions on television

- Older child
- High activity level
- Introverted
- More than one television set
- Television in child's bedroom
- Cable television (11 channels)
- Perceives victims on television as showing feelings

Perceives subtle forms of violence on television and in real life

- Older child
- Low activity level
- Extroverted
- Both parents present in home
- Lower socio-economic status of family
- Warm and positive parent-child relationship
- Mother watches television violence
- Sad when aggressor receives consequences

Believing in rehabilitation of criminals

- Male
- Suggests aggressive solutions to everyday problems
- Watches violent television programs

Aggressive Attitudes and Dispositions

Variables influencing these effects were as follows:

Actual use of aggression in everyday situations

- Larger family
- High activity level
- Unhappy
- Loud volume on television preferred
- Television on as “background noise”
- Parental encouragement of television watching
- Mother watches television violence
- Afraid of parents
- Motives for watching television: boredom, avoidance of homework and chores
- Talks with friends about television
- Prefers friends as source of information about world
- Low belief of criminal stereotypes
- High estimation of crime in Calgary
- Positive perception of violence in real life
- Belief that homes and children on television better/-happier than own/self
- Enjoys watching negative emotions on television
- Pretends being victimized
- Recalls past transgressions while watching television
- Blames television for own transgressions
- Has nightmares about television contents
- Enjoys watching violent television programs

Suggests physically aggressive solutions to everyday problems

- Male
- High activity level
- Actual use of aggression in everyday situations
- Avoids using books as source of information about world
- Positive mood while watching television
- Positive perception of criminals, criminal activities, and violence in real life
- Enjoys watching violent behaviours on television
- Dislikes watching pro-social behaviours on television
- Not frightened by television contents
- Not emotionally reactive while watching television
- Pretends being victimized
- Recalls past transgressions while watching television
- Blames television for own transgressions
- Watches violent television programs

Suggests psychologically aggressive solutions to everyday problems (indirect aggression is excluded)

- Female
- Older child
- Lack of parental discouragement of television watching
- Actual use of aggression in everyday situations
- Enjoys “fast” programs
- Motives for watching television: boredom, avoidance of homework and chores
- Watches television when alone
- Talks with friends about television

- Perceives consequences to criminals on television
- Believes in criminal stereotypes
- Perceives subtle forms of violence
- Perceives police negatively
- Perceives criminals positively
- Enjoys watching violent behaviours on television
- Enjoys watching negative emotions on television
- Avoids being frightened by television contents
- Emotionally reactive while watching television
- Has dreams about television contents

Possesses aggressive attitudes about criminals

- Younger child
- Lower grades in school
- Parents avoid watching television violence
- Warm and positive parent-child relationship
- Avoids using books as source of information about world
- Talks with parents about television
- Desensitized

Sensitization/Desensitization

Variables influencing these effects were as follows:

Sensitization

- Lower socio-economic status of family
- Perceives police positively
- Believes in criminal stereotypes
- Motives for watching television: lonely, when angry with someone, when wants to be alone, when doing homework
- Prefers television as source of information about world
- Actual victimization by others
- Negative mood while watching television
- High estimation of violence on television
- Believes that homes and children on television better/happier than own/self
- Enjoys watching pro-social behaviours on television
- Perceives victims on television as running away or doing nothing
- Perceives consequences to criminals on television
- Frightened by television contents
- Avoids being frightened by television contents
- Guesses next events on television programs
- Recalls past transgressions while watching television
- Perceives subtle forms of violence
- Has nightmares about television contents
- Pretends being victimized
- Enjoys watching television violence

Desensitization

- Older child
- Mother watches television violence
- Possesses aggressive attitudes about criminals
- Interested in guns for self and parents

Interest in guns for self and parents

- Older child
- Lower socio-economic status of family

- Single parent family
- Motives for watching television: boredom, avoidance of homework and chores
- Prefers television as source of information about world
- Desensitized
- Does not perceive victims on television programs
- Negative mood while watching television
- Perceives victims on television as running away or calling for help
- Is happy when aggressor on television receives consequences
- Frightened by television contents
- Avoids being frightened by television contents

Recalling of past transgressions while watching television

- Older child
- Larger family
- Warm and positive parent-child relationship
- Cable television

Dreams/nightmares about television contents

- Younger
- Lower activity level
- Lack of parental discouragement of television watching
- Becomes upset when sees television violence
- Watches violent television programs

Victimization

Variables influencing these effects were as follows:

Actual victimization

- Believes that television contents represent reality
- Actual use of aggression in everyday situations
- Suggests aggressive solutions to everyday problems
- Believes that aggressors on television do not receive consequences from the legal system
- Does not believe that criminals get caught by police
- Perceives police negatively
- Recalls past transgressions while watching television

Pretends victimization

- High activity level
- Actual victimization by others
- Actual use of aggression in everyday situations
- Sensitized
- Motives for watching television: when lonely, angry with someone, to be alone, while doing homework
- Talks with parents and friends about television
- Believes that television contents represent reality
- Prefers using friends and television as sources of information about world, avoids parents
- Does not understand many programs on television
- Perceives subtle forms of violence on television
- Perceives criminals positively
- Perceives victims on television as calling for help
- Perceives consequences for criminals on television
- Enjoys watching violent behaviours on television
- Enjoys watching negative emotions on television

- Frightened by television contents
- Avoids being frightened by television contents
- Emotionally reacts while watching television
- Sad when sees consequences for aggressor on television
- Recalls past transgressions while watching television
- Blames television for own transgressions
- Has dreams and nightmares

Rationalization (Blaming Television for Transgressions)

Variables influencing this effect were as follows:

- Male
- Older child
- Both parents in the home
- Father watches television violence
- Actual use of aggression in everyday situations
- Perceives subtle forms of violence

Conclusions

We have found evidence for each effect of viewing televised violence that was initially proposed. We have usually found different aspects within each effect, with each aspect forming differing clusterings of variables (and yet overlapping to some extent). Practically all the variables included in this project showed up in several significant correlations among one another and with effects. Of course, some small proportion of these "significant" correlations may have been happenstance; nevertheless, the appearance and reappearance of many correlations under different circumstances and among different measures of the variable or effect give them credence and ultimately utility.

The development of the previous lists and their associated effects is one of the first serious attempts at developing *comprehensive* and *research-based* "profiles" of viewer and environmental characteristics for the specific and *numerous* effects of televised violence. We hope that such information can be applied to a thoughtful and sophisticated understanding of the myriad effects upon young viewers – with the result being a greater attempt to educate (or otherwise sensitize) parents, educators, and personnel in the communications industry to the complexities of such effects. Ultimately, we should be prepared to develop materials for such people, so that they can predict and prevent and/or remedy such effects as deemed necessary.

Endnotes

Chapter One

- 1 The reader may wish to examine these possible effects before continuing; these are discussed on pages 13-17.
- 2 Fouts (1973, 1975).
- 3 Bandura (1965, 1969, 1973).
- 4 Gerbner (1972), Long and Simon (1974), U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior (1972).
- 5 Foss and Fouts (1975).

Chapter Two

- 1 The three graduate students were Scott Kirker, Janet Lawlor, and Jill Mercer; Charlotte Johnston was the undergraduate Honours student. Each research assistant performed with exceptional competence, thoughtfulness, and conscientiousness throughout this project. The principal investigator wishes to express his deep appreciation for a job well done.
- 2 It is important to note that academic psychology dominant in North America emphasizes reductionism, critical analysis, simplistic experimental designs, and objective (and usually behavioural) measures that are assumed to assess the influence of variables. The way we train students in psychology corresponds to this reductionistic/objective approach – and herein lies one of the major problems in attempting to do research of the scope of this project dealing with the influence of televised violence, i.e., there is an absence of investigation of the complexity of the multifarious effects *at* the level of complexity they are found. That is, the approach taken here was not anti-reductionistic, but rather, an attempt to study the complexity of the effects and their interrelationships without prematurely attempting to reduce the complexity and thus possibly distort our understanding. On the other hand, throughout this project are numerous instances of reducing effects when such reduction clarifies and adds to the existing body of literature. However, this issue of reductionism is usually at the root of the debate concerning the effects of television on viewers; there has been too much time spent in making simple and over-generalized statements concerning the effects, rather than taking into consideration the kinds of violence portrayed, the perceptions of the viewer and his/her experiences, his/her ability to understand the forms of violence depicted, and the considerable dimensions by which viewers differ (e.g., individual differences such as personality, cognitive development). All these variables may and should produce different effects of violence on different viewers, e.g., some viewers may be sensitized, others desensitized, some fearful while others are fearful but continue watching. It was hoped that studying the complexity of interrelationships as well as the numerous variables assessed in this project might be a more useful approach than attempting to reduce the effects of viewing violence to one or two “simple” effects. And in this context I must express my appreciation to my research assistants, who were able to work in a project which was basically different from their reductionistic training. That is, they were able to accept and deal with the ambiguities inherent in studying complexity for complexity's sake and contribute to the objectivization of the instruments which would yield data sensitive to this

complexity. The ability to appreciate and work at different levels of conceptualization simultaneously is, I feel, unusual and worthy of hearty commendation.

- 3 Some categories had programs which were predominantly 30 minutes in duration, while others took 60 minutes. Therefore, when asking direct comparisons of programs or categories of programs, the differences must be understood to reflect the effects of duration and/or contents.
- 4 The experimenter was Iris Ewashen, graduate student in the Psychology Department, who had had considerable experience with children in terms of course work, previous career as a nurse, and mother. Her responsibilities were carried out with exceptional competence, thoughtfulness, and conscientiousness. I wish to express my deep appreciation for a job well done.

Chapter Three

- 1 I would like to thank Janet Lawlor for taking on this particularly demanding and important task of supervising the coding of data. Her diligence and perseverance were exemplary . . . Thanks.
- 2 I would like to thank Scott Kirker for handling the data descriptions and analyses. His thoroughness and sense of responsibility were crucial for the completion of this project . . . Thanks.

References

- Bandura, A. "Vicarious processes: A case of no-trial learning". In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 2). New York: Academic Press, 1965, pp. 1-55.
- Bandura, A. *Principles of Behavior Modification*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.
- Bandura, A. *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973.
- Foss, L., and Fouts, G. "Effects of frustration and cathartic opportunity on aggression in children". Paper presented to the American Psychological Association, Chicago, August, 1975.
- Fouts, G. "Effects of race and age of an audience on social facilitation in Black and white children". Report for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. (AMGC: IRO3MH22520-01), 1973.
- Fouts, G. "Sexual discrimination: Some distinctions, dimensions, and issues". Paper presented to the Women's studies in Higher Education Seminar, University of Calgary, May, 1975.
- Gerbner, G. "Violence in television drama: Trends and symbolic functions". In U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. *Television and Social Behavior* (Vol. 1): *Media Content and Control*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972. pp. 28-187.
- Long, M., and Simon, R. "The roles and statuses of women and children and family television programs". *Journalism Quarterly*, 1974, 51, 107-110.
- U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. *Television and Social Behavior* (Vols. 1-5). Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Appendix A

“Television Preferences” Interview

“Personal Experiences” Interview

“Television Perceptions” Interview

“Parents’ Questionnaire”

Viewer's name _____

Television Preferences

Do you ever watch	How Often N Sm Lts	How much Like: N Sm Lt	Anyone Hurt: Who?	How hurt?	Why did _____ get hurt?
<u>Flintstones</u>					
<u>Bionic Woman</u>					
<u>Jacques Cousteau</u>					
<u>Starsky & Hutch</u>					
<u>Sesame Street</u>					
<u>Waltons</u>					
<u>Donnie & Marie</u>					
<u>Six Million Dollar Man</u>					
<u>World of Disney</u>					
<u>Adam 12</u>					
<u>Happy Days</u>					
<u>Bugs Bunny/Road Runner</u>					
<u>Wild Kingdom</u>					
<u>S.W.A.T.</u>					
<u>M*A*S*H</u>					
<u>Little House/Prairie</u>					
<u>Carol Burnett</u>					
<u>All in the Family</u>					

Let's Make a Deal
Excuse My French

Do you ever watch	How Often N Sm Lts	How much Like: N Sm Lt	Anyone Hurt: Who?	How hurt?	Why did _____ get hurt?
<u>Match Game</u>					
<u>Maude</u>					
<u>Partridge Family</u>					
<u>Laverne & Shirley</u>					
<u>Gilligan's Island</u>					
<u>Forest Rangers</u>					
<u>Rhoda</u>					
<u>Welcome Back, Kotter</u>					
<u>Mary Tyler Moore</u>					
<u>Sidestreet</u>					
<u>Phyllis</u>					
<u>Emergency</u>					
<u>Jeffersons</u>					
<u>Kojak</u>					
<u>Brady Bunch</u>					
<u>Beachcombers</u>					
<u>Sonny & Cher</u>					
<u>Good Times</u>					
<u>Saturday Morn Cartoons</u>					
<u>Superman Cartoon</u>					

Underlining denotes the programs which will be asked the last three questions concerning "hurt"

If need to eliminate programs, eliminate those *not* underlined.

Personal Experiences

Viewer's name: _____

1. Have you ever talked to a policeman/policewoman or Mountie? ___No ___Yes
2. Have you ever seen a real criminal? ___No ___Yes
3. Open-Ended Questions
 - A. When your mother does something you don't like, what do you do?
 - B. When someone gets upset (angry) with you, what do you do?
 - C. When someone accidentally (didn't mean to) hurts you, what do you do?
 - D. When someone breaks something of yours, what do you do?
 - E. When you get upset (angry) with someone, what do you do?
 - F. When you're waiting in line and someone gets in front of you, what do you do?
 - G. When someone takes something of yours, what do you do?
 - H. If someone called you a name, what would you do?
4. Would you like to be a policeman(woman) or Mountie? ___No ___Yes
5. Would you like to be a criminal? ___No ___Yes
6. In the last week, how many times have you
 - ___Hit someone
 - ___Yelled at someone
 - ___Called someone a name
 - ___Told someone how you feel inside
 - ___Helped someone
 - ___Tattled on someone
 - ___Not talked to someone because you were angry
 - ___Hurt someone's feelings

CODE:

0 = none
1 = 1 or 2
2 = 3 or 4 (some)
3 = 5+ (several)

7. When you are talking to your parents, are you usually (check if responds "yes").

Parents Alone

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| ___Happy | ___ |
| ___Afraid | ___ |
| ___Excited | ___ |
| ___Angry/upset | ___ |
| ___Don't understand things | ___ |
| ___Tired | ___ |

When you are by yourself, are you usually (check above if responds "yes").

8. Do your parents: (check if responds "yes")
 - ___Always know what to do
 - ___Understand you
 - ___Help you
9. Have you ever seen people: (check if responds "yes")
 - ___Hit each other
 - ___Tell (tattle) on each other
 - ___Hurt each other's feelings
 - ___Yell at each other
 - ___Tell how they feel inside
 - ___Call each other names
 - ___Help each other
 - ___Not talk because they were angry
 - ___Say they were sorry

10. In our city, Calgary, how many shootings are there every week:
 ___None ___1 ___5 ___10 ___50 ___100 ___1000 ___10,000
 How many robberies? ___None ___1 ___5 ___10 ___50 ___100 ___1000 ___10,000
 How many fights where people really get hurt?
 ___None ___1 ___5 ___10 ___50 ___100 ___1000 ___10,000 (or ___Some ___Lots)

11. Would you like to: (check *if* responds "yes")

___Stay in jail for a week
 ___Try to rob a bank or be a burglar
 ___Be chased by the police
 ___See a real bank robbery

12. Do you sometimes like to: (check *if* responds "yes")

___See people fighting
 ___See people get angry
 ___See people being scared
 ___See people getting hurt
 ___See people helping each other
 ___See people telling how they feel inside
 ___See people yelling at each other
 ___See people calling each other names
 ___See people hurting each other's feelings
 ___See people telling on each other
 ___See people not talking when they are angry

Do you ever *pretend*:

___Being sad when you're really not sad
 ___Having a secret
 ___Being angry when you're really not angry
 ___Hitting someone
 ___Helping someone
 ___Having more money than you really do

13. Do you ever think there is a burglar breaking into your house? ___No ___Yes
 Do you put away your bicycle at night so that someone won't steal it? ___No ___Yes
 Do you ever hide money so that someone won't take it? ___No ___Yes

14. Of all the grownups (adults) you really know, who is your favourite person?

___(real person)

Is he/she: (check *if* responds "yes")

___Strong
 ___Smart
 ___Exciting
 ___Ever get hurt
 ___Happy
 ___Help people
 ___Ever hurt people
 ___Do anything wrong

"yes"

15. When you're angry with someone, do you watch television?
 When you're sad, do you watch television?
 When you're tired of being with people, do you watch television?
 When you don't feel like doing school work, do you watch television?
 When you don't feel like doing chores at home, do you watch television?
 When you feel lonely, do you watch television?
 When you don't have anything to do, do you watch television?
 16. When you don't have anything to do, would you rather: (check only *one*)
 ___Watch television
 ___Play with a friend (or talk)
 ___Play (be) alone

- If you wanted to know how people hurt people, would you _____
If you wanted to know how to help someone, would you _____

If you wanted to know about guns, knives, and bombs, would you _____
 If you wanted to know about criminals, would you _____
 If you wanted to know how to break into a house, would you _____

- *** 5. On television, what do criminals (bad guys) do?
6. On television, are criminals . . . (check characteristics in Question 4).
7. What is your favourite program on television? _____
When you watch this program, how do you *feel*? (check if responds "yes")
Do you feel:
 ___Happy
 ___Afraid
 ___Excited
 ___Angry or upset
8. Are there any television programs which you don't understand? ___No ___Yes
9. Here are some things you have probably seen on television. Can you tell me what usually happened?
Open-Ended Questions
 A. If a boy/girl (same sex as S) did something wrong, what did mother do?
 B. If two people were upset (angry) with each other, what would they do?
 C. If a person got hit on the head while playing a ball game, what would he/she do?
 D. If a man crashed his friend's car, what would his friend do?
 E. If some kids were waiting in line and one was pushed out of line, what would the one pushed out of line do?
 F. If a kid grabbed some money from another, what would the child do who lost the money?
 G. If a youngster screamed at another, what would the youngster do who was screamed at?
 H. If a man called his wife a name, what would she do?
10. On television: (check if response is "yes")
Do people:
 ___like each other
 ___talk a lot
 ___hurt each other's feelings
 ___help each other
 ___tell (tattle) on each other
 ___understand each other
 ___not talk when they are angry
 ___friendly
 ___know what to do
 ___yell at each other
 ___hurt each other
 ___tell how they feel inside
11. How many robberies have you seen on television? ___None ___Some ___Lots
 How many fights? ___None ___Some ___Lots
 How many people helping each other? ___None ___Some ___Lots
 How many people killed? ___None ___Some ___Lots
12. On television, what happens when a criminal is caught by the police?
On television, what happens when two people are fighting and they are stopped by the police?
13. On television, does a criminal like jail? ___No ___Yes
14. Have you ever seen a child spanked on television? ___No ___Yes
15. Do you like fast programs on television? ___No ___Yes. If "yes," what are some?
16. After a robber is sent to jail, and he finally gets out, what does he do?
Open-Ended If "don't know," check here: ___
 Regardless of answer: Does he steal again? ___
 Does he go to school? ___
 Does he get a job? ___
 After a killer is sent to jail, and he finally gets out, what does he do?
Open-Ended If "don't know," check here: ___
 Regardless of answer: Does he kill again? ___
 Does he go to school? ___
 Does he get a job? ___

17. Is it sometimes fun to watch: (check if responds "yes")
- ☐ Fighting on television
 - ☐ People get angry on television
 - ☐ People get scared on television
 - ☐ People helping each other on television
 - ☐ People getting hurt on television
 - ☐ A policeman shoot a criminal
 - ☐ People being friendly on television
 - ☐ People yelling at each other on television
 - ☐ People calling each other names on television
18. Do these things on television ever frighten (scare) you while watching? (check if responds "yes")
- ☐ Monsters
 - ☐ Ghosts
 - ☐ Police
 - ☐ People screaming
 - ☐ Fighting
 - ☐ Cartoons
 - ☐ Crying
 - ☐ Hurt feelings
 - ☐ Shooting
 - ☐ Criminals
- Is there anything else that frightens you?
19. When you *do* get frightened when watching television, what do you do? (check if responds "yes")
- ☐ Hide/close eyes
 - ☐ Afraid to move, "scared stiff"
 - ☐ Turn off the television
 - ☐ Go tell someone
 - ☐ Turn the channel
 - ☐ Watch it anyway
 - ☐ Pretend not afraid
- If answered, "watch it anyway," why?
20. How much do you talk to your parents about what you've seen on television?
- ☐ None ☐ Some ☐ Lots
- *** 21. Do you ever get tired of commercials on television? ☐ No ☐ Yes
- If "yes," which ones?
- *** 22. What do you see on television that you would like to do?
23. When you're watching television, do you sometimes like being (check if responds "yes")
- ☐ Scared ☐ Excited ☐ Sad ☐ Upset
24. How much do you talk to your friends about what you've seen on television?
- ☐ None ☐ Some ☐ Lots
- What do you talk about? (Open Ended)
25. When you see homes on television, are they nicer than yours?..... ☐ No ☐ Yes
- Are kids happier on television than you?..... ☐ No ☐ Yes
- Do kids on television have more things than you? ☐ No ☐ Yes
- Do kids on television have more friends than you?..... ☐ No ☐ Yes
26. How much is the television on when no one is watching it? ☐ None ☐ Some ☐ Lots
27. Do you watch television (check if responds "yes")
- ☐ By yourself
 - ☐ With friends
 - ☐ With parents
 - ☐ While doing school work
 - ☐ While eating
28. Do you sometimes guess what will happen at the end of a program?..... ☐ No ☐ Yes
- *** Do you know when a commercial is about to begin?..... ☐ No ☐ Yes
- Do you like guessing what will happen next in a program?..... ☐ No ☐ Yes

- ***29. When you see fighting on television, do you sometimes remember when *you* hit someone? ☐No ☐Yes
 someone was angry with you? ☐No ☐Yes
 When you see fighting on television, do you sometimes remember when *you* hit someone? ☐No ☐Yes
 When you see someone stealing on television, do *you* ever remember taking something
 that you shouldn't have? ☐No ☐Yes
 When you see someone on television hurting a person's feelings, do you sometimes remember when *you* hurt
 someone's feelings? ☐No ☐Yes
30. When you watch television, do you like the sound (volume) ☐soft ☐loud ☐very loud?
31. Have you ever done something *because* you saw it on television? ☐No ☐Yes
 If "yes," what?
32. Do you ever dream at night about things you've seen on television? ☐No ☐Yes
 ***If "yes," what?
 Do you ever have "nightmares" about things you've seen on television? ☐No ☐Yes
33. Do you think you watch too much television? ☐No ☐Yes If "yes," why?
34. Do you learn things you shouldn't by watching television? ☐No ☐Yes
 If "yes," what?
35. Is there anything which makes you really upset when you see it on television?
☐No ☐Yes If "yes," what?
- ***36. Which kinds of programs do you like best? Ones which ☐Tell a story
 or ☐Just show you something?
- ***Delete if attention span of viewer is short.

Parent's Questionnaire

Parent completing questionnaire: ☐Mother ☐Father

Child's name: _____ Sex: ☐M ☐F

Child's birthdate: _____ Grade in school (Fall, 1976): _____

Marks in school: ☐Doesn't receive marks

☐As ☐As&Bs ☐Bs ☐Bs&Cs ☐Cs ☐Cs&Ds ☐Ds ☐Ds&Fs ☐Failed

(in some schools, they grade: ☐Satisfactory ☐Unsatisfactory)

Address: _____ Phone: _____

Brothers/Sisters (give ages & sex): _____

Others living in home? ☐No ☐Yes

Occupations: Mother _____ Father _____

(if mother or father is not living in household, write "absent")

Number of working televisions in home: ☐Black & White ☐Colour

Location(s) of television(s):

Does your child have a television in his bedroom? ☐No ☐Yes

Do you have cable television? ☐No ☐Yes

If There is *NO* Television in the Home, Please Give the Reason:

If There is *NO* Television in the Home: Please Skip Questions 1-9, and Answer Questions 10-11.

1. How often do you try to discourage your child from watching television?

☐Never ☐Occasionally ☐Often

If you checked "occasionally" or "often", why didn't you want your child to watch television? (Put 1 for the most important reason,

2 for the next important, et cetera):

- ☐Needs to do schoolwork
- ☐Needs to do chores around home
- ☐Needs to play with other children
- ☐Use this as punishment when he/she is "bad"
- ☐Disapprove of program
- ☐Someone else in home wants to watch a different program
- ☐Watches too much television
- ☐Other reason?_____

2. Does your child eat while watching television? ☐No ☐Occasionally ☐Often

Most youngsters tend to sit close to the television while watching. Approximately how close does your child sit?

☐1-3 ft ☐3-6 ft ☐6-10 ft ☐10-15 ft ☐15-20 ft ☐20-25 ft ☐Over 25 ft

3. When there are two different programs on television at the same time (for example, one on channel 5 and one on channel 9), who gets to choose the program? (Put 1 for the most common way this is handled, 2 for the next most common, etc.):

When Two Children are Involved

(check here if this problem never occurs___)

- ☐Parent decides
- ☐Children decide
- ☐Have a rule that they take turns
- ☐Have more than one television, watch separately
- ☐Other?_____

When a Parent and a Child Want to Watch Different Programs

(check here if this problem never occurs___)

- ☐Parent decides
- ☐Child decides
- ☐Have a rule that we take turns
- ☐Have more than one television, watch separately
- ☐Other?_____

4. When there is an announcement on television saying that a particular program "may not be appropriate for children," do you usually (check only *one* choice)

- ☐Haven't heard this kind of announcement
- ☐Make sure child doesn't watch the program
- ☐Don't believe the announcement
- ☐Sometimes let child watch the program, because child is mature enough
- ☐Other?_____

5. Are there certain kinds of programs which you feel are *not* appropriate for your child? ☐No ☐Yes

If you checked "yes", which of the following do you feel are *often not appropriate* for your child.

- ☐Soap operas ☐News ☐Religious ☐Sexual ☐Sports ☐Movies
- ☐Crime (*Kojak*, *S.W.A.T.*, *Starsky & Hutch*, et cetera)
- ☐Crime Adventure (*Bionic Woman*, *Six Million Dollar Man*, et cetera)
- ☐Adult Family Shows (*All in the Family*, *Maude*, *M*A*S*H*, et cetera)
- ☐Children's Family Shows (*Brady Bunch*, *Gilligan*, *Partridge Family*, et cetera)
- ☐Medical Shows (*Marcus Welby*, *Medical Center*, et cetera)
- ☐Drama (*Waltons*, *Emergency*, *Little House on the Prairie*, et cetera)
- ☐Children's Shows (*World of Disney*, *Sesame Street*, *Mr. Rogers*, et cetera)
- ☐Cartoons (*Bugs Bunny*/ *Road Runner*, *Flintstones*, et cetera)
- ☐Documentaries (*Jacques Cousteau*, *Wild Kingdom*, et cetera)
- ☐Ethnic Shows (*Jeffersons*, *Excuse My French*, et cetera)
- ☐Others?_____
- ☐Family Shows (*Happy Days*, *Welcome Back, Kotter*, *Laverne & Shirley*, et cetera)

6. Do you ever encourage your child to watch television? ☐ No ☐ Occasionally ☐ Often
If you checked "occasionally" or "often", when do you do this? (Put 1 for the most important reason,
2 for the next most important, et cetera):

- ☐ To keep child quiet, distract him/her
☐ Child has favourite program, and you remind him/her
☐ So child can learn new things
☐ So that parent and child can talk about things seen on television
☐ Child doesn't know what to do
☐ To calm child, for example, child is too noisy, "quiet time" just before bedtime
☐ Use television watching as a reward when he/she is "good"
☐ Other? _____

7. How often does your child watch television with either or both parents?

- ☐ Never, almost never
☐ Occasionally
☐ Often
☐ Almost always

How often does your child watch television with friends, brothers, or sisters?

- ☐ Never, almost never
☐ Occasionally
☐ Often
☐ Almost always

8. How much do the *parents* have the television on—just for "background noise," no one is really watching?

- ☐ Never ☐ ½-1 hr per day ☐ 1-3 hrs per day ☐ 3-6 hrs per day
☐ 6-9 hrs per day ☐ 9-12 hrs per day ☐ All the time

9. For the *Mother* (spouse may answer): When you watch television, which of the following kinds of programs do you watch, and how often?

(please make a check "✓" in the appropriate places)

	Never	Occa- sionally	Often
Soap Operas.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
News.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Religious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sexual	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sports.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Movies.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Crime (<i>Kojak</i> , <i>S.W.A.T.</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Crime Adventure (<i>Bionic Woman</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adult Family Shows (<i>All in the Family</i> , <i>Maude</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Family Shows (<i>Happy Days</i> , <i>Laverne & Shirley</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children's Family Shows (<i>Brady Bunch</i> , <i>Gilligan</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Medical Shows (<i>Marcus Welby</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Drama (<i>Waltons</i> , <i>Emergency</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children's Shows (<i>World of Disney</i> , <i>Sesame Street</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cartoons (<i>Bugs Bunny</i> / <i>Road Runner</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Game Shows (<i>Let's Make a Deal</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Musical & Variety (<i>Sonny & Cher</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Documentaries (<i>Jacques Cousteau</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethnic Shows (<i>Jeffersons</i> , <i>Excuse My French</i> , et cetera).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others?.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

For the *Father* (spouse may answer): When you watch television, which of the following kinds of programs do you watch, and how often?

(please put an "X" in the appropriate places in the list above)

10. For this question, would you check the blanks which describe the way your child *usually* is:

	No	Yes, a Little Bit	Yes, Very Much
<i>During Meals</i>			
Up and down at table	—	—	—
Interrupts without regard	—	—	—
Wiggling	—	—	—
Fiddles with things	—	—	—
Talks excessively	—	—	—
<i>Television Watching</i>			
Gets up and down during program	—	—	—
Wiggles	—	—	—
Manipulates objects or body	—	—	—
Talks incessantly	—	—	—
Interrupts	—	—	—
<i>Doing Homework</i>			
Gets up and down	—	—	—
Wiggles	—	—	—
Manipulates objects or body	—	—	—
Talks incessantly	—	—	—
Requires adult supervision/attendance	—	—	—
<i>Sleep</i>			
Difficulty settling down for sleep	—	—	—
Inadequate amount of sleep	—	—	—
Restless during sleep	—	—	—
<i>Play</i>			
Inability for quiet play	—	—	—
Constantly changing activity	—	—	—
Seeks parental attention	—	—	—
Talks excessively	—	—	—
Disrupts others' play	—	—	—
<i>Behaviour Away from Home (Except School)</i>			
Restlessness during travel	—	—	—
Restlessness during shopping (includes touching everything)	—	—	—
Restlessness during church/movies	—	—	—
Restlessness during visiting people	—	—	—

11. For this question, circle the number which describes the way your child *usually* is:

A. Child engages in active play with other children.	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>	<i>Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B. Child engages in conversation with other children.	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>	<i>Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C. Child is anxious to be leader in many activities.	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>	<i>Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D. Child can be described as lively and outgoing.	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>	<i>Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E. When asked to do something by another child, this child responds without hesitation.	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>	<i>Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F. Child tends to smile and laugh a lot.	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>	<i>Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G. Child is eager to play with other children.	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>	<i>Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

				No	Yes, a Little Bit	Yes, Very Much
H.	Child is seen as cautious; thinks before he/she responds.					
	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6
I.	Child gets upset easily.					
	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6
J.	Child would rather engage in activity by himself/herself.					
	<i>Never</i>	<i>Almost Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Almost Always</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6

Thank You Very Much for Your Generous Cooperation and Help!!

If you wish to make additional comments, you can put them below:

Appendix B
Letter Sent to Schools
Newspaper Advertisement
Research Assistant Identification

Newspaper Advertisement

June 28, 1976

Dear Parents:

We shall be interviewing approximately 400 children and teenagers (ages six to 14 years) during the month of July. The topic of the interview deals with their television program preferences, why and what children and teenagers like to watch (we are also interested in those children and teenagers who don't have a television in the home).

The interview will take place *in the home* and will last between 45 and 60 minutes. Our experience indicates that children and teenagers enjoy participating in such an interview.

We will pay each youngster \$1.50 for participating. We also have a short questionnaire for the mother or father to complete, which can be filled out during the interview or sent in later.

If your youngster would like to participate – and you agree – please call one of the following numbers between four and ten p.m. At this time, we shall take your youngster's name and age and telephone number (more than one youngster from a family may participate). Approximately one week later, you will be called to arrange a convenient time for the interview.

The number to call between four and ten p.m.:

Please feel free to call one of these numbers, if you need more information concerning the interview.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Gregory T. Fouts, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Department of
Psychology
The University of Calgary

GTF/at

Wanted: Children & Teenagers (five to 14 years)

To Participate in Television Research
(By Dr. G. Fouts, University of Calgary)

This Research Involves an Hour Interview in the Home.
Questions Concerning Program Preferences
And What is Learned will be Asked.

If the Child or Teenager is Interested,
And the Parents Consent,
Please call one of the Following Numbers after Five
p.m.:

July 28, 1976

To Whom It May Concern:

This is a letter of introduction for *Research Assistant* in the Psychology Department, University of Calgary. The purpose of this interview is to ask questions concerning the television viewing habits and impressions of children and teenagers. Each participant will receive \$1.50 for his/her cooperation.

Sincerely,

Gregory T. Fouts
Associate Professor

GTF/lt

Appendix C

"Television Reactions" Interview

Date: _____

Time: _____

Viewer chair #: _____

Viewer name: _____

Program _____

"Today, you're going to see a program from _____

and after the program, we'll ask you what you think about it. O.K.?"

But before I turn it on, I'd like to know how you feel today?"

How do you feel?

—Happy

—Little happy

—Little unhappy (sad)

—Unhappy (sad)

—Tired

—Little tired

—Not tired at all

—Excited

—Little excited

—Not excited at all

"O.K., Now I'm going to turn on the program. When the program is over, I'll come back and ask you what you think about it? O.K.?"

(E turns on the equipment, leaves by the entry door, and enters observation room)

Presentation of Program

Comments about viewer:

After Program

"Now, we'll go into another room where we can talk about the program—while someone else is watching it." (E escorts S to interview room; after seated)

1. Have you seen this program (story) before on _____
—No —Yes —Don't know

2. What did you think of the program?

3. Did the program

—Make you laugh: —Lot or —Little bit

—Scare you: —Lot or —Little bit

—Make you feel tired: —Lot or —Little bit

—Make you feel sad: —Lot or —Little bit

—Excite you: —Lot or —Little bit

—Make you feel angry/upset: —Lot or —Little bit

—Make you feel happy: —Lot or —Little bit

—Surprise you: —Lot or —Little bit

—Make you think about something? WHAT?

—Does this really happen? (Shows you the way things really are?)

4. Would you like to see this program again? —No —Yes —Don't know

5. Was anyone hurt or their feelings hurt? Who?

A.	B.	C.	D.
Was (A)	—	—	—
—Smart	—	—	—
—Rich	—	—	—
—Strong	—	—	—
—Do anything wrong	—	—	—
—Exciting	—	—	—
—Happy	—	—	—
—Shows how feels inside	—	—	—
—Gentle/kind	—	—	—
—Likes people	—	—	—
—Likes to hurt people	—	—	—
—Brave (not afraid)	—	—	—
—Would you like to meet	—	—	—
What did (A) do when hurt?			

Who hurt (A)___?

Did ___ever get hurt or punished or have feelings hurt *after* he/she hurt (A)?

How?

(Probe: any other time?)

When (*assailant*) was punished, how did you feel?

___Happy	___Excited	___Afraid	___Tired/bored	___Angry/upset	___Surprised	___Sad
___Happy	___Excited	___Afraid	___Tired/bored	___Angry/upset	___Surprised	___Sad
___Happy	___Excited	___Afraid	___Tired/bored	___Angry/upset	___Surprised	___Sad
___Happy	___Excited	___Afraid	___Tired/bored	___Angry/upset	___Surprised	___Sad

Now let me ask you some other questions

6. Are *police* in real-life
(really)

Criminals

___Strong.....	___
___Ever get hurt.....	___
___Happy	___
___Smart.....	___
___Exciting.....	___
___Hurt people	___
___Do anything wrong.....	___
___Help people	___

7. (check if “yes”)

___Is our city a pretty dangerous (scary, frightening) place to live in?
___Do most killers get caught by the police?
___Do you think that being a criminal is sometimes “exciting”?
___Do criminals know they hurt people?
___Do criminals like being chased by the police?
___Do burglars/thieves like to steal?
___Are criminals afraid of going to jail?
___Do most robbers/thieves get caught by the police?
___Are criminals afraid of the police?

8. Why do criminals sometimes shoot the people they are stealing from?
(reasons other than attributions of “bad,” “stupid,” or “wanted to”)

9. In our city, Calgary, guess how many shootings there are every week:

___0 ___1 ___5 ___10 ___100 ___1000 ___10,000 (___Some ___Lots)

In our city, Calgary, guess how many robberies there are every week:

___0 ___1 ___5 ___10 ___100 ___1000 ___10,000 (___Some ___Lots)

In our city, Calgary, guess how many fights there are every week, where people really get hurt:

10. Which is the easiest way to get money? ___Rob a store or ___Work, have a job.

Which is the easiest way to hurt a person’s feelings:

___Hit him or Call him a name___
___Call him a name or Don’t talk to him___
___Don’t talk to him or Hit him___

Which is the easiest way to make a person angry:

___Call him a name or Hit him___
___Don’t talk to him or Call him a name___
___Hit him or Don’t talk to him___

11. We have other television programs here, like *Sidestreet*, *Road Runner Hour*, *S.W.A.T.*, *Forest Rangers*, *Happy Days*, *Waltons*, *Bionic Woman*, *Beachcombers*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Excuse My French* and *Emergency*. Which program would you like to see?
Name: _____

___None

12. (check if “yes”)

___Do you ever get scared when you go outside alone after dark?
___Would you like to own a real gun?
___Do you ever think there is a burglar trying to get into your house?
___Would you like to learn karate or kung fu (or have already learned)?

- ☐Do you or your parents lock the doors when you leave home?
☐Do you put your bicycle away at night so that someone won't steal it?
☐Do you think your parents should have a gun in case a burglar tries to get into your house?
☐Do you ever hide your money so that someone won't steal it?
☐Do you sometimes think someone is following you?
☐Do you feel safe when you see a policeman?
☐Do you or your parents lock the doors before you go to sleep?
13. Do (did) you play with toy guns or squirt guns? ☐No ☐Yes:
 ☐I little ☐Some ☐Lots
Have you ever shot a real gun, like a pellet gun, B-B gun, rifle?
☐No ☐Yes: ☐Little ☐Some ☐Lots
Do you own a real gun, like a pellet gun or B-B gun? ☐No ☐Yes
14. If you saw a (*same-aged*) -year-old boy stealing a candy bar, what would you do?

If you saw two kids fighting, what would you do?

If you saw a little kid fall off a swing and hurt himself, what would you do?

If you saw a kid breaking a street light with a rock, what would you do?
15. If a burglar (robber) is breaking into someone's house, is it all right for the owner to shoot the burglar (robber)? WHY? ☐No ☐Yes
16. (code: Y = yes, QY = qualified yes (e.g., "depends"), N = No
☐Should police carry guns?
☐Should all criminals be punished?
☐Should people have guns in their homes to protect themselves?
☐Are there just two kinds of people: the weak and the strong?
☐Should killers be killed ("an eye for an eye,"), believe in capital punishment?
☐If someone hits a person, should he hit back?
☐If someone hurts a person's feelings, should he have his feelings hurt back?
17. Open Ended
When there are two kids but only one swing, what should they do?

When two kids are mad at each other, what should they do?

When there are two kids who want to watch two different television programs and there is only one television set, what should they do?

When two kids are teasing each other, hurting each other's feelings, what should they do.
18. Do you ever pretend (fake) (give real-life examples if necessary)?
☐Being hurt when you really aren't hurt
☐That someone took something from you
☐That someone hurt your feelings (being sad when you're really not sad)
☐Being angry when you're really not angry
19. In the last week, how many times have
☐You hit someone..... ☐You've been hit
☐You yelled at someone..... ☐You've been yelled at
☐You called someone a name..... ☐You've been called names
☐You told someone how you feel inside..... ☐Someone told you how he feels
☐You tattled (told on) someone..... ☐You've been told on
☐You hurt someone's feelings..... ☐Someone has hurt your feelings
- CODE:
0 = none
1 = 1 or 2
2 = 3 or 4 (some)
3 = 5+ (lots, several)

Television and the Family as Agents for Socialization

F. B. Rainsberry

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Toronto, Ontario

Contents

Introduction	Page 127
The Canadian Family and Television	127
Parents and Children in Relation to the Use of Television	137
The School in Relation to Children's Informal Use of Television	145
Future Challenges for the Improvement of Children's Television	146
Conclusion	148
Appendix: A Brief History of Children's Television Programs in Canada	150
Endnotes	155
Selective Annotated Bibliography	157

Introduction

In a journalistic account of parent-child relationships, the teenagers complain that, "a lot of parents want you to become something special so you'll look good for them and their friends. They probably need to be proud of their kids so they can feel they've done *something* right."¹ And the parents reply in a later issue that "parenthood is an exhausting, infuriating, long-term challenge, even for those of us who love it. Sometimes it gets to be too demanding and, yes, we resent the job and we resent you. That may seem an awful thing to admit, but think for a minute. How often do you resent us, even hate us?"²

Regardless of the care or concern which a parent has from the moment a child is born or brought into the home, the potential for tension and conflict is built into the family situation. In the beginning, the child's needs for physical and emotional security are dominant. For a considerable period of time, the routine of the parents is affected by the demand for attention at night or the time required for play. Mature parents enjoy the responses which infants give and "play" becomes an important factor in the early social and linguistic development of the child. The concerns that parents have for their children vary according to their own background and experience of life. Depending upon the intellectual, spiritual, cultural, or socio-economic orientation of the parent, the expectations for the child will vary.

A British psychologist has observed,

We learn our social behaviours in a variety of ways. Child psychologists, for example, have emphasized the importance of parent-child relationships, and numerous studies have demonstrated the effects these have on the manner in which children behave. It seems, for example, that working-class mothers are more rigorous and rigid with the disciplining of their children than middle-class mothers (Newson and Newson, 1968), and therefore working-class children show less acceptance of adults than do their middle-class counterparts who are more able to negotiate verbally with their parents. The importance of peers has also been well documented and this is particularly noticeable in adolescence when the teenager, reaching Piaget's formal operational stage, begins to question the morals and standards of his parents and turns for social support to his gang.³

In this statement we recognize basic relationships among parents/adults and children, and among children and their peers. We see differences in relationships among varying levels of social class. We recognize concern among parents that their children should become "achieving" adults while they wish them to conform to group standards that require considerable personal sacrifices in their search for self-identity – both parents and children. At the same time, children wish to be individuals while they also seem willing to sacrifice their identities in order to find acceptance to membership in a peer group. What, then, are the shaping forces in our society and in particular in Canadian society which shape the attitudes of parents and children with respect to television, and what are the

main influences which determine the self-identity of the individual regardless of the amount of television he may view? What, if any, are the characteristics of the Canadian family and the individual Canadian which would differentiate them from other nations in the Western world in the use of television?

The Canadian Family and Television

There is great ambivalence among authorities and students of the Canadian family about any characteristic national identity it may have. Both Lyle Larson and K. Ishwaran agree on significant differences between the Canadian and the American family. Canadians differ from Americans

... in their orientation towards the melting-pot ideal. Canada has traditionally preferred the ideal of the "salad bowl" and has been committed to the goal of cultural pluralism. ... [The] difference between the ethnic-Canadian as opposed to national-American identities cannot be overlooked in examining the emerging patterns of Canadian youth culture.⁴

And again, "the longstanding and unambiguous Canadian support for cultural diversity has unquestionably given unique credibility to dualism in Canadian culture."⁵ Furthermore, "Canadian dualism appears to be the most significant difference between Canadian and American society."⁶ But, Larson continues, "assumptions that pluralism and values also constitute important differences remain to be demonstrated. As Lipset (1968) stresses, the similarities between Canada and the United States are far more evident than the differences."⁷ While Ishwaran argues that the equation of the Canadian and American family should not be assumed, Frederick Elkin says:

There is no one Canadian family. With its distinctive geography and history, Canada is much too heterogeneous to have one or ten or twenty distinctive family types. As the geographical setting, social class, religious, ethnic, occupational, and other groupings vary, so too do our families.⁸

Indeed, "it seems inescapable that the strong emphasis on ethnic differentiation can result only in those continuing dual loyalties which prevent the emergence of any clear Canadian identity."⁹

Looking at the Canadian family in comparative perspective, Larson's research and that of the authorities included in his book leave one with the impression that it is indeed difficult to argue for any specific identity for the Canadian family when the concept of the nuclear family has become the norm for North America as well as for Western culture. For example, in spite of the massive immigration into Canada after World War II and the concomitant conservative conceptions about sex roles, "this conservatism was powerfully counteracted, in English-speaking Canada at least, by the heavy impact of American mass media."¹⁰ On the other hand, following up the tradition of cultural diversity and pluralism in Canada, Ishwaran has edited his readings on the family in such a way as to identify and to emphasize the "developmental approach" to the

Canadian family. In short, "we are interested in suggesting a way of looking at all the studies in this volume from an angle which makes them cohere in terms of an identifiable and important trend."¹¹ This trend, the developmental approach, is an interactive or existential approach concerned with process and human relationships rather than with systematic or categorical descriptions of the family.

The first step towards grasping the developmental approach is to know that "developmental" does not mean just the "developmental cycle" of the family, from birth to death; or courtship, marriage, arrival of children, growth of children, "empty nest," and so on. The family cycle is only an especial case of the wider developmental approach that interests us.

The second step towards grasping this approach is that it is intended as an orientation to all social formations, including, naturally, the family.

The main idea is that patterns cannot be understood, and therefore they cannot be described or analyzed, without an understanding of the processes that generate patterns. Stated in this form, the developmental approach is not confined to family sociology, or any other kind of sociology, but is relevant to all cases where the purpose of investigation is to identify, describe, and analyze patterns. In their violent reaction to nineteenth-century evolutionism, numerous social scientists rejected the obvious priority of process over patterns, the crucial idea that evolutionary thinkers had been trying to convey. The fact is that a great academic injustice has been done to the nineteenth-century evolutionary thinkers who were right in emphasizing the need to understand generative processes in order to understand patterns.

The process may be short-term, long-term, or very long-term; but it must lie at the centre of investigation of those who would discover patterns and the simple principles mentioned earlier, which constitute the *raison d'être* of all scientific investigations.

What has been said above is not new even in family studies, because the word "dynamic" is embarrassingly prevalent in the social sciences. But the conception of "dynamic" is confused at present and it is often used as a catch-all phrase. The distinctive feature of the developmental approach is that process has priority over pattern.¹²

The essential point made by Ishwaran is central to the total argument of this paper that "process has priority over pattern." While Ishwaran, as a social scientist, is properly concerned with reliance on clichés like "dynamic," he is equally concerned not to rely on rigid categories. He stresses the need to see the family as an association of individuals bound by kinship and by gregariousness which its individual members recognize to be effective in the long process of adaptive responses to the physical, social, and cultural environment.

As events flow through time, patterns develop: in the human context, they are called "group," "institution," "norm," and what have you. So group, institution, norm, and so on, as exemplifications of aspects of patterns, can be studied "dynamically," only if the generative processes prior to the patterns are identified. All this is very different from the so-called developmental approach to family in current literature, and the two must not be confused.¹³

This approach is in contrast to Larson's comparative

approach and it is consistent with the stance adapted by the Vanier Institute of the Family with its concept of the family as a vehicle for individual learning, and for socialization.

No rigid definition of family with regard to structure or membership is intended, nor fruitful, when looking at learning. It is far more rich to think about a familial grouping. Even when the family form is essentially nuclear, attached to some greater or lesser degree to an extended kin network, family roles and membership shift over time. This dynamic rather than static view of the family has considerable bearing on how great is the potential for learning within the family.¹⁴

Once we have established a case for the family as a dynamic group, essentially nuclear in character, in Western society, a definition of the nuclear family is desirable. According to Murdoch, there are four functions: (1) socialization, (2) economic cooperation, (3) reproduction, and (4) sexual relations.¹⁵ For the record, it should be noted that Murdoch argues for the universality of the nuclear family. His thesis is challenged by a number of authorities whose positions are summarized by Weiss, making a clear case against Murdoch's thesis. Indeed, Weiss arrives at a more limited definition of the family institution as "a small kinship structured group with the key function of nurturant socialization of the newborn."¹⁶ While models of the "extended" rather than the nuclear family can be found among primates, in other cultures, and even in Western culture in the case of the Israeli Kibbutzim, the definition of the nuclear family with its four functions set forth above continues to be relevant for the particular problem of this study of the family in relation to the mass media.

Within the context of Western culture there is one further difference that needs comment. In a now famous study by Urie Bronfenbrenner,¹⁷ a comparison is made in the function of the socialization of children.

[Bronfenbrenner] concluded that Soviet children are consciously reared to put the wishes of others first, and to respect the needs and expectations of their society. American children, in contrast, are reared by their peers and by television sets in a climate of affluent neglect and subtle apposition to adult society. They are, he argues, uniquely anti-social and egocentric compared to Soviet children.¹⁸

On a conceptual basis, this opinion is defensible. But in the context of the family group as a "facility" for human development another view can be taken. Bronfenbrenner is correct in his observation concerning Soviet children if one accepts the highly categorical definition of society educated by the neo-Marxist ideology which determines political, social, and cultural policy in the USSR. Bronfenbrenner is correct about American children if one accepts the notion that materialism and affluence in the U.S. have dehumanized the middle class. Such a view would not explain the many manifestations of idealism which one finds courageously expressed among American youth.

A similar view was taken of Canadian children in the

production of a film by the National Film Board of Canada, *Four Families*, 1959.

Canadian children are described as independent, tough, and property-conscious, compared to Japanese, French, and Indian children. These values are developed through parental responses to pain, roughhouse activities, and the individual ownership of toys.¹⁹

In both these cases, the categorical rather than the developmental concept of the family is the basis for the judgments made. While there is a basic element of truth in these observations, they do not include the range of creativity, social conscience, and personal responsibility so characteristic of thoughtful individuals who are also an integral and effective group even if they are a minority within the middle class. Regardless of these differences of interpretation of behaviour observed among families in various parts of the world, Larson concludes that "patterns of care seem to effectively illustrate the fundamental socialization goals of the society into which the child is born, such as apprenticeship, political support or individualism."²⁰

Of the four functions of the nuclear family, the function of socialization is the most relevant in any consideration of the use and the impact of television upon the family. A wide range of studies has been undertaken concerning the role of parents in relation to their children's habits concerning the use of television and there are many different and often contradictory opinions offered. Most notably, there is a sharp difference in the nature of research into this problem between studies done in Europe and in North America. In consideration of violence viewing in the family context, Chaffee and McLeod state

If there is one general conclusion to be reached from this study, it would be that family context variables do not make as much difference in adolescent violence viewing as earlier writers have suggested. Watching television (violent and otherwise) appears to be a "cultural universal" in early adolescence, and the period in which the developing child withdraws from heavy television use is also the period in which he becomes progressively less influenced by his parents. Parental viewing preferences are probably a minor, mostly negative, factor.²¹

In a field study of some 1,300 families, an examination was made of the influence of parents and of the structure of parent-child relations, on the use that the adolescent makes of mass media. In this study, a more moderate view was taken.

Thus, although the modelling correlations based on comparisons within each family . . . are weak and not very supportive of a direct-influence modelling interpretation, it appears that families with similar parent-child communication structures indirectly produce characteristic media use patterns that are shared by parent and adolescent on the average. The parent-child communication milieu perhaps operates as a separate factor that independently leads parent and adolescent to behave similarly in other communications situations involving mass media.²²

It would seem that the more concern the parents

expressed for social cooperation and the realization of ideals, the more likely the children were to model their viewing on those of their parents.

In Europe, the evidence of research is much more strongly on the side of children's modelling their television viewing on that of their parents. Perhaps because of the long tradition of the family in European countries, families are more closely knit and the urge to retain tradition is in contrast to the pioneering, individualistic spirit of the New World.

But regardless of the child's own will, regardless of the peer-group influences, and regardless of the parental censorship, data indicate that during the average week the pre-schooler watches twice as much television due to external impulses as he watches on his own initiatives. And these impulses are often of an indirect nature, such as

"Mama was watching . . ." or "Everyone was sitting there . . ." or the like.²³

Several other studies, too, show that the parents' example is one of the strongest factors in explaining children's viewing habits.

The more one's parents watch television, the more the child watches. The more positive the parents' attitude towards television, the more the child watches. And the more the parents feel they derive from television viewing, the more the child watches. . . . In other words, the child learns that the programmes are attractive by observing the rest of the family's behaviour.²⁴

In Italy, the evidence pointed strongly to the importance attached to interaction between children and parents with regard to television. The degree of significant interaction was found to depend upon social status:

In the "middle-lower" class greater authoritarianism has in fact been recorded, bound to the need to make the children understand the rules of the system, for the purpose of guaranteeing or at least promoting the rise in status of the children themselves; whereas in the "middle-upper" class attempts at "permissive" education are more widespread; however it would seem that the family, oscillating between authoritarianism and permissivism, in practice adopts authoritarianism as an already accepted method, and permissivism in a tentative way, strictly limited by uncertainty as to the method and its outcome.²⁵

One senses here the more close-knit environment of the Italian family which is consistent with the dialogical nature of the family as a developmental agent for its individual members. Considering the relative affluence and greater permissiveness of the family environment in Canada and to an even greater extent in the U.S., a further observation by De Domenico establishes the relation between the developmental concept of the family in its modelling influence and the dialogue which affects so much the way in which children view television:

In addition to the normal privileges, children of the "middle-upper" class also enjoy that of greater autonomy and a certain dialogue with their parents (the rules of the system can be

regarded from a more critical viewpoint by those who risk less in terms of achievement); moreover in these families the influence of both parents on the children appears more intense, this too representing a privilege rather than a restriction: in fact such parents carry out to a larger extent, and for a longer period, the role of integrating the information supplied by the mass media, and of helping the children in their school activities.²⁶

Reporting on a paper by Dr. Ray Brown of the University of Leeds, "Child Socialization: The Family and Television" (report of the Proceedings of the Ninth General Assembly of the International Association for Mass Communication Research, Leipzig 1974), Halloran observes that Dr. Brown's research "focused on the role of the family as a mediator between television and children."

His results suggest that two features of the relationship are particularly important: first, the kind of control exercised by parents on children's viewing behaviour (the liberal dimension) and, second, the extent to which parents watch television with their children and discuss and comment on the program they have seen together. Although, according to Brown, this second feature (the evaluative dimension) is suggestive of a possible deliberate use of television in socializing the child, the emphasis in this work is on the mechanics or *process* [italics mine] of socialization ("which are more culture free") rather than on specific socialization objectives. "The socialization objective need not necessarily be consciously sought by the parents: the child will be shaped regardless."²⁷

Here again Brown's research confirms that we cannot reduce to insignificance the family as a modelling factor in the development of the child's taste for program fare on television. In the end, this development remains within the family.

Even as we agree with Brown that "the family is a potential mediator of the impact of television," it is worth recording the conclusions or opinions of Elizabeth Eyre-Brook at Leicester based on her work on "The Role of the Mass Media in the Political Socialization of English Adolescents." Halloran reports that

She stresses the inadequacies of studying the influence of television on the child in isolation from all other factors that may influence him (family and non-family). She objects to the media being in the middle of the stage all the time. . . . She wants to study all the agents in the socialization process together "working alongside each other". "The influence of all such agents will be a function, of the individual child's situation at the time, of his past experience, and of his future expectations."²⁸

Eyre-Brook's position seems not to be inconsistent with that of other researchers referred to in this paper because the family as a dynamic group is one of many such groups which constitute society as a developmental rather than a static or rigid concept. Eclectic schools of sociology which treat society as a static-categorical unit, e.g., the Hegelian concept of society as a unit comprehended by means of conceptually identifiable internal relations, will have little meaning or be of little value when it comes to assessing the complex responses which

a society gives to new challenges to its integrity. The interrelationships among media, family, peer groups, and society can best be understood by assessing the dialogue of individuals within the family and of families within society until a holistic, unified awareness of the real values of the individual and the group can be understood. The relationship certainly begins within the family and gradually through the peer group, the school, and society. It is as though the child is born into a family which is necessarily a situational and eventually a dialogical context. Concentrically, the sphere of influence widens in such a manner that the individual retains as well as expands his self-awareness until he acts in relation to each and all of the aforementioned groups. Halloran thus tends to downplay the effort to achieve research objectives which can be "judged solely by criteria derived from the physical sciences, and where the value of their work is judged solely or mainly on their ability to spell out what is caused by television."

In taking this stance it was not being implied that television had no influence. In fact it was clearly stated at the time that – "We might look at the influence of television in several ways. Television can be seen as a possible teacher of the behaviour appropriate for a variety of positions, conditions and situations; as presenting models of behaviour; as providing information which extends far beyond one's immediate experience, as giving definitions; knowledge including stereotypes in uncertain and unclear situations; as offering a wider range of role-taking models than would otherwise be available; as suggesting appropriate values and ideals for particular positions; as portraying many aspects of popular culture which other agencies do not transmit; as playing a part in the socialization process previously carried out by some other agency; as a reward-punishment technique in parental dealings with the child, and in several other indirect ways in relation to other agencies of socialization, such as the family, school, and peer groups."²⁹

It seems proper now to conclude this discussion of the family as a model for television viewing by children by reaffirming Ishwaran's thesis that regardless of patterns of behaviour in the family identified conceptually, these patterns "cannot be described or analyzed without an understanding of the processes that generate the patterns." It is in the area of process, of the *generation* of these patterns that an understanding of the family as an agent of socialization is best understood. The word socialization itself has a double emphasis on either the generative or the dynamic. Its stem "social" itself implies a community of self-motivating individuals who are further motivated by fellowship with one another. The suffix communicates the dimension of growth, of process in time. Combined, the word conveys a dynamic rather than a static concept. It is existential rather than categorical in its intention. Therefore, having identified the family itself as a significant agent of socialization, it would be well to examine the latter term more specifically in order to understand better the interrelationship among the family, the school, the mass

media, and the peer group with respect to the use of television by children and young people. Indeed, the term covers a wide range of human endeavour, making definition somewhat inexact as far as the demands of rigorous research in the behavioural sciences are concerned. Nevertheless the process is no less real or significant especially as it relates to the developmental concept of the family, to the aesthetic and cultural dimensions of the mass media, and to the stimulation of creative behaviour in the school and within peer groups. It is for this reason that I perceive television as a dynamic, educative, and socializing force; it is therefore appropriate to review the concept of socialization as it pertains to television viewing in Canadian society. I shall select the course for definition and direction in a humanistic rather than a strictly analytical or behavioural dimension. "Hunt and Sullivan suggest that there are two kinds of definitions of psychology. One definition describes the purpose of psychology as being the prediction and control of behaviour, the second views psychology as understanding."³⁰ It is sharing rather than confrontation, experience rather than indoctrination, understanding rather than rejection, repudiation or censorship which will lead to better relations between television producers and parents and between children and parents with respect to television.

Relevant to education, socialization has been defined as "the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and society."³¹ There is little doubt that the family is the chief force in effecting the socialization of the child, for "values and attitudes are first learned within the family and the family continues to mediate subsequent learning in this area."³² At the personal level, the process of socialization is identified at any given point in time by the "attitudes" expressed by the individual. Indeed the totality of attitudes which manifest the personality of the individual are chiefly the result of the subtleties of educational interaction within the family. The concern for the impact of television on all members of the family, adult as well as child, must be examined in this context.

According to Sherif, man's socialization is revealed mainly through his attitudes which are formed in relation to values or norms of his reference group or groups. Once formed, these attitudes determine the individual's reaction in a characteristic way, to the groups, situations and the individuals with whom he comes in contact.³³

It is clear, once again, that attitudes must originate within the family and that as the process of socialization advances, conflicts will arise between the individual and the groups with whom he shares his life. As well, he will have to deal with conflicts within himself. It is not easy for a young person exposed to many external pressures and conflicts of opinion to resolve the cross-currents in our values which we as adults support or tolerate. In this context, Halloran has observed:

There is clear evidence that children tend to watch the same programme as their parents, and that they stay up after their normal bedtimes to watch certain programmes which are particularly attractive but not necessarily suitable for them. Parental control and guidance often seem to be lacking; substantial numbers of quite young children are viewing until 9 p.m. or after. A close correlation was found between the quantity of viewing of the child and of his or her mother.³⁴

From what has been discussed so far, it is clear that there are many forces that shape the values, attitudes, and personality of the individual. The concept of socialization which comprehends these aspects of human development is a dynamic concept entailing constant interaction of the individual with the family, the peer group, the school, and, of course, the mass media.

The area where parental control and guidance is needed in respect to television as a shaping force in socialization and in the determination of attitudes is most certainly the area of values.

In so far as there is any consensus of values in society, they are the values of that section of the society who are capable of imposing them on others. In socialization, the individual is therefore confronted, not with a single set of values to be "learned" but with a series of disjunctive and contradictory value systems, which he must somehow negotiate or render meaningful.³⁵

On the one hand, socialization means "transmission of culture," the particular culture of the society an individual enters at birth; on the other hand the term is used to mean "the process of becoming human, of acquiring uniquely human attributes from interaction with others."³⁶

Robin McCron reports on a definition by Zigler and Child, "Simply stated, 'socialization' is the process by which the individual learns, through social interaction, specific relevant patterns of social behaviour and experience."³⁷ Halloran puts the definition in the context of media:

I presume that we are simply talking about the influence of the media dressed up in various guises, a subject which has been discussed under many headings (e.g. education development, social learning, imitation, impact, effects, adaptation, acculturation, politicization, integration, uses and gratification, conflict theory, agenda-setting – and, in some countries, even propaganda).³⁸

Wrong's differentiation between two distinct kinds of socialization points up the tension that arises when the process of socialization does violence to man's bodily drives, his need for self-concern as Freud indicates. At the same time, this self-concern does not preclude man's need for society, and so a young person growing up may resist the institutional efforts of society to "transmit the culture"; but, on the other hand, the normal process is not so much "transmission" as it is "transformation" – "the transformation of the child into the adult, a process which includes the learning of attitudes and values. The principal agents in socialization are other people: parents, brothers, sisters, friends, teachers and so on. In fact, socialization has often been equated with 'bringing up the child'."³⁹

This may seem to be a broad, and perhaps simplistic, definition of socialization, but it does express the dynamic nature of the process and enables us to examine parental concern about violence on the media in a broader social context. In the case of television, the context includes not only the family and the group with whom the child – as a member of the audience – shares the viewing experience but it includes the planners and the producers of the television programs as well.

Television's main effect on children is not that of a "socializer" pressing a line on the child. Rather, it feeds a gaudy stream of information to him which he forgets or remembers, revises and interprets, very largely on his own. . . . But to get at this one must enquire in detail into the child's representation of the political world, one must be concerned with the nature of his experience and the qualities of his thought. And those matters . . . are played down in political socialization theory and are ill represented by the common questionnaire measurements.⁴⁰

This observation confirms the necessity of looking at the impact of television as a general sociological force rather than in terms of a specific identifiable force such as violence. While the total evidence available justifies some public concern about the sustained impact of "violence" on the sensibilities and the character of the growing child, the approach taken to research by such communications specialists as Halloran, McCron, Leifer, Sturm, and others helps to explain why there are such strong differences of opinion between researchers such as Wertham and Liebert on the one hand and Klapper on the other hand. McCron's concern is not to repudiate the substance, or indeed the intrinsic value of media research into social problems such as violence, but he is concerned that the individual is perceived as being passive. Indirectly, Comstock and Lindsey confirm this view when they state that "the widespread belief that the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee's conclusion that the violence suggests a causal link between violence viewing and aggression is correct, and that without significant advances in methodology, little can be added in regard to the causal issue."⁴¹ It is the broader context for research which Brouwer sees in his critique of research into such selective social problems as violence on television.

This focus has led to overriding concern with the *audience* of the media, to the virtual exclusion of the originators or producers of media content, and of the system within which various types of media content are produced. Further, the audience has been studied in very particular ways, informed by views of the relationship between man and society prevalent in psychological and sociological thought at any particular time. Basic among these is the implicit conception of the communication audience as *atomistic*. In other words the individual is seen as the self-evident unit in mass communication processes.⁴²

In consideration of the relationship between the family and television as "instruments" of socialization, Aimée Dorr Leifer identifies five major strategies:

... the provision of examples, the patterning and power of the examples, reinforcement and punishment, opportunities for

and encouragement of practice, and attention to the characteristics and needs of the child. The first three strategies are also present in television programming to greater and lesser degrees. The fourth and fifth cannot be determined by television producers, although the child him or herself may choose to practise material seen on television or to select programming consonant with his or her characteristics or momentary needs.⁴³

Perhaps the major interest or concern of both producers and parents with television for children is the kind of example presented to children in programming designed to reach them. The well-intentioned but insensitive producer of commercial programming usually tries to win attention of children and approval of parents by using presenters who display a false enthusiasm, a patronizing manner, and overt didactic messages. Regardless of the degree of offensiveness, the personality is usually socially aggressive or extroverted and allows for little interaction or response. On the other hand, as Leifer points out, agencies such as the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) or the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and other similar agencies, aim to present programs and personalities "because they demonstrate behaviors which producers wish children to acquire and perform."⁴⁴ Careful research into both personality and activity is undertaken in order to identify creative stimuli for pro-social behaviour while at the same time respecting the child's integrity as an individual.

In assessing the patterning and power of the examples provided, there can be little doubt that this relationship within the family is dynamic and forceful. We are all familiar with resolution of family tensions by means of strong physical aggression, strong physical displays of affection, mild statements and physical separation – or, as Leifer adds, "variously – and unpredictably for the child – resolved by all three methods."⁴⁵ In the case of television, the frequency, consistency, and power of these examples is more predictable chiefly because it is, in large part, pre-planned. The problem is that since it is pre-planned, the model of behaviour is conceptualized and is received by the viewer as an intellectual rather than an affective experience. The parent, in a drama, is prototypical rather than personal, e.g., in the so-called "situation" family comedy the parent is generalized as "everyman" and hence the patterning model is "conceptualized" or "universalized." The fears which parents have about the patterning influence of television is usually expressed in terms of conceptually identifiable factors such as "the father is always presented as a simpleton" or complaints about the language used and – in some cases – moral disapproval of behaviour or actions. The alternative to this problem is to develop character and drama in terms of human interaction. What responses are given by child viewers to normal adult behaviour? What qualities of maturity in adult behaviour stimulate creative, individualized, pro-social behaviour on the part of the child viewer?

In the case of reinforcement or punishment as a socialization strategy, there are many variations. "Families vary considerably in the frequency with which they reward and punish, the behaviours they choose to reward and punish, the use of physical and verbal reinforcers."⁴⁶ While the relationship between parent and child in this situation is direct, unlike the family, television must appeal to the peer group of children and cannot establish a one-to-one relationship.

When we look more closely at current television program fare in terms of its socializing force, negative dimensions of the conceptualization of character and action are clearly evident in North America. More models of men than of women appear. Blacks are more frequently presented in work situations than as leaders. The commercial messages promote toys, snacks, cereals, especially the sugar-coated variety. In short,

All of these content analyses together suggest that American children see on television a world populated primarily by white males who tend to resort to threat and physical violence to resolve conflict, to be funny, and to achieve their goals, who dominate others, who are active, successful, and generally unaffectionate, and who lead relatively solitary lives without obvious gainful employment. Occasionally women, blacks, and a few representatives of other minority groups within the United States appear. Most often they are dominated by white males, generally unaggressive, relatively subservient, and devoid of bright ideas which are put into practice. Interspersed with this content are numerous suggestions that America is full of interesting and necessary things to buy, an act which Americans are always eager to perform.⁴⁷

If this assessment is correct – and in general this is certainly the impression gained from viewing prime-time television in North America – the question arises: to what extent are these values represented in families? Speaking in general terms, it would seem that as American families seek constantly to realize their ideals for (and through) their children, they verbalize hostility towards the media for lack of support in their pursuit of these goals. At the same time, the average North American parent perhaps is unconscious of the fact that many of these attitudes seen on television are in fact values which motivate parental behaviour. In a normal family situation the gap between ideals cherished and the practical reality of character among parents is perceived by children, who often challenge their parents' ideals. It is likely that the challenges of many children would be greeted with the cliché, "Don't do as I do, do as I say!"

In contrast with the situation in North America, Italian researchers in the area of socialization see the family and the school as joint partners with television in the process. Because families are somewhat more closely knit in the nuclear sense than they are in North America, the role of television in providing information on extra-family realities will be more effective if it is "framed in a body of information and values of family derivation, and the more (and the longer) the family will be able – in the child's eyes – both to inform and to

confront with the media-furnished information."⁴⁸ Indeed, in a study of 1,000 essays mailed by children (aged mostly between six and eight) for a contest set up jointly by "Radiocorriere" and a children's television program, it is relevant that there was

... a strong presence, in the essays, of the family structure, mostly of a cohesive and protective kind; the presence of the role of authority, in a significant ambivalence between gratification attached to its exercise and attitudes of revolt on the part of the subaltern; a widespread recurrence of violence, both physical and non-physical (the former prevailing), in essays coming from boys, coupled with a remarkable presence of violence exercised by adults upon children; lastly, a not infrequent presence of death seen in terms of fear.⁴⁹

It is interesting here to observe that there is probably a close correlation between the role of authority, physical aggression, and male emphasis on violence as perceived on television and as experienced within the family.

The influence of the sex factor takes shape in the higher ability of the boys to identify characters. This difference does not find a conclusive explanation here, but we may presume – by way of hypothesis – that it might be connected with the fact that most characters featured are male. It may however, be of interest, in this context, to note that, out of two characters most easily identified by all categories of children, one is unquestionably male (Zorro), while the other is peculiar for the ambivalence of her role (Pippi Longstocking).⁵⁰

Earlier it was observed that there is a sharp confrontation between idealistic parents and materialistic advertisers when it comes to assessing the content and presentation of commercial messages. In Italy the reverse appears to be the case. As in some other countries, the commercial messages in Italy are presented as an advertising program at about 9 p.m., lasting some ten minutes.

The convergence between parents and mass communication media is evidenced by the data regarding the opinion of parents on the advisability of their children being exposed to advertising messages and more particularly to "Carosello" [a typical advertising program lasting some ten minutes in all, consisting of sketches and commercial releases, and showing each evening at about 9 p.m.]: Two-thirds of them have no doubt as to such advisability, in addition to which some 40 per cent of adults consider that "Carosello" constitutes a precious aid towards making their children well informed, careful, judicious consumers aware of the value of money. Others (ten per cent) are convinced that it is useful as an aid to learn the language, for good manners and breeding, and to learn models of behaviour which will undoubtedly prove successful in the consumer society; whereas others still (five per cent) consider them a useful stimulus for the imagination, creativity, et cetera.⁵¹

Throughout the eleven research studies on which De Domenico reports in his study, the following characteristics all attest to the significance of television as a socializing agency. Above all, there was very little difference among these characteristics noted in the several regions of Italy represented in the studies. In all areas there was a fairly close correlation between the

familial tradition with its adherence to majority values and to the acceptance of messages conveyed by television. The findings revealed

... a high incidence of television viewing time among children's living habits; the positive appraisal by families of the importance of the television medium in the socialization process; their adhesion to values proposed by the medium; the essentially passive attitude maintained by the same families when viewing; their adherence to majority values; and lastly their "escapist" expectations towards the medium, which is mainly considered as a source of entertainment.⁵²

It is worth observing that in both North America and Italy the school as a socializing agency is a significant force in correlation with the family and television. As Italy moved into mass education in the Fifties, the system remained rigid, conservative, and tradition-minded largely in response to similar conditions in the family. Even though such a system had appalling shortcomings, it nevertheless reflected the society in which it functioned.

In Canada and the United States where mass education at the elementary and secondary levels preceded the television era, a similar kind of conservatism prevailed in response to the school's traditional role of helping to realize social ideals shared by most families. The difference rests in the emphasis placed in the North American school upon self-reliance and individualism. Because there is less interaction among families about the extra-familial experience of television, the child is left more on his own when it comes to interpretation of the information he receives. Hence the North American parent is less likely to share the experience with his child and is more likely to lash out at the broadcaster for presenting program fare which is in opposition to or is unsupportive of the ideals which parents cherish for their children. This problem raises a challenge for the school in both societies to play a more significant leadership role in helping both parents and children to understand the relationships among parents and children, about television, school, and society.

Throughout this discussion, we have noted the universal enthusiasm for program fare which is violent, aggressive, or escapist in character. Aimée Dorr Leifer reports on a study of the effects of television on pro-social behaviour among pre-school children. Basing their research on the responses of children to two notably pro-social television programs, *Sesame Street* and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, they sought to assess responses which would show a positive effect on the pro-social behaviour of children. Without going into the set-up and procedures, the conclusions are of more interest for the discussion here. Dr. Leifer was especially impressed with the "paucity of the effects of *Sesame Street's* pro-social segments." While "children can be shown to remember pro-social content and to acquire specific behaviors which they will then perform in situations which are quite similar to those portrayed on television ... they do not, however, seem to generalize

readily from the television material to other pro-social behaviors or other situations."⁵³

In attempting to assess this phenomenon, Leifer observes:

Researchers have found that pre-schoolers will view particular aggressive acts on television and generalize them to other forms of aggression in their normal pre-school environment, yet they have not found that children as easily generalize from pro-social programming. Perhaps this is because aggressive displays are portrayed in a more interesting manner on television or are for some reason more intrinsically interesting to children. This would lead them to attend more to such displays and learn more from them. Or perhaps it is because aggression has more utility in children's pre-school environments. If so, a study which only measured performance would more easily find generalization of aggressive behaviors. The final possibility is that children have a more well-developed cognitive schema for aggressive behavior and so find it easier to learn specific behaviors from an aggressive display and to generalize from it. None of these possible explanations is very appealing, but they all suggest a need to examine further the ways in which children may learn pro-social behavior from television.⁵⁴

This thoughtful conclusion demands the further search Dr. Leifer suggests. While empirical evidence is lacking, these observations prompt a philosophical response. In Canada and the U.S. the confrontation between social-personal ideals and the materialistic values of the entrepreneur continues. This sharp separation between the materialistic and the idealistic arises from the conviction that the faculty of intelligence, the capacity to reason, is a most significant element of man's humanity. So paramount is this faculty that many of us believe it to be the *essential* element. As we seek to objectify what is most real and enduring about our traditions and our values, we seek to articulate these values in the form of rational propositions – as ideals which, after habitual articulation and expression in the context of practical moral situations, we come to believe to be real. In the comfortable, affluent middle-class society of the Western world, these ideals are seldom challenged or felt to be inadequate. Hence, the Ten Commandments in their absolute form are honoured more in the breach than in the realization of the principle. The ideal of moral conduct is applied absolutely to the behaviour of others while the "judge" conveniently rationalizes his own behaviour. "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt not kill," and yet many a man has justified his conduct in consumption of his employer's goods, services or property; he has looked with lascivious eye upon the physical form of another man's wife; and may often have had the intent to do any kind of violence against his fellow man – even to the extremity of taking that man's life if he felt that he could get away with it.

The human condition described so far reveals what happens when one thinks of the essence of humanity as purely rational. Law and morality are identical in this situation and reality of the self is abstract rather than

personal. If one accepts the Cartesian principle that "I think, therefore I am," then my real selfhood must be that of "everyman" and the factor of "responsibility" is lost. Children growing up are taught the ideal morality but observe the reality of their parents' actual behaviour. A father urges "discipline" of a strict and orderly kind for his son but overlooks the interpretation his son will give of his father's conduct in business when at dinner he reports to the family his success in finding a way around the income-tax department. In the end our children emulate our true selves and not the ideals we commend to them.

In the area of media, we have likewise set up a double standard. We want pro-social programs for our children while the majority of adults want "escape" entertainment for themselves. We take publishers to the courts on a charge of peddling pornographic material when they attempt to distribute a realistic but professional book on sex education but we are prepared in many countries to legalize brothels, show pornographic films, and legalize "sex shops" and "body-rub parlours." We want violence eliminated from children's programs but we want violence in programs for our own entertainment. We allow forms of entertainment considered unsuitable for child or family viewing to be shown after 9 p.m., ignoring the fact that such a double standard is immediately recognized by young people, who ask quite relevantly, "Which is the real standard we are to follow?"

In their anxiety and concern for the impact of television upon the young viewer, parents often select specific models of behaviour or single concepts in programs presented for children as being harmful in terms of character education. To what extent are the endless models of law enforcement using violence to achieve their "lawful" goals suitable for emulation by the young? To what extent is "virtue" being taught by uncreative clowns whose reminders that cleaning one's teeth after every meal or saying "please" and "thank you" are justification for "educational content." Education in this sense is a function of rules and conventions which lead to no deep understanding of dental hygiene or meaningful human relations. Indeed, such gestures on the part of insensitive performers are merely a cover-up for otherwise tasteless content.

The problem in identifying significant relationships between parents and children is to understand the deeply felt needs of both parents and children when it comes to pleasure in entertainment or understanding each other. Sander Vanocur writing in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (June 27, 1976) observes that "television does not exist in a vacuum separate from other aspects of our lives, including the political. Successful programming strikes a responsive chord when it approximates, rather than deviates from, the nation's unformed but deeply felt needs." The implication here is that those who are responsible for program policy in the mass media must have a wide and

deep comprehension of the needs of their audiences if they are to meet the needs of the audiences whom they serve. Some years ago when the major networks of the United States were under pressure from the U.S. Senate Committee of the Judiciary to reduce the amount of violence on adult television shows, a significant letter turned up in the internal correspondence of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) which had been handed over in response to a subpoena. Since "violence" in its naked and simplistic form could not be used without inviting the criticism of the Committee, the then-President of CBS Television, James T. Aubrey, Jr., ordered his producers and directors to give the audience "broads, babes, and bosoms!"

At this point, the question arises of the differences between parents and children in their attitudes to violent or tasteless programming and what responses can be given by responsible and creative producers to meet the real needs of each group. I would venture the opinion that in the past violence has been found to be entertaining because it confirms the viewer's perhaps unconscious belief that the possession and exercise of power ensures security. We need only remind ourselves that regardless of the format of the program, most of the time the houses are dream houses, the cars are large, prestigious, and powerful, and the illusion of the ideal of material success is constantly before us. The culmination of the action is usually a confusion of two rather dubious principles: that the law is always right, and that might ensures right. In terms of the dominant traditions of Western morality, the highest obligation is to seek and to realize "the best of all possible worlds." To repeat, the concept of the best world is a world of harmony and of material security. It is an ideal world of universal brotherhood in which everyone shares a common ideal, in which there is no conflict and in which there is no anxiety or insecurity. Problems arise when one realizes that one has not achieved this ideal or when one feels that one's possession of the ideal is being challenged. Such is the case in South Africa where the theological tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church actually supports the notion of the superiority of the white race which so conveniently (for the whites!) dominates millions of Africans. Hence laws and social institutions such as *apartheid* are devised, imposed, and enforced to ensure the immutability of race.

Let me quote the most recent – that of the Commission for Current Problems of the Federated Ned. Geref. Kerke. "Every nation and race will be able to perform the greatest service to God and the world if it keeps its own national attributes, received from God's own hand, pure with honour and gratitude. . . . God divided humanity into races, languages and nations. Differences are not only willed by God but are perpetuated by Him. Equality between natives, coloureds and Europeans includes a misappreciation of the fact that God, in his Providence, made people into different races and nations. . . . Far from the word of God encouraging equality, it is an established scriptural principle that in every community ordination there is a fixed relationship between authorities. . . .

Those who are culturally and spiritually advanced have a mission to leadership and protection of the less advanced. . . . The natives must be led and formed towards independence so that eventually they will be equal to the Europeans, but each on their own territory and each serving God and their own fatherland.⁵⁵

It is not difficult to comprehend that we will go on the defensive to preserve the ordered world we know. The harmony of *apartheid* guarantees the material security to which the whites have become accustomed. The problem is that harmony of this ideal sort establishes no meaningful relationships among the individuals who must share the same social and physical environment. For the sake of an ideal (in this case, the concept of an elect people of God) millions of individuals are enslaved, for to allow them freedom would mean a sacrifice of political and economic power. The inevitable outcome of such a philosophy will be conflict and violence.

If the harmony of idealism which characterizes the conventional morality of the Western middle class is destructive of the individual relationships, what must it do to the relationships between parents and children, between parents and producers and between producers and children? In this discussion, "formula" programming and "didactic" or "single concept" programming are all the same in their impact on children. An informational show about the museum produced without imagination and without concern for the interest of the child may still be considered superior to a "Western" or a "crime show" by parents because the former contains no violence. And yet lack of concern for a child's feelings or capacity for interest and comprehension is as much an assault on his personhood as is the lack of concern for violent action which may disturb him because he cannot handle the dramatic elements emotionally. We do have the obligation to establish meaningful relationships with children in the matter of television viewing. Our problems are not solved by the substitution of dullness and tastelessness for undue violence. It is not good enough to absorb the child viewer into the harmonious ideal of programs neatly cleansed of all irregular or deviant elements in human behaviour or social action. The purity of the ideal children's program is likely to have little meaning for its intended audience. The best programs for children are those in which the performers relate in an understanding way to their young audience. The Friendly Giant reaches out to anticipate the responses children will give to his gestures. The play between himself and the puppets includes the audience in a meaningful way. The sharing environment of the castle and of the story-telling provides security in which the child at once feels himself while he is able to expand his imagination and his comprehension.

Let us imagine the situation in which the child feels free to ask his parent why he or she watches a crime show while he, the child, is not permitted to do so? I recall being a guest in a house one evening where the

seven-year-old boy was in bed and supposedly asleep. The television receiver was showing a popular crime show when the child was heard to say "Daddy! Why are you watching that show with the *scary* music when I'm not allowed to?" Clearly, Father was on the spot. He was deeply committed to the provision of as many pro-social experiences for his children as possible. Like all middle-class parents he cherished the hope that they might in some way fulfil all of his own unfulfilled ideals. Romantic and perhaps tasteless dramatizations of law enforcement were certainly not manifestations of these ideals. The explanation arises from the double standard referred to earlier. As a successful young business man he was an advocate of law and order, of social and domestic harmony, as one would naturally expect. By his own admission, he enjoyed escape entertainment in the form of crime shows because, he said, he liked the "action." In a lengthy discussion, we came to the realization that has been acknowledged above, that it is part of the human condition to feel insecure when our "empire," our habitual way of life, is threatened. Unconsciously he was "escaping" in the exploits of the attractive and immensely competent detective "who *always* gets his man!" In short, the simplistic conclusion is that if you have enough power you will always have money and status and, above all, you will probably always be right! The outcome of this episode was to tell his son that the next time he wanted to watch a "scary" show, they might sit down together to find out what it was really like.

It would seem then that our ideals are all too often impossible to achieve because they lack the dimension of personal interaction and human experience. As we persist dogmatically in our conviction that "the real is the ideal," we develop a context in which all other opinion must be eliminated. In short, the dominance of an idealistic morality encourages aggressive behaviour in order to ensure or to guarantee its reality. In the end, the agents whom morality must serve have been eliminated. Law in its most rigorous, rational form becomes identical with the moral ideal. Lacking the element of personal responsibility, the agents of morality or its opponents will continue to resort to aggression in order to enforce their will. As long as television and the family or television and society (particularly the articulate middle class) remain in a confrontation situation, children in our society will tend to "find it easier to learn specific behaviours from an aggressive display and to generalize from it." The alternative would seem to lie in the cultivation of a more responsive (i.e., responsible!) approach to human development in education and society.

Socialization implies in a major sense self-actualization or self-realization in which the individual retains his integrity as a person. Even though we accept as both lawful and moral that one may not steal or murder, the moral content of obedience to such laws implies a prior personal commitment and belief in the integrity and the

rights of all persons. Such an appreciation of human worth cannot be imposed upon anyone; moral conduct can be learned only through frequent personal inter-communication and sharing of all dimensions of morality, law, and social intercourse.

In this vein, Dr. Ingo Hermann reports on a study by Dr. Hertha Sturm ("The Viewer as Manipulator");

We all know that not only does television do something with the viewer, but the viewer does something with the television programme. His foreknowledge, the level of his information, his concept of values and opinions, his prejudices and emotions, his self concept and the social group to which he belongs all go to help him interpret the programme.⁵⁶

Dr. Hermann quotes from Dr. Sturm's study:

It is the actual achievement of American communication research – in which research especially social psychologists, sociologists and politologues participated – to have proved that inter-human lines of communication mediate between the mass media and the individual recipients. Thus all experiments and investigations proved that such inter-human lines of communication are extraordinarily stable in face of influences which aim at changing opinions.⁵⁷

It is clear that the framework for social research adequate to meet Dr. Leifer's challenge is available. The tradition of social psychology so significantly developed by John Dewey and so universally accepted as the foundation for educational theory and practice in our schools defends the right of the child to develop to his full potential. The difficulty is that this tradition is not shared by the more stable and affluent members of our middle class. In short, if we would change a pattern of modelling or imitative behaviour among children exposed to television and other socializing agencies (especially the family and the school) we must change our patterns of child-rearing and moral education to bring about more dialogue, more interpersonal communication, and less emphasis on conflict and confrontation.

Parents and Children in Relation to the Use of Television

In suggesting that parents share more frequently the viewing of television with their children, a number of assumptions are being made which demand elaboration. At the outset, such a discussion is of concern to parents who are consciously aware that television is a socializing force for good or evil. Regardless of goodness or evil, parents may be aware that the influence of television as a model for behaviour is simply in conflict with the model which they, as parents, wish to provide for their children. It is therefore immensely important for concerned parents to have a very clear idea of the nature of their own convictions and to have an equally clear idea of or appreciation of the child as a person full of potential for mature adulthood. We have already identified some of the problems in the unending, dynamic process of socialization. As individual parents who are, it is to be hoped, mature adults, we have been socialized to the point in time

when a child is born. Products of a socialization process which responded to the social, cultural, and environmental challenges of our time, we now must accept that the process will be different as the child participates in socialization within a different set of social, cultural, and environmental circumstances. Family-child relationships will be inevitably different for an adolescent today compared with the period of adolescence of parents, owing to the medical technology of the contraceptive pill. Whether or not one disapproves of its use for moral or health reasons, the fact remains that adolescents will have to make decisions about its use. Fear of pregnancy is no longer a dominant restraining – or "socializing" – force among the members of the peer group of adolescents. To what extent should such an issue be the format of a television drama? Norman Lear, in his production of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, has accepted changes in social mores and has had the foresight to recognize that human relations normally not considered to be suitable for regular adult fare are in fact social realities. He has courageously, and often wittily, presented these problems in the show. Significantly, it is relegated to the midnight hour, the assumption on the part of the broadcasters being that conventional middle-class people are asleep.

But adherence to static or eclectic traditions will not stop the inexorable activity of the socialization process. The only sensible alternative is to turn our attention to the nature of the self which is being realized. Most of us accept habitually, if not by faith or conviction, that as individual persons we are unique and unrepeatable events in human history. And yet, without the maturation process of socialization, we can have no security in such a belief. Paradoxically this sense of security can be realized only in the context of shared relationships with others. "Only in the continuous encounter with other persons does the person become and remain a person. The place of this encounter is the community."⁵⁸

It is with this sharing spirit that the parent must approach both the good and the bad of television programming. Whether or not he restricts the viewing of certain programs, the child will share it vicariously with his peers. Indeed, his sense of frustration – or humiliation – in not being able to share the experience of television with his peer group will build up resentment and hostility towards a restrictive parent, thus aggravating the tendency for adolescents to rebel against parental authority.

Armed with self-confidence, the child feels secure in the expression of his ideas and experience of what he sees. The parent believes that he need not go on the defensive about his own values, since there will be lots of time in future dialogue with the child to rediscover their meaning in real-life as well as television situations encountered by the child. Nathaniel Cantor expresses this theme for both parent and teacher when he

describes the nature of conflict and cooperation in the rearing or education of the child. No teacher or parent

... can escape the dilemma of struggling with ... one's need (to be right), while at the same time using the difference as an opportunity for child growth. If the teacher (parent) gains increasing inner security, (he, she) can afford to be rejected. (He, she) need not become defensive. (He, she) stands for what (he, she) is, remains comfortable, and permits others to disagree. (He, she) does not need the other's support for reassurance. (He, she) does not have to control the others since (he, she) learns to criticize and control (him, her) self.⁵⁹

The basic approach recommended here to parents is consistent with the concept of socialization developed earlier. The parent or teacher who has learned security and achieved genuine maturity from the practice of responsibility (i.e., the capacity to "answer" or "respond" to the gestures of others with personal "gestures" which encourage growth and development) will be helpful to children on their own road to maturity. Since the child learns by responding, his responses to such a parent or teacher will enable him to regulate and control his own impulses for the sake of social life with his peers.

The individual blob of protoplasm becomes a unique organism which must learn to surrender "the pleasure principle" for "the reality principle." The developing infant soon internalizes the expectations of family and friends. He becomes socialized up to a point. He wants to belong and to feel secure, but he also wants to express his personality, to be left alone to follow his unique bent, to develop his particular capacities, talents, and interests. He wants his own style of living, which must be qualified by his social experiences. He wants to, or has to, submit to others. He asks, or he struggles, to be alone. There are times when he must bend or break. The individual must learn to live with, and in, conflict.⁶⁰

And so, in every encounter with one's child, the purpose should not be to impose one's own will or specific rule or ideal but rather to take the encounter as an opportunity to evoke creative and social responses from the child. In this way the child not only learns the limits of his conduct but life for him becomes reality-centred, i.e., he learns how others respond to his words and actions as he in turn gives of himself in a shared experience. Here we may note the paradox of selfhood discovered in the giving over of the self on the part of both parent and child. As Cantor expresses it,

The individuals (pupils or children) will struggle to maintain their present selves. If they are to change in any significant way, they must struggle with differences which they *feel* to be an opportunity and not a threat. The process provides the yeast of growth and encourages the desire to learn. The teacher (parent) guides the process and introduces the challenge of difference. If there is no challenge, against which or with which one must struggle, important change is not likely to take place.⁶¹

There have been many publications over the span of television history which provide the "do's and don't's" for parents in the use of television. Patterns of control range from the example of the Japanese who provided

receivers with a door across the screen which could be locked to prevent any unsupervised access by children to the American house with several receivers available. In line with the dynamic approach to television as an agent for socialization, we will concentrate on those principles of learning which can be understood and implemented by the parent in the sharing of television programming with his child.

We have already seen how modelling or patterning as a dynamic part of socialization is experienced in television programming. It is natural for the parent to be concerned about imitation of behaviour, character, or dramatic action which conspires against his ideals for the child's development. At the same time, it is important for the parent to understand that imitation is a natural response for a child to make from the earliest stages of his development.

Imitation as a form of response may be observed very early in a child's life. Selma Fraiberg writes at some length of that very special occasion when a baby smiles for the first time in response to the sight of a human face:

The *response smile* which occurs around two months is a significant milestone in the baby's development. ... This is a very special smile. It is not a reflex action, it is not a smile of satiation; it is a *response* smile, a smile that is elicited when a human face presents itself. ... Through repetition of the experience of nursing and its regular accompaniment, the human face, an association between nursing and the human face will be established. But more than this, the pleasure, the satisfactions of nursing, become associated with the human face. Repetition of this pleasurable experience gradually traces an image of the face on the surface of the memory apparatus and the foundations of memory are established. When the mental image is firmly established, the visual image of the human face is "recognized" (very crudely), that is, the sight of the human face evokes the mental image and it is "remembered." Now comes the turning point. This is not just a memory based on pictures but a memory derived from image plus pleasure: the association established through nursing. The baby's response to the sight of the human face is now seen as a response of pleasure. He smiles at the sight of the human face. ... The baby has made his first human connection.⁶²

Later, when baby tries the patience of the dinner table by dropping his spoon repeatedly on the floor, he is not out to be aggressive or irritating, but is trying, in his crude way, to enter into a sociable relationship with the adult whose attention he solicits by his action. In fact, his dropping the spoon is in no way different (although it may certainly seem so to us) from his giving toys to a friendly adult in order to have them given back again. Both are attempts to establish a relationship by setting up responses with others. The child gradually develops the habit of being able to anticipate the gestures of other people in response to his behaviour. Eventually, language as gesture builds on these imitative responses. Indeed, imitation – i.e., the setting up of responses with adults and with those with whom the child plays – is the road to selfhood.

Certainly, every parent is aware of a child's delight in

the repetition of experiences which he enjoys. We know they love to have the same stories read over and over again, especially while being held in the comfort and security of the parent's lap. The repetition of significant responses which confirm the real self in response to others rather than in an anti-social affirmation of the will enables the child to develop a true sense of security. There are ample opportunities to observe how children enjoy the retelling of familiar stories and indulge in repetitious playing of familiar games. A familiar experience for a child not only enables him to confirm the reactions he has had in the past and to gain control of what he has learned, but, by giving him an opportunity to reinvestigate his responses, gradually leads him through self-discovery to self-knowledge. In current television shows such as *Sesame Street*, *The Friendly Giant*, and *Mister Rogers*, regular viewers are familiar with such repeated segments as the Friendly Giant's arrangement of the castle for the next day's visit or the emphasis on personal trust as Mister Rogers enters his habitat in the neighbourhood where the child feels secure enough to explore both the familiar and the unfamiliar. Even the repetitiousness of commercial messages which the planners of *Sesame Street* imitated so successfully may provide occasions for linguistic development and for social criticism. The constant emphasis on parents sharing the experience of television viewing with their children recalls the research evidence provided by Francesco De Domenico of Italian Radio and Television where parents were reportedly in favour of a program package of commercial messages, "Carosello," for the reasons just given. To be sure, the cultural restraints on commercialism in Italy are much more inhibiting for aggressive salesmanship than is the case in North America. Nevertheless, if one accepts the fact that commercial messages are part of the "free enterprise" system, then we must find a positive and socially responsible way to deal with any offensive, i.e., aggressive, elements within the system. By becoming familiar with the scheduling, the content of the messages, and the responses children give to them, the parent is in a better position to evaluate and to criticize. Such an approach is an extension of the sharing experience from the family to the society. Under the auspices of the Canadian Advertising Advisory Board (CAAB), a Broadcast Code for Advertising to Children was developed. All private stations are required by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to subscribe to the Code. The regulatory arm of the CAAB, the Advertising Standards Council (which had been established previously to regulate advertising in general) has a panel which reviews and approves all commercial messages directed to children before they are aired. The membership of the panel includes the CRTC, the Canadian Association of Consumers, and representatives of the business and academic communities, with CBC represented in an observer's capacity. In short, the factor of imitation or

social response is a basic principle in the total and continuing endeavour of social learning and human development. Repetition affords an opportunity to reassess our responses to the challenge of television programming in all its dimensions.

Normal growing children are necessarily active, a condition which adults often find harassing. The root of conflict here is that while adults have learned to control their movements and have long since learned how to transform activity into meaningful gestures, for the child action is a means of self-expression, another significant step on the road to self-discovery. Through experimentation with action, children not only learn the rudiments of body control, but move on to the significant discovery of creative gestures in the movements of their bodies. The more opportunities we give a child for meaningful self-expression, the richer will be his development and the greater his opportunity to fulfil his creative potential. Our responsibilities in this connection are emphasized in the preface to the outline of the Physical Education course for the Primary Division (grades one to three) in the Province of Ontario.

These children are dramatic, imaginative, imitative, and very responsive to rhythmic sounds; they need opportunities to create and explore and should be given the chance to take part in dance, story plays, and mimetic activities – to imitate bicycles, elevators, and spinning trays; to learn singing games and respond to the rhythmic beat of a record or a percussion instrument.⁶³

Expression of the body in action is an essential stimulus to creative growth and development. However, not all action is constructive action. It is the responsibility of parents and teachers to direct undisciplined action into creative channels.

At the same time as one considers the necessity for channelling the activity of children, many parents are concerned about the apparent passivity of children before the television set. Although the child is fully absorbed in what he sees and hears, parents often feel that he should be playing games or reading books, the assumption being that physical activity, or skill in reading, is more desirable. The fact is that the child participates just as actively in what he sees on television as he does in playing games or reading. It is just as important – if not more so – that he should be taught how to watch television or film as it is for him to develop his body physically or to master the technique of reading, since it would appear that many children spend more time viewing television than they do in reading or in playing games. A good television program for children will in fact invite creative participation or stimulate physical and mental activity. Through television, properly presented and properly used, children will find new channels for their energy and new opportunities to test their yet undiscovered or untried talents.

In the situation of sharing television with the child, it is important to distinguish between the spectacle of

rapid action which appeals to a child and the violence which might have a disturbing effect upon the child. Experienced viewers of programs classified as violent which are frequently seen by children have learned to distinguish between aggression and the dramatic technique of action-motion. Well-known researchers into children's responses to media such as Schramm, Himmelweit, Garry, and Maccoby all have testified that many sorts of vigorous physical action cannot be classified as aggression. Professor Ralph Garry of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has stated that parents who are sensitive to their children's reactions to television are aware that it is often the quality of violence and the nature of the participants which create more tension and disturb more children than sheer quantity of violence. The typical Western, gorged with gunfire, doesn't start children running to their local armoury. It is a well-known ritual with all the events predictable. The typical barroom fight scene, for all the broken props, is a kaleidoscope of noisy action for the child, the outcome entirely foreseen, but the actual image as confusing as a girl's first football game. To the child it is more action than violence. However, let the scene involve a slow build-up, a knife, a man stalking a child, shadowy scenes, lingering camera work following the perpetration of injury, and quite frightening effects occur. Let the scenes appear familiar, the actors similar to real persons in the child's life, and one finds effects multiplying, for the tension becomes too great for children. In contrast, the traditional Western is to the child what *Swan Lake* is to an adult – a formal ballet unrelated to life.

Still another reason for sharing television viewing with one's children is to learn how to respond to the personalities they see on the screen. Every parent who has a loving concern for his child's growth and development towards mature adulthood needs support from other adults in the family and in the community who share this concern. Children learn through mature, "responsive" adults who invite their trust and confidence by showing respect for the "persons" of children – both in their avoidance of condescension and in their reassuring anticipation of children's needs and reactions. Since children are quick to sense forced pleasantness and insecurity in adults, such trusted persons are usually natural, friendly, relaxed adults who inspire children with self-confidence and thus stimulate happy, creative responses from them.

Children can also learn from the competence of others. I once watched a television program on which an exceedingly uninteresting adult presented information about crafts to children. His voice was monotonous and his gestures were clumsy, but the group of ten-year-olds watched intently. After five or ten minutes, one of them said: "This guy is good! Can he ever draw!" They responded totally to this man's competence in what he was doing, ignoring all the conventions of the adult producers or of the adult

observers. The thing that mattered was that he could draw and it was his response to competence that was important. The importance of personality on the television screen as a model for young children is quickly realized in the example of the Friendly Giant (Bob Homme), Mister Rogers (Fred Rogers), and Captain Kangaroo (Bob Keeshan), all of whom have been on the air continuously for over twenty years in well-produced program formats with carefully planned content; above all, they appear as sincere adults whom children trust and love as friends. They are members of a community which provides a source of self-confidence and security for children as they set forth in an ever-widening exploration of themselves and the world in which they live.

Many parents, quite legitimately, feel that television can provide a rich source of information which can be of value for children. In the early days of television such concerns were met by programs which introduced children to art galleries, museums, the zoo, et cetera. Along with these shows was the ever-present *Disneyland* with its romantic, action-oriented interpretations of the world of nature. The relative failure of information programs for children lay in a lack of understanding of how children responded to the television medium. Being by nature active, they wished to participate in the presentation by entering the environment and having the feeling that they were there on the scene of action. Most of us know from experience that children have a natural curiosity about everything that surrounds them. Their chief pleasure arises from any experience that broadens their view of the world and satisfies their curiosity about their environment. They love to explore the world of nature; they love to travel; they like information about children in other lands; they enjoy the adventure of a new experience. Since there is ample evidence to show that children use information from any source as a means of extending their experience of the world, the failure of many information programs on television arises from ignorance of the technique of television presentation.

The suggestions offered here for the guidance of parents represent a combination of professional experience and lay insights. The question remains as to where parents in general can obtain the information and support needed to deal wisely with the use of television in the home and in particular by their children. In the search for understanding of the impact of television on children, parents must make an honest attempt to assess their own personal values.

We have already referred to the double standards which many middle-class parents adopt with respect to television. These double standards are a reflection of the cross-currents in our values. Ralph Garry, in his work with the Foundation for Character Education, has identified several of these cross-currents as we look for a somewhat more intelligible and meaningful approach to

television as a component in the total process of socialization. For example,

Cooperation stands above competition in our moral heritage, and so it must be on television. Nevertheless, the medium should also recognize the need for healthy competition among children as a preparation for life in our society. Through stories and games it can focus on competition as an incentive to self-improvement or constructive endeavour instead of the defeat of the other fellow and discourage cut-throat, tense, devil-take-the-hindmost variety. It can depict group activities such as team rivalry, that successfully combine cooperation and competition – and show how even the bitterest competitors may learn to bury the hatchet and work together for a larger cause.⁶⁴

Much of the “violent” behaviour of young people arises out of the conflicting expectation and/or desire to be an individual while parents, teachers, and society feel more comfortable with young people who conform; hence the conflict between individuality and conformity. As Garry observes:

In our culture, there is a dual drive: to be unique and to be like the Joneses. There are positive values in each – we, and our children, seem to derive more self-respect and feeling of worth from being ourselves, but more security from conforming to others. Of the two, the one that seems to need more emphasis today is individuality.⁶⁵

Television formats such as the CBC’s *Home-Made Theatre* and the production by WGBH-TV in Boston, *Zoom*, where young people are invited to submit their ideas for presentation on television, do much for the realization of relevant programming and of matching individuality with cooperation in a peer-group endeavour.

Much parental concern about violence and the general effect of television on the young is an unconscious preoccupation on the part of the parent to keep and to shape the child in his own image. Such an attitude is certain to produce emotional immaturity. In contrast emotional maturity is realized by the encouragement of self-reliance and independence. Growing up means growing away from parental support – which does not mean eliminating affection and respect for parents (in fact, as one parent put it, “the more you let them go, the more you keep them”). Emotional maturity comes with genuine interaction when the individual has a meaningful interaction with another person or group concerning an objective or a set of values which they share. *Mr. Dressup*, *The Friendly Giant*, and *Mister Rogers* all inspire confidence among child viewers who often ignore the technology of television transmission and believe the characters to be alive before them in the television “box.” Many a television screen has the marks of children’s lips as they kiss their television friends goodbye. It is by the means of such interaction and identification that mature attitudes develop. Self-fulfilment as a mature person entails changes in attitudes.

Attitude change depends not just on knowledge, but on many

other factors including the person who is presenting the knowledge, how this person is perceived, the form in which the knowledge is given, the circumstances of delivery, the manner of presentation, and conditions and affiliations of those receiving the knowledge and the function that knowledge might perform in serving the needs of the recipients.⁶⁶

Much depends upon the responses which the “model” established in the interaction of the viewer with what he sees. Credibility, expertness, and trustworthiness are necessary qualities in a good communication. There is an implication here that a mature individual can readily cope with negative influences on television while he can respond to enriching experiences whenever they become available. The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and other important government bodies in the Western world have been genuinely concerned by threatening material on television and other mass media. But, as A. R. Cohen observes,

For one thing, the theoretical models, which have been invoked to explain the effects of types of appeal, have by and large had to do only with negative feelings, and have not usually dealt with those emotional appeals which arouse sympathy, affection, elation, satisfaction, or other “positive emotions.” While the threatening communication may have many implications for other types of propaganda, a question remains for research as to whether there may not be unique effects of pleas, which appeal to the positive, moral, ethical and even the religious sides of people.⁶⁷

Another cross-current identified by Garry is

... the fact that in America we place a high premium on activity, and criticize any medium, such as television, that seems to promote passivity. Something can be said for the fact that in watching the screen we are not simply behaving like a sponge, but we are thinking, feeling, and at least reacting. Something can also be said in favor of quietly absorbing, at times, instead of being constantly up and doing. Nevertheless, those responsible for programming should be on the lookout for specific positive ways of stimulating child viewers to constructive activity.⁶⁸

A study by Bushe, Nostbakken, Maurizi, and Zuckernick on children’s responses to television programs reveals that the child viewer is far from passive in his behaviour before the television screen. Under observation by the authors, the attention of the children to the television screen varied considerably. Certainly they were selective of the moments when new information or experience was likely to appear.

As research progressed, it became increasingly clear that attention cannot be equated to eyes on the set, nor is attention contingent on eye contact with the set. As the children interacted with each other and the environment (on “no attention” conditions in most instances), the researchers noted that at intervals, as if by cue, the children glanced at the television set. They often seemed to know when it was necessary to look at the set and when it was not. It seemed plausible to the researchers that the predominance of audio attributes allows the children to follow the program by ear rather than by eye as they interact with each other and surroundings. What may

appear as a lack of attention due to lack of eye contact with the set may, in fact, be a participation with the show, friends, and surroundings all at once. The children participate with the program in this context by virtue of knowing when eye attention is needed and when ear attention will suffice. The attention to auditory elements of the program in many cases influenced the way children interacted with each other. The games they played and roles they assumed in apparent indifference to the television often bore resemblances to the program being shown. The children explore the studio surroundings in such a way as to allow eye contact with the set in short order. In many cases, play going on in the studio was interrupted quickly as the children ran back to see what the audio portion of the program had already revealed.⁶⁹

Such evidence in itself should be reassuring to parents that television in itself does not invite passivity. Understanding that the individual is quite capable of being active rather than passive before the screen should encourage planners and producers to make creative rather than negative use of the medium. Bromley Kniveton is convinced that the viewer cannot have the same meaningful relationship with a television model or personality as we do with another person or a social group. Other influences besides television help us to

... develop emotional relationships with the party or parties concerned and [we] are willing to comply with their wishes in order to gain approval or support. With television we have no such relationship and therefore any influence it may have is based solely on the extent we see the particular behaviour as being attractive. In addition, social learning from parents or groups involves observational learning, role training, trial and error learning and conditioning as compared with learning from television which incorporates almost exclusively observational learning.⁷⁰

The difficulty here is Kniveton's failure to identify the phenomenon of "responsive" rather than "observational" learning from television. Observational learning would make the impact of positive or negative information, e.g. violence, into a direct and overwhelming impact. But there is enough evidence to show that

The communicator's audience is not a passive recipient – it cannot be regarded as a lump of clay to be molded by the master propagandist. Rather, the audience is made up of individuals who demand something from the communications to which they are exposed, and who select those that are likely to be useful to them.⁷¹

Many biases develop in television among the cross-currents of masculine versus feminine roles. We are all familiar with

... stock portrayals of women as schemers or fathers as dopes; male heroes as strong silent men who always make their decisions without consulting others; female heroes who solve every problem through sex appeal. Another unfortunate pattern is the tendency to distinguish *too* sharply between the sexes. Television stories can show that girls and women do not have a corner on tenderness, humaneness or the ability to care for children – and men do not have a corner on mechanical aptitude, physical power or courage.⁷²

Underlying this sex bias remains the eternal search for the basic right – to be oneself. In a goal-oriented society, we sacrifice our identity to conform to a group which will realize specific goals articulated as social but which in fact are materialistic, abstract, unreal, and ultimately dehumanizing. Commenting on this problem, William Glasser observes:

Unlike goals, which vary widely, role, or, as I prefer to call it, identity, is about the same for all people: everyone aspires to a happy, successful, pleasurable belief in himself. Role, or identity, is now so important that it must be achieved before we set out to find a goal. We can no longer afford to ignore this new priority in human motivation.⁷³

The question of sexual identity need never arise if those responsible for the education and socialization of children allow the freedom necessary to express themselves as persons. From the earliest years of relationships with parents, "the indispensable contribution of the initiative stage to later identity development, then, obviously is that of freeing the child's initiative and sense of purpose for adult tasks which promise (but cannot guarantee) a fulfilment of one's range of capacities."⁷⁴ It is now even more obvious that biased, simplistic, and false "oppositions" of sex roles in television shows present models of conduct for young viewers seeking for their own identity which may seriously hinder the development of self-identity and the necessary human conviction that "I am what I can imagine I will be!" Indeed, as Erikson quite properly concludes, "a widespread disappointment of this conviction by a discrepancy between infantile ideals and adolescent reality can only lead to an unleashing of the guilt-and-violence cycle so characteristic of man and yet so very dangerous to his existence."⁷⁵

The review of these several contradictions in our values should serve to stimulate self-reflection among concerned parents about fluctuations, i.e., the ebb and flow between the idealism we cherish and the social reality of our everyday lives. It is not intended that we should abandon leisure and entertainment in order to pursue an exclusively didactic or goal-oriented existence. Instead, as parents, we need to ask ourselves why we enjoy what we watch, to become much more conscious of the techniques, i.e., the "grammar" of television and film production, and above all to develop a keener perception as to the "real" values of the society to which we belong.

In order to achieve these goals, popular and readily available sources of information are needed. I know of no newspaper in Canada with a television critic who is really qualified to assess the social, cultural, and aesthetic values in television programming. It is not even known how many people read the existing columns. Instead, the public gets journalistic opinion based on personal observations of the journalist who in turn often writes or expresses opinions which will maximize the readership of his column.

As far as children are concerned, we have many

agencies that provide parents with sound opinions about child rearing. But when it comes to television, reviewers or columnists in newspapers rarely ever write about children's programs because they assume, perhaps correctly, that most adults are preoccupied with their own unreflective escapist approach to the medium. Agencies who dispense public information about child rearing, for some reason, usually adopt a confrontational approach to the broadcasters and encourage a hostile rather than an investigative approach to the medium. They show little understanding of the aesthetic, technical, and economic realities of television production. Parents deserve a fuller and more responsible account of the nature of television and its impact on children so that a more enlightened public attitude can be developed. In turn, the politicians and the broadcasters would then be able to serve us all better.

Existing associations such as Action for Children's Television in the U.S. have served a useful purpose in reminding broadcasters that parents generally have disapproved of the program fare offered, and some positive responses have been given. But the association is basically motivated in terms of advocacy and confrontation. In the context of this essay, the model of the Canadian Children's Broadcast Institute is more desirable. As incorporated at present, the Institute aims to bring together the broadcasters (private and public), the advertisers, the voluntary agencies concerned with the health, education, and welfare of children, the product manufacturers, and individual representatives of government, parent organizations, and education. It is hoped that a sense of mutual confidence will develop among the participants in this association which will encourage a wider public awareness of the needs, responsibilities, and effective use of television by children at home and at school. Ultimately such an organization will be able to provide the kinds of information needed by parents, producers, educators, and the whole community of adults who share the responsibility for the creative socialization of children.

It is unfortunate that there is so little public awareness of the professional contribution that has been made by the major public broadcasting organizations in the world to the enterprise of children's programs. To mention only a few, the CBC, the Ontario Educational Communications Authority (OECA), the BBC, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK), and, indeed, all the members of the European and Asian broadcasting unions have made distinguished contributions to programming for children. It is a little-known fact that among the provincial television authorities, the English network of the CBC, Société Radio-Canada, and the private network CTV, Canada is second only to Japan in the number of programs produced for children. More recently the U.S., through the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the joint private and public support for the Children's Television Workshop (the producers of *Sesame Street* and *The Electric*

Company) have made important contributions to the quality of children's programming. Unfortunately, little is known among the public at large about the policies and the extent of the service that has been provided, chiefly because neither the agencies of health, education, and welfare nor the print media have dealt adequately with the contributions made. There has not been enough cooperation among these agencies who serve children in different ways. The result has been that parents are left with the impossible task of correlating the separate but related contributions each is making to child development. The Canadian parent and family urgently need this support if the child's use of television is to be directed to creative ends. While initiative should come from the broadcasting, educational, and child-care agencies, such as the Children's Broadcast Institute, the Canadian Council of Children and Youth, the Vanier Institute of the Family, and the Canadian Broadcasting League, the fact remains that it is the voice of concerned and informed parents that should provide the clues.

Another Canadian organization, known as Religious Television Associates (RTA the cooperating broadcasting units of the Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and United churches of Canada) undertook last year to publish Canada's first Children's Television Newsletter, *It All Comes in a Tube*. The aim of *Tube* was to find out what children and parents think about the television program fare available and to provide some meaningful feedback to broadcasters and television producers. A third purpose was to help families plan their viewing. All programs that CTV and CBC feel are of interest to younger people were listed in the "TUBE-Log" - with the network's own viewer-age recommendation . . . and a brief description. Following each program listed in the Log is a "feedback" space for the child "TUBE-Logger" to check (✓). Great ____ O.K. ____ Didn't like it ____ .

Although the method employed can in no way be called systematic research, it did provide some two-way responses between producers and the young consumers of their programs. Over the year, the editor, Rita Shelton Deverell, observed that most TUBE-Loggers were between the ages of seven and 12, and that most of them felt somewhat ambiguous about programs designed for them. She noted a strong preference for violent American television shows, but on the whole there was a considerable listlessness or casualness about their viewing and their comments. The mail indicated that parents are deeply disturbed about the impact of television and feel helpless to do much about what they don't like. Likewise teachers feel hostile about the amount of television their pupils watch but seem to have little idea how to use this extra "educational" material their students are constantly absorbing.

In spite of this concern and interest, this valuable and potentially influential service has been discontinued. The cost of maintaining the service proved to be beyond

the financial resources of RTA. It is regrettable that *Tube* had to cease publication just when there were signs that the readership by parents and children was increasing. To date, no public or private agency has yet volunteered to provide support for such a worthy project.

Producers and the Use of Television by Children

Television and film producers as members of the community of adults who serve children should be as aware as parents about production techniques as well as the responses that children give to television. It is difficult to raise this responsibility among producers, most of whose shows are not planned for children but nevertheless are frequently watched avidly by them, e.g. crime and detective shows. Indeed, the producer of adult entertainment programs is caught between the idealist and the escapist who are mostly the same person in the audience. The high ratings received by such productions make it manifestly clear that they are watched by millions of adults as well as children, including adults who would not approve of such programs for children.

Guidelines for producers of children's programs should be determined basically by a clear understanding of a child's growth and development, in both psychological and sociological, as well as personal and cultural terms. For example, close observation of the play of children is of basic significance in instructions given to writers and performers of children's programs. It is important to anticipate how children will respond to the gestures of performers and the situations presented. Only over a relatively long period of observation will a producer develop the sensitivity and intuition to recognize those qualities in a script and in an actor's demeanour that will contribute to a creative children's program. A creative program for children will invite significant responses from its intended audience which are not always immediately observable. In the end, such a program allows children to respond as persons rather than to patronage or to didactic instruction.

While it is a valid assumption that children enjoy information which they can interpret within their world of experience, it is imperative that, in the presentation of such information, their level of comprehension according to age, intellectual development, and emotional maturity is taken into account. Too often planners and producers, in response to idealistic parents and teachers, contrive programs that are abstract, over-conceptualized, and didactic. Such programs are certain to bore young viewers. But if the producer, writer, and performers have tried to create a world of reality in which the child can see the scientific information for himself or herself in simple and direct manner, then the communication will be complete. The child will internalize the experience and integrate it with the synthesis of his or her previous related experience. Science programming is greatly enhanced by documentary film

that provides the context for the information presented. Simple animations representing natural processes that need slowing down or speeding up in order to be observed can aid comprehension. Such material can be integrated with a studio presentation, which allows for close-ups of animals, plants, or laboratory models intended to visualize the concepts necessary for the organization of the scientific information to be presented for the child's viewing experience.

Story-telling has been an avenue for children to share with parents and other adults the exploration of the world of reality and fantasy as a child strives to comprehend himself in relation to a confusing, frightening, but more often an exciting and challenging world. Television provides the producer with new opportunities for story-telling by means of puppets for the young and drama for the older child. Puppetry enables the producer to present to children human feelings and problematical situations which he might otherwise find emotionally threatening. It is as if the child participated in the manipulation of the puppets, giving him a sense of control which in turn enables him to respond significantly.

Likewise, cartoon animation designed simply, without the harshness so characteristic of the stylized irony of adult cartoons, affords children visual opportunities for action and response that enrich their faculties of imagination. Great care in the preparation of animation is necessary because of the high cost of production as well as the fees for talented writers and graphic designers. Société Radio-Canada has made notable contributions to the production of animated programs for children. Outstanding among these are *Illusion*, *La Création des oiseaux*, *Abracadabra*, and *Taratata* which has been sold to some nine francophone countries.

Since television viewing is largely an informal experience for the child, producers should recognize that institutional presentations which require regular viewing at regular times are likely to be a waste of time and money. Instead, each viewing experience should be a unit in itself, or a variety of experiences can be included in a magazine format. Such programs are usually recognized by a universal title such as *Junior Magazine* (a former CBC program), *Zoom* (WGBH Boston), or *Blue Peter* (BBC). Such magazine shows are built around personalities who are able to demonstrate their competence in recurring features such as hobbies, crafts, sports, scientific and historical information. Young viewers become familiar with these personalities and are frequently asked to submit their own ideas for program segments. Indeed, *Zoom* is built exclusively on this principle. Along with studio segments, a wide range of children's films can be presented. In the area of younger children's programs, the Children's Television Workshop with its productions of *Sesame Street* and *The Electric Company* provides good examples of continuity for a magazine format. In the beginning, *Sesame*

Street was intended to meet the challenge of tastelessness in children's programs, of violence and of time-wasting in "passive viewing." The simple concepts here were to teach the basics of letters and of numbers to pre-school children living in culturally deprived areas of the United States. Sufficient money was raised to ensure quality in the production, and research was organized to test the results. Careful planning and organization were undertaken to ensure the most effective visual presentation of sequences about learning letters and numbers. The motivation to learn such basic information was studied. Repetition – so effective in commercial messages to children – was adapted to this end with considerable imagination. And indeed ghetto children *did* learn their letters and numbers somewhat better; but so did the middle-class children who watched, and so the gap remained the same even if at a higher level of achievement.

But more important for our purpose here are the aesthetic and affective elements. First of all, as it is a "magazine" show, the continuity of experience that links the didactic elements to the more experiential elements is a notable achievement in writing and production. There are movement and relationships among people in the notion of *Sesame Street*. The very word "sesame" suggests the real world of openness. Attitudes of trust and confidence develop with a child audience responding to the warmth and enthusiasm of the main actors. The child in the audience is made to feel that he is a person of some importance. Repetition of experience here means frequency of significant response, and social growth towards emotional maturity is enhanced.

But it is notable that these very strong production elements were not advocated by the planners of the series. The Children's Television Workshop was funded to teach letters and numbers to ghetto children and to upgrade their learning capacity. If one could sell corn flakes by repetitious slapstick commercial messages, surely one could sell letters and numbers in the same way. The irony emerged when the didactic planners handed over their material to creative producers whose instinct told them that children first start learning when they make "playful" responses to the gestures of loving adults. No one yet knows how much the learning of letters and numbers depends upon carefully planned didactic presentation and how much motivation to learn arises from the feeling of self-confidence in being a participating member in the community of *Sesame Street*.

The most important feature of the variety, magazine, or multi-purpose program is the "continuity." Considerable artistic and professional skill is required to devise visual flow and sequence from one segment to another. The director must exercise care to see that there is some visual logic to the sequence of the segments. The viewer himself should feel a rhythm in the visual flow of the program which culminates in a unified aesthetic experi-

ence. Properly executed, the presenter and the viewer share the excitement of revealing the events to come in the program as, for example, a close-up of an interesting mobile leads into a craft segment, close-ups of live animals in action lead into a natural-science unit, or interaction between puppets and live characters carry the viewer into a realm of fantasy.

Mister Rogers provides another interesting example of continuity writing which synthesizes a number of important elements. Fred Rogers, who has planned, written, produced, and performed his own series for many years, is a highly intelligent, well-trained theologian and psychiatric social worker as well as being a most talented television performer. The main purpose of the show is to build self-confidence in the responding viewer. In addition, the scripts contain highly didactic elements intelligently selected in terms of their importance for children. Rogers understands the child's fears of darkness and of strange environments. He knows of the importance of preparation for a visit to the barber shop and to the dentist. The continuity is synthesized by Rogers' personality and the role he plays with guests in his studio. The children move back and forth between the reality of the studio and the Land of Make Believe where the puppet King Friday and the members of his court deal with problems of interest and concern to children. Children participate in the television "community" of the neighbourhood, working out problems with their friends without the inhibiting fear of failure.

The magazine or multi-purpose program may include the same elements of story-telling or other program activities which constitute entire programs. Successful productions in this format combine all the elements that make good programming for children. It includes presenters who know how to invite normal, happy responses from children. If a dynamic, understanding relationship prevails among the writers, researchers, presenters, and producers, the program content will be understood and enjoyed by children. The child will then have a natural confidence in the presenter and the program. He will be secure in the worth of the information he sees and will develop a real enthusiasm for television as an extension of his world of perception and imagination.

The School in Relation to Children's Informal Use of Television

John Dewey has defined education as "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience."⁷⁶ The Vanier Institute extends this definition with the following propositions.

Learning is defined as the active process of creating and recreating with others one's image of reality based on experience.

Education is the deliberate transmission of selected content for learning.

Schooling as we know it (to play somewhat with Peters' definition of education) is the attempt to transmit what some dominant groups in the society have selected as being worthwhile to those who may or may not be committed to it. It is essentially oriented toward socialization and indoctrination according to society's prevailing perceptions of man and the world.

Schools have tended to define a single reality whereas learning is a process of discovering that there are both multiple realities and many possible realities.⁷⁷

The concern here is for discovery of the living contexts that permit persons to flourish. Regardless of verbally expressed doctrinaire opinions about what a child should know or learn, most parents and professionals are concerned that their children should grow up to be as happy and as self-fulfilled as possible. Ideally, the school, like the family, should be a "living context" which stimulates creative growth and development. It must be said that there are many teachers whose humane concern for children over and above their specific pedagogical responsibilities contributes significantly to the realization of many children's potential for creative and responsible living.

But, in general, schools and our education system have failed to cooperate in the development of a responsible use of television both at home and at school. Educational programming on film and television has more often than not been hamstrung by the subject-matter specialists' lack of understanding of how a studio production is planned. Linear, conceptual thinking presented by an untalented performer who cares not about his own demeanour as a performer and even less about the effectiveness of visual support for his ideas has traditionally had the full backing of the educational system in any discussion or dispute with the broadcaster about a presentation to schools. Much progress has been made by agencies such as the Ontario Educational Communications Authority which have tried very effectively to estimate the needs of schools for visual learning material. Sensitive program planners have made every effort to provide material that will contribute to creative socialization of the child. Extensive enterprise in the field of utilization has helped teachers to make creative use of the programs provided. But apart from the occasional use of television in the classroom, the class remains essentially didactic and conventional, limiting itself to the definition of "a single reality," and has not responded openly to the challenge presented by children who watch television for several hours a day. In my view, it is as important for children to understand media as it is for them to understand reading, writing, and arithmetic. The problem is not confined to Canada. In view of the extensive viewing of television by children,

It is striking how little influence the school, as an institution, has in this context. As yet the Swedish curriculum offers no systematic study of the mass media. It appears that teachers seldom recommend any programmes to the children. And since teacher and pupils neither seem to discuss programmes

they have watched to any greater extent, one may perhaps conclude that television content most often is considered irrelevant to the classroom.⁷⁸

This situation is almost universal in the Western world and reflects substantially the conservative policy of institutional education. The school curriculum is already loaded with demands for extension into areas of inquiry beyond the limits of basic subject-matter such as science, mathematics, history, geography, languages, and literature. While one must recognize the need for these basic core subjects, it should be possible to meet the educational and socializing challenge of extensive television viewing among children in several ways. First of all, teachers and curriculum consultants should be made aware of the power of the television medium as a socializing force. They should be given basic training in visual literacy and in particular helped to acquire some familiarity with the techniques of television production. In this way more teachers will learn how to prepare and to cooperate with television and film producers to deliver more relevant and more interesting material to the classroom. They will become more discriminating viewers themselves and will be more competent to discuss with their students (as we have urged parents to do!) the quality of content and the artistry or lack of artistry in the productions they watch.

Much of what is suggested here need not constitute an additional "subject" to the curriculum. Rather we have urged that television can be integrated formally and informally with the existing curriculum to increase its relevance while honouring its traditional objectives.

Future Challenges for the Improvement of Children's Television

In times of economic inflation, it is not easy to press for expansion and new directions in program endeavour for the public service. But if, as a society, we are sincerely committed to the welfare of our children, then we must endeavour to expand creative planning to provide richer alternatives in television programming for our children.

Since we live in a society where the commercial imperative and the profit motive play such a major part in shaping our values, we shall have to persuade the public at large that just as public education is an investment in future generations of adults, so we must ensure that television is made to serve the same ends. It is easy to pay taxes to an institution like our school system and then leave the task to the professionals. Unluckily, television viewing is an informal activity often "enjoyed" without supervision of any kind. The only way to ensure quality is to see that proper controls agreed to among all persons and agencies concerned are exercised over programs seen by children but not designed for them. Then, a substantial investment in good films for children must be made. The British Children's Film Foundation in London has set a fine tradition in the production of films for children's Saturday film matinees since 1927.

At the present time, some 800 cinemas throughout the United Kingdom run these special performances attracting an audience of between 350,000 and half a million children every Saturday. The reason for their continued success is undoubtedly because cinemas endeavour to provide the sort of entertainment children like at a price which the children themselves can afford. The British children's matinee is possibly the cheapest entertainment in the world, admission prices ranging from twelve to a maximum of forty cents for a two-hour show. No form of advertising is permitted, except possibly for the particular brand of ice cream available during the interval. Parents, therefore, know that their children are not being commercially exploited.

Not unnaturally, local authorities pay particular attention to the manner in which children's performances are conducted and usually insist on special fire and other precautions. Child welfare and other authorities have always been concerned about the content and the quality of the films screened and there is no doubt that the British children's matinee movement would have ceased to exist had it not been for the farsightedness of Lord Rank, who, in 1944, set up Children's Entertainment Films under the late Mary Field, with the sole object of improving and increasing the product available for children's performances. This organisation not only made a number of highly successful films, but also carried out research which provided guidelines, most of which are still applicable today. In 1951, this pioneer work was taken over by the all-industry Children's Film Foundation.⁷⁹

These films have been used extensively on television, chiefly by the CBC and by CBS in the U.S. as substantial elements in magazine shows for children. But many more are needed. It has been customary for government in Canada to tell those who clamour for more good children's television by CBC and the National Film Board that it is up to each of these organizations to determine their own program and production priorities. Inevitably, public corporations, like any other corporations, set their priorities in terms of public need perceived through ratings and other methods of feedback. Nevertheless, it has already been stated that Canada produces more children's programs than any other country in the world except Japan. In spite of this remarkable fact, the impact on the development of interest in pro-social programming is not as great as this quantity of well-planned programming should achieve.

The reasons for this situation are readily found. First of all, a large number of programs are produced to meet the needs of French-speaking children in Quebec under the direction of Société Radio-Canada. The three existing provincial ETV organizations, OECA, Saskmedia, and ACCESS in Alberta, have all produced children's programs, and the private television stations, sometimes in cooperation with the CTV network, have produced programs. The reason that such a volume of programming lacks significant impact is that there is little or no cooperative planning to ensure effective scheduling and to cover areas of interest not being covered. Above all, the budgets for such programs are limited and do not receive the creative and technical support that is given to major adult programming.

Given the policy of the federal government to support and to extend bilingualism, much more money should be invested to develop a deeper and richer cultural understanding between Quebec and English Canada through the medium of children's programs. In the past, there have been individual cases of cooperation but the endeavour has been occasional rather than developmental. What are really needed are programs about children and their activities in both cultures – the same content presented in English and French to stimulate interest and mutual understanding. In addition, there are production talents in both Quebec and English Canada which should be available to all Canadians. In the past, documentary material which can be dubbed in both languages has added to the volume of programs available. Cooperation of this sort has gone on for many years but should be increased in order to make more programs of good quality available in greater numbers.

It is notable that the members of the children's program section of the European Broadcasting Union have similar concerns about the status of their programs within their own organizations. As in Canada and the U.S. (both of which have the status of associate members in the Union), their budgets are not equal to their own requirements for quality and content. For this reason, at their annual meetings they look for program content produced by their colleagues which can be integrated into their own schedules. They share information about program material produced by private organizations, and, of course, they seek, by means of joint purchase, to get the best bargains they can. They discuss their policies and seek for qualities of behaviour in children which are common among all their cultures. In this way, they can engage in joint pre-planning which will ensure wider usability and distribution of their programs among their membership.

Another area of concern about quality for children's programs lies in the lack of money for script development and the production of pilot programs. Taking the case of the CBC, the present lean budgets for all programming, and especially for children's programs, mean that there is little or no money for research, pre-planning, script development, or pilot production. It takes all the budget of the CBC just to maintain a full schedule. In my view, we simply cannot leave the entire responsibility to the CBC.

As was discussed earlier, too many agencies concerned with the welfare of children fail to cooperate with the program planners for the film and television media in order to raise quality of programs and to inform the public about the best use of television for their children. A precedent for this kind of cooperation was set by the Canadian Council of Children and Youth in 1970 when the Ministry of the Secretary of State for Canada provided funds to bring broadcasters, writers, parents, and educators together to discuss the future needs for children's programs and to identify writing and performing talent in the several regions of Canada.

Such activity seems to me to be a responsibility of all agencies who share these concerns. Enterprises such as Wintario and the national lotteries, the Association of Canadian Radio and Television Artists, the Vanier Institute, the Ministry of the Secretary of State, the Canada Council, the Ontario Arts Council, and others should be approached regularly by health, education, and welfare agencies who have enlisted the support of private and public broadcasting authorities to identify new areas for program development for children.

Both at home and abroad, further consideration should be given to joint sponsorship of pilot productions to widen the range of program selection, to raise quality, and to get the most for the money invested. While there is a general shift away from the commercial sponsorship of children's programs, the educational stations in the U.S. have always allowed "institutional" promotions; e.g. at the end of the program, a credit is presented stating that the program was made possible by a grant from a corporation in the interests of public service.

These suggestions are all consistent with the spirit of cooperation which has been urged throughout this paper. It seems to me that leadership towards this end is likely to be much more productive of quality and quantity of children's programs than will result from bitter and uninformed attacks on broadcasters.

Conclusion

Throughout this essay the central concern has been with the growing child who will become the citizen of the future. In the course of his growth and development, the role of the family, television, the school, his peers, and other factors or forces have been assessed in terms of their several influences in the child's socialization. The term "socialization" has been employed in its broadest sense to comprehend both positive and negative forces, i.e., the identification of factors which contribute to the maturity of the individual, those factors which stress conformity, and those which lead to anti-social behaviour.

In the fullest sense, socialization entails the cultivation of meaningful responsibility – the capacity of the family to respond to the child as an individual in whose potential for creativity the parents should have full confidence. Socialization in this sense enables the child also to respond to his parents and siblings as individuals. This ideal of respect for personhood within the family as a primary group is basic to the conception of "the family as a workshop in social change instead of as a guarantor of the social order."⁸⁰ Tensions within the family are best resolved by dialogical rather than by authoritarian behaviour on the part of parents. Authority implies single-minded righteousness of which no man is fully capable; dialogue implies the recognition of self-worth as well as self-limitation, on the part of parent as well as child.

The central concern of parents about television as an

agent exercising a major influence upon the child within the family group is its challenge to cherished values. Specifically, parents are chiefly concerned about excessive violence in television programming because of its accent on power as a solution to moral problems: and yet, violence manifested in crime and sex as the content of most dramatic programs on television remains universally popular. Regardless of the nature of program content on television – violent, sentimental, or dull – it can be safely said that everyone agrees about the dynamic impact of television as the viewers interact with presentations regardless of whether the impact is perceived to be positive or negative. Recognizing that a large portion of a viewer's life is taken up with watching television, it cannot be denied that television along with other mass media makes up a powerful shaping force on personal and social development. If we are to assess this influence properly, we must have some more precise knowledge of how children perceive those elements of television shows which we, as adults, find offensive; we must have some better idea of why adults continue to enjoy these shows which many parents find distasteful for children. Above all, regardless of content, it has become clear that parents must become informed about the production/direction skills which determine the aesthetic and social qualities of television shows of merit and distinction. What is the difference in impact between the dramatic presentation of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, with the putting out of Gloucester's eyes, and some of the violence we see in *Hawaii Five-O*? Is violence bad for its own sake? Is it tasteless presentation that makes the difference? What difference would it make to the impact of violence on television if the majority of viewers had a clearer understanding of just what makes a good television show?

The call letters of the educational television station in Chicago, WTTW, symbolize that television is a "window to the world." The immediacy of modern communication reduces the factors of time and space to the instantaneity of a moment. Inevitably, international needs and concerns intrude upon our own national concerns. Certainly, "one of the goals of children's television should be to widen the child's outlook to include people outside his home, outside his neighbourhood, outside his state and country."⁸¹ In the case of adult television we need much more information about the culture and life styles of societies remote from our own as an alternative to the visual accounts of war, misery, and violence which are daily to be seen on our television screens. If the world is now a "global village," one must know that village with all its facets, its needs, and its problems; we must know it as a community in which we are sharing, contributing members.

By using television to inform ourselves about the human condition in the world abroad, we open the windows of the closed society so characteristic of myopic nationalism. In every nation there are slums, culturally deprived people whose presence we can ignore because they have long since been reduced to silence.

The objective datum of a closed society, one of its structural components, is the silence of the masses, a silence broken only by occasional, ineffective rebellions. When this silence coincides with the masses' fatalistic perception of reality, the power élites which impose silence on the masses are rarely questioned. When the closed society begins to crack, however, the new datum becomes the demanding presence of the masses. Silence is no longer seen as an inalterable given, but as the result of a reality which can and must be transformed.⁸²

In short, nationalists of the narcissistic kind lose the vision of the world which they must share. Television is used to confirm rather than to inform. Such insensitivity leads to violence because the "silent masses" are deprived of their sense of identity and eventually, rather than submit to total personal annihilation, they rebel – and those of us who constitute the power élite are amazed and wonder why. We preoccupy ourselves with escapist entertainment which frequently legitimizes violence against others as a means of confirming – not too subtly – our instinctive but irrational feeling that power is the supreme value.

Technology thus ceases to be perceived by men as one of the greatest expressions of their creative power and becomes instead a species of new divinity to which they create a cult of worship. Efficiency ceases to be identified with the power men have to think, to imagine, to risk themselves in creation, and rather comes to mean carrying out orders from above precisely and punctually.⁸³

The "haves" of this world in their unawareness of relationships and of the capacity for responsibility are as badly off as the "have-nots" whom they exploit – or worse off. Violence inevitably occurs when each is consciously threatened by the other. Escapist entertainment offers a false sense of security, a denial of significant human relationships, and a postponement of responsibility. What could bring about reconciliation and human understanding becomes an occasion for confrontation and violence.

To achieve this ideal use of television in our society, we must have cooperation among parents, educators, producers, and all other mature adults who have responsibility for the growth and development of children. Frequently our ideals are challenged by negative forces such as violence on television and we must be concerned. The warning of the Subcommittee of the United States Senate concerned with Television and Juvenile Delinquency as early as 1955 expressed this obligation:

A constant vigil is required in relation to any large and powerful influence upon society. This is vital in a democratic state. The power of the people to direct their own destiny is enhanced by the energy with which they control the negative forces about them. If children are to live in an environment that is conducive to constructive attitudes and actions, they must live in communities where the adults about them are similarly motivated. Sober, unbiased adults can perform a useful function by maintaining steady watch over the programs offered for children and by promptly reporting offensive materials to responsible sources.⁸⁴

In the early days of television in North America, when parents first became worried about violence seen on the screen, Professor Dallas Smythe observed that the concerned public might be dodging the real social issues and that instead they were trying to make a scapegoat out of television.

The basic real factor underlying the scapegoating tendency is the unspoken concern that the integrity of the individual human being is ever more threatened by a technologically oriented social structure. The social structure gives to many the appearance of valuing technical progress more highly than the dignity of the human being. And perhaps the very shiny magic of the television technique invites scapegoating by contrast with the shabbiness in our social institutions. For as parents, legislators and the like, we cannot help but be guiltily aware of the extent of violence and dishonesty in the real world.⁸⁵

It is in this "sober and unbiased" spirit that we commend to parents and educators the integration of television into the primary group of the family and into society. In this way our rights as individuals and our democratic values will prevail in the creative use of the technology of the mass media.

Appendix

A Brief History of Children's Television Programs in Canada

When children's programs were first initiated on CBC radio, they were classified as Institutional Broadcasts supervised under a program department which included program promotions for public-service agencies such as the Red Cross and the St. John's Ambulance Association, community relations, and religious broadcasts. The needs of children were seen by the program division as "institutional" rather than "developmental." There appeared to be no concern about the impact of radio programming on their growth and development and no attempt was made to assess the program needs and interests of children before determining the kind of supervision required for the production of children's programs. Instead, supervision was seen as a function of good public relations with parents and others who might be concerned about radio programs for children. The purpose or policy which prevailed was to produce pleasing programs which met the obligation of a radio network to the community of parents and children, but no leadership for the use of radio in the creative growth and development of children was given. As one observer expressed the problem, such a limited policy "represented a recognition, yet a defensive posture, about the need to do something about pressure groups with concerns. Conventional mores were the keystone of program planning; a cautionary ethic rather than a creative design for children."

The first popular children's program introduced on the English network of the CBC in 1938, was *Just Mary*, a series of stories narrated by Miss Mary Grannan, a teacher from Fredericton, New Brunswick. Miss Grannan had developed her personalized format during the previous year on the local station in Fredericton, CFNB. The series continued for many years along with *Maggie Muggins* (1942) which featured original dramatic stories about the adventures of Maggie and her gardener friend, Mr. McGarrity. Over the span of network radio programming, Miss Grannan developed a high degree of competence as a broadcaster and many of her stories were published.

In line with the spirit of institutional broadcasts, *Kindergarten of the Air* began in 1947 with the cooperation of the Canadian Federation of Home and School Associations, the Federation of Women's Institutes, and the Junior League. Dorothy Jane Goulding was the presenter and the scripts were prepared by two well-known nursery-school and kindergarten specialists, Misses Hazel Baggs and Gladys Dickson. Because of the professional element in the show, it was popular with teachers and supportive of their endeavour in both home and school.

The radio schedule depended heavily upon personalities to carry the line of program responsibility, e.g., Mary Grannan, Dorothy Jane Goulding, Lloyd Percival

of *Sports College*, Doug Patrick of *Stamp Club*, Alan Mills in song, and Frosia Gregory as a story-teller. As well, dramatizations of fairy tales and adventure stories were part of the regular schedule. On the whole, the productions were of high calibre, often imitative of the BBC or imported from the BBC. Because of the institutional character of the supervision, the schedule lacked social relevance or any significance for the changing environment in which children were growing up. At the same time, the standards of production both for children and for schools were high and far surpassed anything produced in the United States. Regardless of the "institutional" character of the programs, they at least avoided the charges levelled by Lee de Forest, one of the inventors of radio, who once blamed American broadcasters for the impact of their radio programs upon his child in the following terms:

You have made of him a laughingstock to intelligence, surely a stench in the nostrils of the gods of the ionosphere . . . Murder mysteries rule the waves by night and children are rendered psychopathic by your bedtime stories. This child of mine . . . is maintained moronic, as though you and your sponsors believe the majority of listeners have only moron minds.⁸⁶

When the English television service commenced in Toronto in 1952, the CBC decided to allow the television stations at Montreal and Toronto to develop their own programs and studio practices without direction from the national program office for a period of two years. It was thought that after this period the producers and the program directors would have learned enough about the new medium and its management to be able to integrate their endeavour with the policy of the national program division. The national program staff already had their hands full with the radio schedule. Since both the administrative staff and the newly appointed producers and technicians were unfamiliar with the television medium, outside help for training had to be acquired. Moreover, it was obvious that great numbers of creative and technical personnel would be required in order to provide a network television service.

At the same time, since no systematic policy for children's programs in radio had been formulated, there was no model for the development of this program area in television. The result was that television programs began in 1952 in much the same way as they did in radio, with no conscious concern for the use of media for the creative growth and development of the child. It was typical of the unconscious institutional and condescending attitude towards children's programs that two young women were appointed as the first producers of television programs for children, the assumption of a male-dominated bureaucracy being that the use of media by children was a primary concern of women in society. Their first instruction from the program director, and indeed the only policy direction they received, was "never mix education with entertainment!"

In 1954, the author of this monograph was appointed

supervising producer of children's programs for the Toronto station CBLT to develop policy and programming for children's television. An attempt was made to integrate principles of child development into the television programs for children so that they would be dominantly a creative and pleasant experience while contributing to and cooperating with the efforts of parents and concerned adults to realize the child's full potential as an individual. Such a program entailed long-term dialogue and consultation with producers to help them understand more fully their responsibility to their child audience. In the fourteen years that followed, new producers were selected and trained – some of whom had qualifications as educators and others of whom were willing to work as a team in the development of creative skills which would evoke the same creative responses from children. While there were often tensions between the supervisor and the producers and many differences of opinion, a production unit was built up which won wide approval throughout Canada and in the international community of broadcasting.

In the period from 1954 to 1958 the policy that was developing applied only in Toronto. As new regional television stations opened across Canada in Halifax, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, originators of children's programs from these stations remained under the supervision of Institutional Broadcasts. The tension between the kind of policy outlined in the main body of this paper and the notion of children's programs on institutional broadcasts was resolved by the creation of a national program department for children in 1958, which included both radio and television. In my role as supervisor, I tried to implant the policy in the program contributions that originated in the network stations. It was important to realize this objective since the CBC was committed to regional contributions to the network schedule. By means of national conferences and travel to the various centres to the extent that budgets would allow, we made some progress, but there was no substitute for daily dialogue and exchange of opinion about policy implementation in the productions. Only rarely did one find a program director or a regional producer who was capable of rendering creative results in production in line with our policy.

Another challenge to policy was presented when I discovered after my appointment as supervising producer in March of 1954 that the CBC had already made a commitment to purchase and produce a Canadian version of the American *Howdy Doody Show*. I accepted the challenge when I was told that the agreement would permit us to write our own scripts, introduce new characters, and generally shape the new show to conform to our objectives. Moreover, since the show was to be available for commercial messages, I was assured that I would have significant control over the content and the production of these messages. Apart from the commercial sponsorship of cowboy serials

there had never been any sponsorship of children's programs.

An obvious reason for the CBC's decision to develop a Canadian version of the *Howdy Doody Show* was to benefit from its established familiarity for children who had heard it on American radio and seen it on television. Questions arose among our unit: Was the promotion of sales through children not a dangerous precedent for exploitation? Was there not a danger of stimulating an over-developed sense of competition among children? Could one develop proper standards of taste and a constructive set of social or ethical values through the format of a show so notably designed in its American version for sales promotion?

We sought the answer to these questions in consultation with the advertising agencies who provided the scripts for the commercial messages. We attempted quite successfully to integrate the commercial messages into the scripts. Since the scripts were well written and since the advertising agents agreed to work closely with the writer and producer we managed to present tasteful commercial messages which, in the context of Canadian middle-class culture of the day, were almost universally accepted. The same artistic standards prevailed in the production of both the show and the messages.

As well as the control over production of the commercial messages, there were long-standing policies of the CBC which helped to maintain high standards of taste. In addition, the content of all commercial messages which dealt with food had to have clearance from the National Department of Health and Welfare.

After the first year of the series, it was necessary to abandon our policy of the production and integration of commercial messages because of strong pressure from the advertising agencies for the use of filmed commercial messages and of new puppets specifically associated with the sponsor's product. The reason for the pressure came from the increasing cost of production of studio commercial messages. By using film, the advertisers could devise messages which could be used more frequently and for wider audiences. "Integration" or such messages was an aesthetic impossibility.

Gradually, the issue of sponsorship faded away because the advertiser lost interest in reaching a limited audience and preferred the use of station breaks for commercials for special occasions, such as toys at Christmas. Moreover, the American *Howdy Doody Show* through the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) engaged in the merchandising of toys, hats, T-shirts, et cetera, which often related to the sponsor's commercial message. Such a thriving promotional endeavour sustained and amplified the sale of the sponsor's product through the American show. By policy, the CBC did not engage in the merchandising business. For this reason, among others mentioned, the Canadian *Howdy Doody Show* gradually lost all of its commercial sponsorship.

On the program side, other innovations were made. The most basic change was the substitution of Timber Tom for the American Buffalo Bob. In introducing Timber Tom, we were anxious to present a mature character whose name would indicate his familiarity with Canadian folklore and nature lore. He was to be a leader both for the inhabitants of Doodyville and for his wide audience of viewers. An actor rather than a personality was chosen because the policy of the show was to be carried by the script rather than by the immediacy of the emcee's personality. In this way, it was hoped to stimulate a disciplined and creative response from the youngsters in the Peanut Gallery. It was intended that the children should respond to the leadership given by Timber Tom in order to develop an ordered pattern in their conduct, and spontaneous fun rather than rowdy or disorderly conduct.

As part of the attempt to build up the character of Timber Tom as a leader and as a source of reliable information, the content of the film clips in the show was changed. The old-time movies were replaced by nature and travel film clips. A recent report of UNESCO on the Child Film Audience had revealed that travel and nature films were by far the most popular among children. Judging from the response of the youngsters in the Peanut Gallery, this theory was confirmed. Instead of trying to maintain the pace of the show by means of old-time movies, the purpose of the travel and nature films was to give relief to the pace of the show and to relax the viewers. At the same time, there was an opportunity to communicate some information to the viewers' minds which was both interesting and instructive. It was felt that youngsters had a keen enthusiasm for knowledge and it was further believed that there was no better time to capture their attention than when they had been won by means of entertainment which had already stirred their sense of pleasure and fun. As in the NBC show, these film clips were run without sound track and were accompanied by a commentary by Timber Tom, with musical accompaniment by the organist. The children in the Peanut Gallery frequently asked Timber Tom interesting questions and expressed their enthusiasm for the educational films that were shown.

Throughout its history, the show became a vehicle for the continuing development of our policy as it evolved over many years. We were fortunate to have the talent of a gifted and intelligent writer in Cliff Braggins, a distinguished organist in Quentin McLean, and fine actors in Peter Mews, Claude Rae, Alfie Scopp, Barbara Hamilton, Robert Goulet, and Larry Mann, among others. Through the Peanut Gallery where some twenty or thirty children sat each day as part of the set, we were able to provide children with a first-hand experience of a television studio, and the opportunity to interact with the distinguished actors who contributed so much to the quality of this production.

As confidence grew in our ability to implement our policy in the continuity of a daily variety show for

children, *Howdy Doody* was dropped from the schedule and replaced by *Junior Roundup*, which allowed for segments to be contributed from other Canadian stations. In my view, this series failed because of the lack of frequent interchange with the network producers about the continuity. Real synthesis in the continuity was not practised.

Later we returned to a daily show produced at Toronto entitled *Razzle Dazzle*. A cast of attractive characters including actors such as Michele Finney and Ray Bellew served as presenters with action expressive of their responsiveness, playfulness, and trustworthiness. There were elements of satire on adult mannerisms in order to relieve hostility caused by authoritarian parents and adults. The script depended on comments and suggestions from network stations across Canada. Membership buttons and telephone interviews about unique experiences in the regions of Canada were included. The series was successful in achieving the objective of giving a network image for our network offering to Canadian children.

Reference to two early productions of the period from 1954-55 adds further light on how the policy developed. *Let's Make Music* with the well-known musician David Ouchterlony was intended to introduce music to children. It was a combination of informal commentary about music, a conversation and performance by a guest musician, and in the later history of the series an occasion for a spectacle such as a ballet. After several seasons we sought to provide a more unified visual experience, still keeping the integrity of Mr. Ouchterlony's musicianship and his attractive, disarming personality. The format was reduced from thirty to fifteen minutes and musical instruments as puppet characters skilfully voiced interacted with Mr. Ouchterlony. In this way we put more emphasis on helping the young viewer to identify his own emotional and aesthetic reactions to the program content and to contribute more fully to his creative experience of both the music and the television medium.

In the story-telling area, we made another significant development. In the same period we had a series entitled *Hidden Pages* which had been developed to stimulate the circulation of books at the public libraries of Canada. The program format included a picture book for younger children and a book for older boys and girls which was presented by the narrator interspersed with dramatized segments. It had astonishing success in stimulating interest in books among young viewers. As the series developed, the attempt to reach two different age groups in one show was abandoned. We concentrated on books which could be made into valid dramatic experiences for children. In short, the "institutional" emphasis was reduced in favour of the aesthetic use of the medium, thus providing the viewers with a valid aesthetic experience of television.

Another development arose out of the early production of a series called *Telestory Time*. It was a

combination of original stories told by a narrator on camera accompanied by an organist and a skilful cartoonist who sketched visual continuity on a roll drum. While the writer and each of the performers was gifted in their own ways, we recognized that the combination could only confuse the young viewers. Eventually, the series was replaced by Mary Grannan's *Maggie Muggins* which was adapted from the radio format. The producer and writer were challenged to provide new relationships between Maggie, Mr. McGarrity, her gardener friend and neighbour, and her animal friends who were represented as puppets. Both writer and producer learned a great deal about visualization in television from this production. Although the stories often lacked social relevance for children of that day, they nevertheless offered crisp and carefully designed television productions. The problem of story-telling for younger viewers was finally resolved in the acquisition of *The Friendly Giant*, already referred to in the main body of this monograph. The show is a successful combination of a story-teller existing in a realm of fantasy easily entered by the child where a meaningful sharing experience is possible.

The ultimate ideal in story-telling on television is the development of a filmed adventure series which provides legitimate models of character for children's response and constructive dramatic action. Television and film drama is expensive to produce. In its history the cbc attempted several times to produce the definitive Canadian adventure series. *Radisson*, *The Forest Rangers*, *Rainbow Country*, all represented steps in the right direction but they fell short of ultimate success because of price restraints which ruled out accessibility to top-flight writers and performers. Policy control was difficult because they were produced under contract with private film production companies. Inevitably, adult values crept in which lacked relevance for young viewers. The pressure to make the series saleable in the United States tended to bring emphasis to values which were not entirely consonant with the best models of dramatic action for children. To maintain the right amount of dramatic tension without resorting to the clichés of television violence was a constant challenge. In the end, only a full commitment of money and talent along with the full support of a thinking, informed as well as concerned public will enable Canadians to realize the ideal of dramatic programs on film and television for children.

In the earlier days of television we tended to follow the radio tradition of dealing with skills, crafts, science, hobbies, et cetera, in separate 15-minute programs such as *Hobby Worship*, *How About That* (science), troubadours and singers. The productions depended essentially upon the personality of the presenter and the visualization of his skill. As our appreciation for continuity and visual sequence in magazine shows developed, we moved away from these formats, including them as segments in a format like *Junior Magazine*. The

current head of Children's Television at the cbc strongly favours a return to this tradition if the opportunity ever arises in the schedule. *Junior Magazine*, formerly scheduled for one hour on Sunday afternoon, has long since been displaced by adult sports activities.

Throughout the history of children's television in Canada many attempts at cooperation between Société Radio-Canada and the cbc have been made. In the earliest days of English television, a dubbed version of the Radio-Canada puppet production of *Pepinot et Capucine* was presented weekly. Because no assessment had been made of its adequacy for English-Canadian child audiences, it was more of a formal gesture than a significant, creative model of cooperation between the two services.

A more successful model for cooperation was provided in the English and French versions of *La Vie qui bâtit* with the English title, *This Living World*. A popular French-speaking Canadian in the garb of a *coureur de bois*, situated in a naturalistic setting, presented live animals in their habitat and gave pertinent information about their behaviour and their place in the realm of nature. The script writer was bilingual and prepared an English as well as a French version. The production in French was done in the morning and the English production with an English-speaking master of ceremonies was done in the afternoon. Consultation between the heads of both English and French children's television services ensured quality control and program relevance for both networks.

For many years Hélène Baillargeon presented a series for young children entitled *Chez Hélène*. While there was no curricular sequence for instruction in the French language among the young viewers, the show did provide children with exposure to the French language as well as English. The interplay between Hélène and her friends provided domestic situations to which children could easily relate and gave them the sense of two cultures in one Canada.

Through the medium of *Junior Magazine*, as far as budget permitted, segments from Montreal were included which presented aspects of life in Quebec. Similarly, a series of Schools Broadcasts entitled *Visite au Québec* presented an encouraging course for cooperation between the two networks. The action centred on two young teenagers, Alan and Robert. Alan, whose home is in Calgary, has corresponded for some time with Robert, who lives in Montreal; Alan is now visiting with his friend. As the boys travel around the province of Quebec, Alan has ample opportunity to put his high-school French to good use. Apart from any educational or pedagogic planning which was an essential part of the program, the concept for the series of eight units was a model for familiarizing students in other parts of Canada with life in the province of Quebec. The series is highly suggestive for future programs which might be introduced about life in other provinces. The use of

English and French could be developed in the scripts in such a manner as to encourage a positive attitude to bilingualism among all Canadians.

Another production by Société Radio-Canada which was exhibited at the Prix Jeunesse International in Munich in 1976, *La Famille Papatie* will be dubbed for use on the English network children's program schedule. The choice is interesting because it presents, in a sensitive manner, a problem common to both English and French Canadians, the problems of native peoples in present-day Canada.

To live like the white man or to keep to their Indian customs: this is the dilemma that faces the Papaties, an Algonquin family living in the forest of northern Quebec.

The father has already made his choice. He has refused to enter the "reserve". He lives in a tent by a lake teeming with fish, and divides his time between hunting and trapping.

He teaches his children, Guillaume (12 years old) and Hélène (10), the Indian way of life: hunting, fishing, and life in the forest.

He shows them how to make a canoe water-tight, handle and set traps, butcher a beaver and cure the skin, et cetera.

But Guillaume and Hélène go to school on the "reserve." They will thus come to know the white man's way of life. For them, the moment of choice draws near. Will they adopt the white man's way, or will they keep to their own customs?²⁷

In consideration of the use of broadcasting as a means of developing national unity, it is well to recognize the deep-rooted significance of regional differences, particularly in these days when bilingualism is such a critical issue in Canada. The understanding of differences contributes very effectively to meaningful communication and ultimately to any realization of national unity. At the present time, the bilingual head of children's television for the English network is able to deal realistically with the realities of network cooperation because he has an insight into the relevance of children's programs from Société Radio-Canada for use on the English network. He appreciates the fact that the policy of Société Radio-Canada for children's programs is primarily directed towards the goal of maintaining the traditions of the culture of Quebec. While the children's unit of Société Radio-Canada is concerned with both the entertainment and the development of the children whom they serve, they are also anxious to manifest the living spirit of a French culture which dates back to the colonization of Canada by France. The schedule of children's programs is intended to contribute to the whole appreciation of the traditions which make Quebec and its language and culture a vital force in the Canada of today.

In the spirit of cooperation, the English network has taken a puppet series, *Nic et Pic*, from Société Radio-Canada, which is translated from the French and produced in English. The head of children's television for the English network reviews the scripts and makes the final selection. The series is about two puppet mice who scout in their balloon through time and space to

the four corners of the earth and to past eras, reporting on adventures from the lands of fact and fable. The series is so successful that it has been taken up by the children's services of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden as well as English Canada.

In a similar vein of cooperation, a series of thirteen half-hour documentary programs for children entitled *One Northern Summer* is being produced in French in Toronto for use on both the English and French networks. From the English network a series entitled *China Today* is also being dubbed in French. The attractiveness of this series for both networks lies in the fact that the content is made up of 8 mm film, shot by a group of Vancouver high-school students who took a tour to China. Having learned of their plans, the CBC arranged to have the students instructed before they left in the use of Super-8 motion picture cameras so that the film shot would be of broadcast quality. The final production, as well as being interesting in terms of information, provided a high level of identification for teenage viewers regardless of language or culture differences.

In the main body of this monograph, we have already referred to cooperation with international broadcasting organizations to share the increasing cost of productions for children which will meet the highest standards. In cooperation with UNICEF, both CBC and Société Radio-Canada are cooperating to report through documentary programs about children in other parts of the world. At present, there are plans to produce a program on native peoples within Canada which will likely have program relevance outside Canada as well as for both networks within the country.

In this encouraging development there looms the ever-present expense of animation and of lip-synch for the adaptation of voices from other languages. In the past, many programs which would have value for countries with a different language have had to be abandoned because of the cost of lip-synch. Animation programs are popular across cultures but are expensive to produce. If we really believe in bilingualism and biculturalism, not to mention international understanding, it is of the utmost importance to invest cooperatively to achieve the highest quality in production.

There have been many problematic areas in the production of children's programs indicated in this brief history, particularly the lack of conviction of the importance of high quality in production and the lack of adequate funds to realize the high ideals of policy developed by conscientious supervisors throughout the past twenty-five years. In spite of these difficulties, there have been many achievements which have brought distinction to Canada both at home and abroad. We have the talent, we have the means to achieve our goals. Let us hope that with support from concerned groups of people in every province of Canada we can move ahead to make broadcasting the creative experience it can and should be for children.

Endnotes

- 1 Liz Primeau, "Dear Mom and Dad, Please Listen, Your Children Are Talking," *Weekend Magazine*, April 10, 1976.
- 2 Idem, "Parents Talk Back, They Listened," *Weekend Magazine*, June 12, 1976.
- 3 Bromley H. Kniveton, "The Impact of Television in Relation to Other Social Influences," *Educational Television* (June 1976).
- 4 Merrijoy Kelner and Evelyn Latowsky, "Emerging Patterns of Adolescence and Youth," in *The Canadian Family: A Book of Readings*, edited with an introduction by K. Ishwaran (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1971), p. 3.
- 5 Lyle Larson, *The Canadian Family in Comparative Perspective* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1976), p. 24.
- 6 Ibid., p. 25.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Frederick Elkin, *The Family in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Conference on the Family, 1964), p. 31.
- 9 John A. Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 558.
- 10 Larson, op. cit., p. 174.
- 11 Kelner and Latowsky, op. cit., p. 8.
- 12 Ibid., p. 9.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Vanier Institute of the Family, "A Conceptual Framework of Learning as Related to V.I.F. Policies and Programs," third draft, May 27, 1976. (Mimeographed).
- 15 George Peter Murdoch, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan, 1949).
- 16 Ira L. Weiss, "The Universality of the Family: A Conceptual Analysis," in *The Canadian Family in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Larson, p. 83. Originally printed in *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 27 (November 1965), pp. 443-453.
- 17 Urie Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds of Childhood* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970).
- 18 Larson, op. cit., pp. 219-220.
- 19 Ibid., p. 220.
- 20 Ibid., p. 225.
- 21 Steven H. Chaffee and Jack M. McLeod, "Adolescent Television Use in the Family Context," *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol. 3. *Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 170.
- 22 Steven H. Chaffee, Jack M. McLeod, and Charles K. Atkin, "Parental Influences on Adolescent Media Use," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 14, (1971), p. 336.
- 23 Olga Linne, "Barn och etermedia" ["Children and the Broadcast Media"] (Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, Audience and Programme Research Department No. 6/64).
- 24 Cecilia von Feilitzen, "Findings of Scandinavian Research on Child and Television in the Process of Socialization," in *Television and Socialization Processes in the Family*, a documentation of the Prix Jeunesse 1975, Special English Issue of *Fersehen und Bildung* (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), p. 57.
- 25 Francesco De Domenico, "RAI Audience Research Study Programme on Television, Family and Children Socialization," in *Television and Socialization Processes in the Family*, p. 103.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 James D. Halloran, "On the Research Approaches for Studying Socialization in the Family," in *Television and Socialization Processes in the Family*, p. 17.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 19-20, quoted from research done by the Centre for Mass Communication Research, Leicester.
- 30 Vanier Institute, op. cit., p. 6. Cf. David E. Hunt and Edmund V. Sullivan, *Between Psychology and Education* (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1974).
- 31 Orville J. Brim, Jr., quoted in *Handbook of Socialization and Research*, ed. David Goslin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969).
- 32 Vanier Institute, op. cit., p. 16.
- 33 James D. Halloran, *Attitude Formation and Change* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1967), p. 27.
- 34 James D. Halloran, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1964), p. 19.
- 35 Robin McCron, "Changing Perspectives in the Study of Mass Media and Socialization," in *Mass Media and Socialization*, ed. James D. Halloran (Leeds: J. A. Kavanagh and Sons, 1976), p. 27.
- 36 D. H. Wrong, "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 26 (1961), p. 192.
- 37 McCron, "Changing Perspectives," p. 13.
- 38 Halloran, "Research Approaches," p. 15.
- 39 Halloran, *Attitude Formation*, p. 30.
- 40 R. W. Connell and M. Goot, "Science and Teleology in American Political Socialization Research," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 17, (1972-73), pp. 165-193.
- 41 G. Comstock and G. Lindsey, *Television and Human Behavior: The Research Horizon, Future and Present* (Santa Monica: Rand, 1975), p. 8.
- 42 McCron, "Changing Perspectives," p. 17.
- 43 "Research on the Socialization Influence of Television in the United States," in *Television and Socialization Processes in the Family*, pp. 26-27.
- 44 Ibid., p. 27.
- 45 Ibid., p. 28.
- 46 Ibid., p. 28.
- 47 Ibid., p. 32.
- 48 De Domenico, "RAI Audience Research," p. 105.
- 49 Ibid., p. 106.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid., p. 112.
- 52 Ibid., p. 109.
- 53 Leifer, "Socialization Influence of Television," pp. 38-39.
- 54 Ibid., p. 39.
- 55 Father Trevor Huddleston, *Naught for Your Comfort* (London: Collins, 1956).
- 56 Ingo Hermann, "What Can the Programme Producer

- Actually Want?" in *Television and Socialization Processes in the Family*, p. 176.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Paul Tillich, *The Courage to Be* (London: Collins, 1952), p. 93.
- 59 Nathaniel Cantor, *The Teaching-Learning Process* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 146.
- 60 Ibid., p. 148.
- 61 Ibid., pp. 103-104.
- 62 Selma H. Fraiberg, *The Magic Years* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), pp. 39-40.
- 63 Department of Education, Primary Division, Physical Education, 1956, p. 1.
- 64 Ralph Garry, *Television for Children* (Boston: Foundation for Character Education, n.d.), pp. 42-43.
- 65 Ibid., p. 43.
- 66 Halloran, *Attitude Formation*, p. 61.
- 67 A. A. Cohen, quoted in *Attitude Formation*, pp. 69-70.
- 68 Garry, *Television for Children*, p. 45.
- 69 Cornelius Bushe, David V. Nostbakken, Maxine Maurizi, Arlene Zuckernick, "Children's Responses to Television Programs," a Report to the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, Toronto, 1974, pp 19-20 (Mimeographed).
- 70 Kniveton, "Impact of Television," p. 2.
- 71 W. Philip Davison, "On the Effect of Communication," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 23 (1959), p. 360.
- 72 Garry, *Television for Children*, p. 46.
- 73 William Glasser, *The Identity Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 8-9.
- 74 Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), p. 122.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), p. 90.
- 77 Vanier Institute, "A Conceptual Framework," p. 4.
- 78 Feilitzen, "Scandinavian Research," p. 55.
- 79 Henry Geddes, "The Children's Film Foundation," *Sightlines*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Fall 1974), p. 5.
- 80 Elise Boulding, "Familism and the Creation of Futures," for the Experimental Symposium on Comparative Futurology, 1971 Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association, New York City, p. 3.
- 81 Ralph Garry, *Television for Children*, p. 47.
- 82 Paolo Freire, "Cultural Action for Freedom," *Harvard Educational Review* (1970), pp. 37-38.
- 83 Ibid., p. 50.
- 84 *Television and Juvenile Delinquency*, Interim Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, to the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, Washington, 1955, p. 50.
- 85 Dallas W. Smythe, "Dimensions of Violence," *Audio-Visual Communications Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1955).
- 86 Quoted in Erik Barnouw, *Mass Communication: Television, Radio, Film, Press. The Media and Their Practice in the United States of America*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961).
- 87 Prix Jeunesse International, May 28 to June 5 1976, Munich, Germany.

Selective Annotated Bibliography

The books and papers listed in this bibliography were used in the preparation of the monograph and are not intended to be exhaustive of sources for each of the subject-matter areas. Nevertheless, the bibliography should give the reader basically clear direction for any further investigation which may be required.

1. The Canadian Family and Peer Groups in Relationship to the North American Family and the Use of Television in the Home

While the similarities between Canadian and U.S. families are greater than the differences, the following books were useful in identifying those differences. At the same time, articles that deal with the effectiveness of parental supervision of children while they are watching television as well as the limited material available on peer-group influences are included.

Bell, Norman W., and Vogel, Ezra F. *A Modern Introduction to the Family*. Rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1968.

Boulding, Elise. "Familism and the Creation of Futures: Special Characteristics of the Family as an Agent of Social Change." Experimental Symposium on Cultural Futurology, American Anthropological Association, 1971 Annual Meeting New York: American Anthropological Association, 1971.

Canada. Senate, Special Committee on Mass Media. *Report*. Vol. III. *Good, Bad, or Simply Inevitable?* Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970.

Chaffee, Steven H., and McLeod, Jack M. "Adolescent Television Use in the Family Context." *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol. 3. *Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 149-171.

Chaffee, Steven H., McLeod, Jack M., and Atkin, Charles K. "Parental Influences on Adolescent Media Use." *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 14 (1971), pp. 323-339.

Elkin, Frederick. *The Family in Canada: An Account of the Present Knowledge and Gaps in Knowledge about Canadian Families*. Ottawa: Canadian Conference on the Family, 1964.

Farina, Margaret, and Sessions, Annabel. "A Selected List of Readings in the Family." Prepared for Dr. Donald H. Brundage. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1976.

Fraiberg, Selma. *The Magic Years*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959.

Friedenberg, Edgar Z. *The Vanishing Adolescent*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959.

Greenberg, Bradley S., and Atkin, Charles K. "Parental Mediation of Children's Social Learning from Television." A proposal submitted to Research and Education Division, Office of Child Development, 1975.

Greenberg, Bradley S., and Reeves, Byron. "Children and the Perceived Reality of Television." Unpublished paper.

Hess, Robert D., and Goldman, Harriet. "Parents' Views of the Effect of Television on Their Children." *Child Development*, Vol. 33 (1962), pp. 411-426.

Hicks, David J. "Effects of Co-Observer's Sanctions and Adult

Presence on Imitative Aggression," *Child Development*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (1968), pp. 303-309.

Ishwaran, K., ed. *The Canadian Family: A Book of Readings*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Johnson, Nicholas. *How to Talk Back to Your Television Set*. New York: Bantam Books, 1970.

Kaye, Evelyn. *The Family Guide to Children's Television*. New York: Random House, 1974.

Larson, Lyle E. *The Canadian Family in Comparative Perspective*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1976.

McLeod, Jack M., Atkin, Charles K., and Chaffee, Steven H. "Adolescents, Parents, and Television Use: Adolescent Self-report Measures from Maryland and Wisconsin Samples." *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol. 3. *Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 173-238.

Melody, William. *Children's Television*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

Novak, Michael. "The Family Out of Favor." *Harper's*, April 1976, pp. 37-46.

Peters, R. S. *Ethics and Education*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1966.

Porter, John. *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Power and Class in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Rainsberry, F. B. "Children and TV: The Moral Concern." Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1965. (Pamphlet.)

Rue, Vincent M. "Television and the Family: The Question of Control." *The Family Coordinator*, Vol. 23 (January 1974), pp. 73-81.

Shayon, Robert Lewis. *Television and Our Children*. New York: Longmans Green, 1951.

Steinmetz, Suzanne K., and Strauss, Murray A. eds. *Violence in the Family*. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Talbot, Nathan B. *Raising Children in Modern America: What Parents and Society Should Be Doing for Their Children*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976.

Vanier Institute of the Family. "A Conceptual Framework of Learning as Related to V.I.F. Policies and Programs." Third Draft. May 27, 1976. (Mimeographed).

_____. "Television: Expectations, Effects and Choices." A submission prepared for The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry. Ottawa: Vanier Institute of the Family, 1976.

2. Socialization

The books and papers listed here deal with the range of meaning for the term "socialization" and its use by behavioural scientists, philosophers, and media specialists. The list itself reveals the central importance of this concept for the development of the theme in this monograph.

Anderson, Harold, ed. *Creativity and Its Cultivation*. New York: Harper and Row, 1959.

Aronfreed, Justin. "The Concept of Internalization." In *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, p. 263-323. Edited by David A. Goslin. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969.

- Bailyn, Lotte. "Mass Media and Children: A Study of Exposure Habits and Cognitive Effects." *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (1959), pp. 1-48.
- Bandura, Albert. "Social Learning Theory of Identificatory Processes." In *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, pp. 213-262. Edited by David A. Goslin Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969.
- Bandura, Albert, and Huston, Aletha C. "Identification as a Process of Incidental Learning." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (1961), pp. 311-318.
- Bauer, Raymond A. "The Abstinant Audience: The Influence Process from the Point of View of Social Communication." *American Psychologist*, Vol. 19, No. 5 (1964), pp. 319-328.
- Brouwer, Martin. "Mass Communication and the Social Sciences: Some Neglected Areas." *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1966), pp. 303-319.
- Chaffee, Steven H. and Tims, Albert. "Interpersonal Factors in Adolescent Television Use." January 1974. (Mimeographed).
- Elkin, Frederick and Handel, Gerald. *The Child and Society: The Process of Socialization*. Second ed. New York: Random House, 1972.
- Erickson, Erik. H. *Identity, Youth and Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1968.
- Gerson, Walter M. "Mass Media and Socialization Behavior: Negro-White Differences." *Social Forces*, Vol. 45 (1966), pp. 40-50.
- Glasser, William. *The Identity Society*. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Grusec, Joan E. "Effects of Co-Observer Evaluations on Imitation: A Developmental Study." *Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January 1973), p. 141.
- Halloran, James D. *Attitude Formation and Change*. Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1967; reprint ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976.
- . *The Effects of Mass Communication, with Special Reference to Television*. Working Paper No. 1, Television Research Committee. Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1964.
- , ed. *The Effects of Television*. London: Panther Books, 1970.
- , ed. *Mass Media and Socialization (International Bibliography and Different Perspectives)*. International Association for Mass Communication. Leeds, England: J. A. Kavanagh and Sons, 1976.
- Halloran, James D., and Gurevitch, Michael, eds. *Broadcaster/Researcher Cooperation in Mass Communication Research*. A report on an International Seminar held at the University of Leicester, England, December 17-21, 1970. Leeds, England: J. A. Kavanagh and Sons, 1971.
- Katz, Daniel. "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 24 (1960), pp. 163-204.
- Kniveton, Bromley H. "The Impact of Television in Relation to Other Social Influences." Leicester: University of Loughborough, n.d. (Mimeographed.)
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Change and Persistence in Social Structure*. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
- Maccoby, Nathan, and Maccoby, Eleanor E. "Homeostatic Theory in Attitude Change." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1961), pp. 538-545.
- May, Rollo. *The Courage to Create*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975.
- Newson, J. and Newson, E. *Four Year Olds in an Urban Community*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1968.
- Nicholas, Karen B., McCarter, Robert E., and Heckel, Robert V. "Imitation of Adult and Peer Television Models by White and Negro Children." *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 75 (December 1971), pp. 317-318.
- Prix Jeunesse. *Television and Socialization Processes in the Family*. A documentation of the Prix Jeunesse Seminar 1975. Special English Issue of *Fernsehen und Bildung* Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976.
- Rosekrans, Mary A. "Imitation in Children as a Function of Perceived Similarity to a Social Model and Vicarious Reinforcement." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1967), pp. 307-315.
- Stein, Aletha Huston. "Imitation of Resistance to Temptation." *Child Development*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (March 1967), pp. 157-169.
- Tolley, Howard, Jr. *Children and War: Political Socialization to International Conflict*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1973.
- Trasler, Gordon. "The Process of Socialization." *The Listener*, March 10, 1966, pp. 341-343.
- Turk, Herman. "An Inquiry into the Undersocialized Conception of Man." *Social Forces*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (May 1965), pp. 518-521.
- Wheelis, Alan. *The Quest for Identity*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1958.
- Wrong, Dennis H. "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (April 1961), pp. 183-193.

3. Television Producers, Policy Makers, and Administrators and Their Influence on Children's Programs

The following books and papers are listed to give the reader some idea of the range of material available about the techniques and the "grammar" of television production.

- Barnouw, Erik. *Mass Communication: Television, Radio, Film, Press: The Media and Their Practice in the United States of America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.
- Canadian Council on Children and Youth. "Report of the Consultation on Children's Television." Toronto: Canadian Council on Children and Youth, 1972. (Mimeographed.)
- Cantor, Muriel G. "The Role of the Producer in Choosing Children's Television Content." *Television and Social Behavior: A Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Committee*, Vol. 1: *Media Content and Control* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing, 1972), pp. 259-289.
- Deverell, Rita Shelton. "Research from a Shopping Bag." A summary of 400+ informal interviews about children and television in Canada. Toronto: Religious Television Associates, July 1973.

- Garry, Ralph J. *Television for Children*. Boston: Foundation for Character Education, 1962.
- Garry, Ralph J., Rainsberry, F. B., and Winick, Charles, eds. *For the Young Viewer: Television Programming for Children* . . . New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
- Halloran, J. D., and Gurevitch, Michael, eds. *Broadcaster/Researcher Cooperation in Mass Communication Research*. A report on an International Seminar held at the University of Leicester, December 17-21, 1970 Leeds, England: J. A. Kavanagh and Sons, 1970.
- Larsen, Otto N., ed. *Violence and the Mass Media*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- McLuhan, H. M., and Parker, Harley. *Through the Vanishing Point*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Stasheff, Edward, and Bretz, Rudy. *The Television Program: Its Direction and Production*. 4th ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1968.
- Storch, Henri. *The Entertainment Film for Juvenile Audiences*. Paris: UNESCO, 1950.
- Stein, Howard F. " 'All in the Family' as a Mirror of Contemporary American Culture." *Family Process*, Vol. 13 (1974), pp. 279-315.
- 4. Education and Its Relationship to the Informal Use of Television by Families and by Children**
- Some of the books listed here do not make specific reference to television but they do contain basic principles about the creative growth and development of the child which will be useful to those who wish to pursue further the ideas and thoughts expressed in this monograph about informal education, i.e., the socialization of the child by means of television.
- Cantor, Nathaniel. *The Teaching-Learning Process*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953.
- Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education*. New York: Macmillan, 1960.
- Department of Education and Science, and Central Office of Information. *Moving and Growing: Physical Education in the Primary School*. Part I. London: Department of Education, 1952.
- Freire, Paolo. "Cultural Action for Freedom." *Harvard Educational Review* (1970), pp. 37-38.
- _____. "Education, Liberation and the Church." *Study Encounter/38*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1973), pp. 1-16.
- Getzels, Jacob W., and Jackson, Philip W. *Creativity and Intelligence*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962.
- Leonard, George B. *Education and Ecstasy*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1968.
- 5. General Effects of Television on Families and on Children**
- The selection of books and papers here ranges over the history of television viewing and shows the broad effects of television on viewers. By comparing books written in the Fifties with those written in the Seventies one can see changes in attitude and the use of television by producers, by parents, and by children.
- Comstock, George A., and Rubinstein, Eli A. *Television and Social Behavior: An Annotated Bibliography of Research Focusing on Television's Impact on Children*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- Comstock, George A., and Rubinstein, Eli A., eds. *Television and Social Behavior*. A report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee. 5 Vols. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- Halloran, J. D.; Brown, R. L.; and Chaney, D. C. *Television and Delinquency*. Television Research Committee Working Paper No. 3. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970.
- Himmelfeit, Hilde T., Oppenheim, A. N., and Vince, Pamela. *Television and the Child: An Empirical Study of the Effect of Television on the Young*. London: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Klapper, Joseph T. *The Effects of Mass Communication*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960.
- Lesser, Gerald S. *Children and Television*. New York: Random House, 1974.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. "Effects of the Mass Media." In *Review of Child Development Research*, Vol. 1, pp. 323-348. Edited by M. Hoffman and L. W. Hoffman New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964.
- Noble, Grant. *Children in Front of the Small Screen*. London: Constable and Company, 1975.
- Nostbakken, David, Bushe, Cornelius, Maurizi, Maxine, and Zuckernick, Arlene. "Children's Responses to Television Programs." A Report to the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, Toronto, 1973. (Mimeographed.)
- Schramm, Wilbur, Lyle, Jack, Parker, Edwin B. *Television in the Lives of Our Children*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Schwartz, Tony. *The Responsive Chord*. New York: Doubleday, 1973.
- Stein, Howard F. " 'All in the Family' as a Mirror of Contemporary American Culture." *Family Process*, Vol. 13 (1974), pp. 279-315.
- Steiner, Gary Albert. *The People Look at Television: A Study of Audience Attitudes*. New York: Knopf, 1963.
- U.S. Senate. *Television and Juvenile Delinquency*. Interim Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, to the Committee on the Judiciary Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955.
- 6. Violence and Television**
- While the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry has already produced an extensive bibliography dealing with violence on television, the books and papers listed here were used in the development of this monograph and are basic references for anyone concerned specifically with the televised violence on children.
- Berle, Adolf A. *Power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.
- Friedrich, L. K., and Stein, A. H. "Aggressive and Pro-Social Television Programs and the Natural Behavior of Pre-School Children." *Society for Research in Child Development Monograph*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (1973).
- Fromm, Erich. *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

- Gerbner, George, and Gross, Larry. "The Scary World of tv's Heavy Viewer." *Psychology Today*, April 1976, pp. 41-45, 80.
- Greenberg, Bradley S. "British Children and Televised Violence." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter 1974-75), pp. 531-547.
- Hicks, David J. "Imitation and Retention of Film-Mediated Aggressive Peer and Adult Models." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, No. 2 (1965), pp. 97-100.
- Larsen, Otto N., ed. *Violence and the Mass Media*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- May, Rollo. *Power and Innocence: A Search for the Sources of Violence*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972.
- Siegel, Alberta. "The Influence of Violence in the Mass Media upon Children's Role Expectations." *Child Development*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (March 1958), pp. 35-56.
- Smythe, Dallas W. "The Dimensions of Violence." *Audio-Visual Communications Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1955), pp. 58-63.
- Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- United States Senate. *Effects on Young People of Violence and Crime Portrayal on Television. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary*. 87th Congress, Part 10, 1961, 1962. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

Violence, the Media, and Mental Disorder

James A. Reznick, Ph.D.

W. B. A. Consultants Inc.
Toronto, Ontario

Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction and Purpose	Page 166
2	Background and Rationale	167
	Effects of Media Violence	167
	Mental Disorder and the Media	169
3	What is Assessed	171
	The Field Survey	171
	Aggressive Attitudes	171
	Tolerance	172
	Anxiety	172
	Defensiveness/Victimization	173
	Accuracy of Perceptions	173
	Correlates versus Effects	173
	Measuring Mental Disorder	174
4	The Interview Process	176
	Sampling Issues	176
	Sampling Bias	176
	Two-Phase Identification	177
5	Describing the Interviewees	179
	Age	179
	Sex	180
	Marital Status	180
	Education	180
	Race	180
	Housing	181
	Income	181
	Employment Status	181
	Occupation	182
	Health	183
6	Media Use	185
	Television	185
	Movies	188
	Newspapers	190
	Magazines	191
	Radio	192
	Overview	194
7	Aggression and Assault	195
	What is Measured	195
	Mental Disorder	196
	Media	197
	Mental Health and the Media	198
	Overview	200
8	Anxiety/Concern	201
	Mental Disorder	201
	Media	202
	Mental Health and the Media	204
	Overview	204
9	Victimization/Defensiveness	206
	Mental Disorder	206

Media	Page 207
Mental Disorder and Media	209
Overview	209
10 Tolerance	210
Mental Disorder and Media	210
Overview	210
11 Accuracy of Perceptions	211
Mental Disorder	212
Media	212
Mental Health and the Media	214
Overview	215
12 Overview and Conclusions	217
Purpose	217
Outcomes	217
Conclusions	218
Other Effects	219
Television Viewing	219
References	221
Appendix A How We Define Violence	225
B Screening Interview	226
C Survey Questionnaire	227

Exhibits

1	Mental Disorder and Age	Page 179
2	Sex and Marital Status	180
3	Education	180
4	Race	181
5	Housing	181
6	Mental Disorder and Level of Income	181
7	Employment Status at the Time of the Interview	181
8	Sex and Employment Status	182
9	Mental Disorder and Employment Status	182
10	Mental Disorder and Period of Unemployment	182
11	Occupation at the Time of the Interview	182
12	Mental Disorder and Seeking Mental Health Assistance	183
13	Severity of Mental Disorder	183
14	Mental Disorder and Seeking Assistance for Family Problems	184
15	Hours of Television Watched per Day	185
16	Television Viewing and Educational Level	185
17	Discriminant Analysis: Television Viewing	186
18	Type of Television Shows Mentioned	187
19	Mental Disorders and Soap Operas	187
20	Hours of Television Viewing and Crime Dramas Mentioned	187
21	Hours of Television Viewing and Comedies Mentioned	188
22	Frequency of Movie Theatre Attendance	188
23	Frequency of Television Viewing and Movie Theatre Attendance	188
24	Discriminant Analysis: Frequency of Movie Attendance	189
25	Type of Movie Mentioned	189
26	Type of Violent Theme in Movies Cited	189
27	Frequency of Newspaper Reading	190
28	Preferred Section(s) of the Newspaper	190
29	Name of Newspaper(s) Read	190
30	Number of Different Newspapers Read	190
31	Discriminant Analysis: Newspaper Reading	191
32	Frequency of Magazine Reading	191
33	Types of Magazines Mentioned	191
34	Number of "Usually Read" Magazines Mentioned	191
35	Frequency of Television Viewing and Magazine Reading	192
36	Frequency of Movie Theatre Attendance and Magazine Reading	192
37	Discriminant Analysis: Magazine Reading	193
38	Frequency of Radio Listening	193
39	Radio Programs Mentioned	193
40	Discriminant Analysis: Radio Listening	193
41	Aggressive Attitudes Items	195
42	Mental Disorder and Aggressive Attitudes	196
43	Mental Disorder and Fighting Behaviour	196
44	Mental Disorder and Arrest Records	197
45	Television Viewing and Aggressive Attitudes	197
46	Television Viewing and Enjoyment Through Aggression	197
47	Television Viewing and Fighting	198
48	Television Viewing and Arrest Record	198
49	Television Viewing and Reports of Friends Being Arrested	199
50	Television Viewing and Violence of Friend's Crime	199
51	Analysis of Variance: Aggressive Attitudes and Television Viewing	199

52	Analysis of Variance: Aggressive Attitudes and Movie Attendance	Page 200
53	Analysis of Variance: Aggressive Attitudes and Newspaper Reading	200
54	Anxiety/Concern Items	201
55	Mental Disorder and Level of Anxiety	201
56	Mental Disorder and Mugging	202
57	Television Viewing and Anxiety	202
58	Television Viewing and Personal Safety	202
59	Movie Attendance and Anxiety	203
60	Movie Theatre Attendance and Worries About Neighbourhood Dangers	203
61	Magazine Reading and Anxiety	203
62	Analysis of Variance: Concern/Anxiety and Television Viewed	204
63	Analysis of Variance: Concern/Anxiety and Movie Attendance	204
64	Analysis of Variance: Concern/Anxiety and Newspaper Reading	204
65	Victimization/Defensiveness Items	207
66	Defensiveness Items: Individual Analysis	207
67	Mental Disorder and Owning a Weapon	207
68	Television Viewing and Victimization/Defensiveness	207
69	Television Viewing and Attitudes of Victimization	208
70	Movie Attendance and Victimization/Defensiveness	208
71	Movie Attendance and Attitudes of Victimization	208
72	Movie Attendance and Perceived Need for Protection	209
73	Analysis of Variance: Victimization/Defensiveness and Television Viewing	209
74	Analysis of Variance: Victimization/Defensiveness and Movie Attendance	209
75	Tolerance Items	210
76	Accuracy Items: Media versus Reality	211
77	Accuracy Items: Estimating Crime	212
78	Mental Disorder and Perceptions of Violent Involvement	212
79	Television Viewing and Perceptions of Numbers of People Involved in Violence	213
80	Television Viewing and Perceptions of Violent Crime	213
81	Television Viewing and Perceptions of Lifestyle	213
82	Television Viewing and Accuracy of Perceptions	214
83	Analysis of Variance: Accuracy on Perceptions and Television Viewing	214
84	Analysis of Variance: Accuracy on Perceptions and Movie Attendance	215
85	Analysis of Variance: Estimating Crime Levels and Television Viewing	215
86	Analysis of Variance: Accuracy on Perceptions and Movie Attendance	215

Introduction and Purpose

Most of us are very non-violent people. We seldom beat our children unnecessarily. Even more rarely do we arrange for the assassination of a troublesome business competitor. During the heat of war-time battle, the overwhelming majority of infantrymen do not discharge their weapons, let alone try to shoot someone.¹ In ghetto riots, the proportion of residents who are “on the street”, burning, vandalizing, and looting has been shown to be extremely small.²

We are, none the less, fascinated by violence. Virtually any portrayal, display, or simulation of violence will attract avid audiences. Violence excites, alerts, and entertains us.³ Traffic jams are often caused by drivers who slow down to look at accidents which have taken place in the opposite lane. Such movies as *The Godfather*, *The Exorcist*, and *Jaws* are overwhelming box-office successes.⁴ Television producers know that one of the keys to raising the rating of a program is to increase the amount of violence.⁵ It has been suggested that the game of hockey has become more violent in recent years because fights on the ice increase the size of the viewing audience.⁶

The simple truth is that media audiences give every indication of being fascinated by portrayals of violence. The economics of media survival have dictated that this simple truth be cultivated and exploited until consumer interest simply collapses from exhaustion.⁷

At the present time, the only evidence of exhaustion or satiation appears to be coming from censorship boards and laws.⁸

In the last few decades, the impact of media violence on the attitudes and behaviours of viewers has become a world-wide concern. Mental health experts, researchers, and concerned parents have all expressed consternation about the problem. Many countries have established formal research review committees to examine existing knowledge, collect additional data, and draw up possible recommendations and controls.⁹

In doing research of this nature, the problems to be solved are always exceedingly complex. Conclusions must be drawn from piecing together the results of many individual research projects. Also, the stakes involved in recommending changes to the *status quo* are

immense, whether one is concerned primarily about the economic, the political, or the social perspective.

Most research in this field has centred on two issues. The first issue is always whether the depiction of violence in the media has any discernable impact upon the “average” person. The second is whether or not media violence has any discernable impact upon *any* significant segment of society.

In this study, the emphasis is on the latter question. More specifically, the particular segment of society examined consists of those individuals who are in some way mentally disordered – individuals who show symptoms of being excessively irritable, anxious, depressed, or confused. They would be viewed as “needing treatment” by most clinical psychiatrists and psychologists. Those examined in this study are not in institutions, and most are not under any treatment at all for their mental state.

The purpose of the study is to compare the beliefs about violence and the attitudes to violence of mentally disordered individuals and a comparison group of normal individuals.

Many researchers have suggested and demonstrated that the manner in which an individual responds to, or thinks about, violence is related to the amount and type of media fare to which he or she is exposed, or prefers.¹⁰ Thus, the media consumption patterns of the mentally disordered group and the comparison group will be studied to identify similarities and differences.

This project has not been designed to demonstrate a cause-and-effect relationship between exposure to media violence and personal reactions to violence. Rather, the intent is to examine the existence of relationships between such combinations or variables as media preference, reactions to violence, and degree of mental disorder.

Chapter Two

Background and Rationale

The purpose of the project is clear. However, what evidence is there that media affects anybody, let alone the mentally disordered? Also, a considerable amount of research has already been done on the topic of media violence. So, why have the effects of violence upon the mentally disordered not been studied – if, indeed, they constitute a worth-while population for investigation?

Effects of Media Violence

As of this writing, several thousand research projects have investigated the impact of media violence. There are a number of excellent sources to which the reader may turn for a detailed exposition of these findings.¹ To put the research findings into perspective, it is helpful to relate the issue being studied to one's own personal experiences. Reverence for research has its place. When research deals with phenomena beyond our own personal experience – such as the design of an atomic reactor, or the speed of light in a vacuum – most of us act like spectators at a tennis match when we observe two researchers engage in heated argument. On the other hand, most social science research is built upon a groundwork of principles, practices, and experiences which many of us share. It makes more sense to argue with a social science researcher about the definition of aggression than it does to argue with a medical researcher about the best way to identify the presence of certain bacteria.

Personal Experiences

Do you read to your child at his or her bedtime? If you do so, do you avoid going into vivid descriptions of horrible monsters that might conceivably lurk in little children's bedrooms at night? Many parents take such precautions. Few people would question the fact that, at least among young children, the line between fantasy and reality, or the dream world and the real world, becomes easily blurred – particularly in the dark.

In fact, it is ironic that the first form of censorship to which most of us are exposed has to do with violence rather than sex. This order of affairs usually reverses dramatically as we begin to mature.

When children start attending movies, it becomes

apparent that their needs and interests are often different from those of their parents. To be entertained is to be stimulated. Love stories seldom do that for children, but horror stories certainly do. There are few people who do not recall that one of the more exhilarating experiences of youth involved walking past a vacant lot or into a darkened bedroom after seeing a particularly terrifying horror movie.

Kids will be kids, but don't most of us grow out of this? There is no particularly good answer to that question. Certainly, most adults watch horror movies without being scared. But how many of us are still afraid of the dark? And what about the effects of adult horror movies?

After seeing *The Exorcist*, many adults slept with their lights on or did not sleep at all. The impact of the movie was duly noted in a nation-wide news magazine.² *Psycho* was another highly popular horror movie. In one scene, a woman was senselessly and violently stabbed to death in her shower by a madman. Are there still adults who, feeling rather foolish, still lock their doors when they take a shower?

A recent movie, *Jaws*, vividly depicted the appetite and eating habits of a giant shark. The movie was a box office hit and its impact was registered, once again, in a nation-wide news magazine.³ Resort owners reported a distinct reluctance on the part of their guests to leave the poolside for the oceanside. Giant shark jokes, shark medallions, and plastic blow-up sharks appeared everywhere. Friends explained to one another that for a while they would be taking showers rather than baths.

Are some people who saw this movie still reluctant to swim in the ocean? If so, how does this anxiety affect their self-image? Does this foolish feeling of anxiety have other "spin-off" affects, such as raising people's anxiety levels about other aspects of their lives?

There are no firm research answers to such questions. It feels comfortable for most of us to say that "the average person" has outgrown such fears. It probably feels a bit less comfortable to replace the term "average person" with "everybody".

In short, most of us know from personal experience how media presentations can affect our beliefs, our

attitudes, and our behaviours. If we have not experienced this as adults, we have surely experienced it as children. If we do not experience it now, we probably know other adults who do experience it.

The media in North America, and in most of the rest of the world, have long been subject to various types of formal or informal censorship rules.⁴ It is probably safe to say that the rules emerged independently of any research findings to justify them.

By the 1930s social science researchers had concluded that crime movies should not be shown to delinquents or adult offenders. It was believed that such movies created attitudes and perceptions that contributed further to criminal behaviour.⁵ In the 1950s, research evidence and the weight of professional psychiatric opinion were strong enough to persuade the comic book industry to set up and enforce a code of standards to circumscribe drastically the types and amount of violence they could depict.⁶

With the advent of television, motion picture exhibitors began to face strong competition for the viewing public. In the race for survival, each of these multi-million-dollar industries tried to outpace the other in competition for the public's purse.⁷ Researchers interested in studying the impact of violence on the attitudes and behaviours of viewers did not suffer from a lack of appropriate media materials.

In recent years, the stupefying quantity and quality of violence being depicted in the media has been a noticeable concern of most countries of the industrial world. In the late 1960s, a National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence was established in the United States. Among other activities, the experts reviewed the existing research in the field of media violence. In its report, the Commission stated that "the constant diet of violent behavior on television has an adverse effect on human character and attitudes. Violence on television encourages violent forms of behavior and fosters moral and social values about violence in daily life which are unacceptable in a civilized society."⁸

Such a conclusion challenged the very life blood of the media. The findings were challenged, and violence in the media continued to mount.⁹

Finally, in the early 1970s, the Surgeon General of the United States initiated a program to examine the impact of television on social life. Experts once again carefully reviewed the existing research on the relationships between media violence and attitudes and behaviour. New research projects were initiated to "fill in" the gaps identified by the reviewers. Seven volumes of reports and \$2 million later, the massive research project was completed.¹⁰

Dr. J. Steinfield, the Surgeon General at the time of this project, stated, "The overwhelming consensus and the unanimous scientific Committee's report indicate that televised violence, indeed, does have an adverse effect on certain members of our society..."¹¹

It should be noted that the above quotation – as definite as it sounds – is surrounded by qualifications. There always seem to be alternative arguments, even when the "facts" are in hand. In England and France, in Sweden and the United States, government committees have been commissioned to examine the issue of violence in the media and to make recommendations.¹² In every case, the committees have carefully qualified their responses to reflect the ambiguities in the evidence. But they all do conclude that violence in the media can, at least for certain people, have adverse effects.

An example of a carefully qualified conclusion drawn directly from the U.S. Surgeon General's report follows:

... there is a convergence of the fairly substantial experimental evidence for *short-run* causation of aggression among some children by viewing violence on the screen and the much less certain evidence from field studies that extensive violence viewing preceded some long-run manifestations of aggressive behaviour. This convergence ... constitutes some preliminary indication of a causal relationship....¹³

In North America, the effect of these findings on the production and presentation of media violence has been very slight indeed. The frustration of one reviewer in this field is aptly stated:

For years defenders of the media have successfully exercised extraordinary argumentative gymnastics, syllogistic contortions and theoretical circumlocutions to give complicated and evasive answers to simple questions about media violence. Problems which common sense can master are transformed into insoluble abstract labyrinths and matters only for wild philosophical conjecture. Unfortunately, these confusion tactics work quite effectively, leaving the layman dizzy from the mass of contradictory evidence and inclined to believe that no action is advisable when the problem seems so uncertain.¹⁴

Some of the researchers who contributed to the U.S. Surgeon General's project have adamantly and aggressively stated their own opinions: "... laboratory studies, correlational field studies, and naturalistic experiments all show that exposure to television can, and often does, make viewers significantly more aggressive..."¹⁵

Research Conclusions

In defence of the media, it should be pointed out that there are literally thousands of research studies examining the relationship between media violence and viewer attitudes and behaviours.¹⁶ By no means does all of the research suggest that the effects of media violence on viewers are entirely, or even partially, adverse. On issues such as this, the weight of evidence must be considered.

Given all that is known – and being fully aware that no one ever has *all* the facts necessary – what conclusion can be drawn? Percy Tannenbaum, an internationally known and respected research psychologist, was asked by the U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence to comment on the

quality of research on media violence and the conclusion drawn by the Commission. Dr. Tannenbaum stated:

The verdict is not proven. I don't think it will be proven in my lifetime, certainly not in the lifetime of this Commission and if that is what you are looking for, I think you had better stop now. . . . so many of the government's actions, and even society's actions, are dictated by having to make, because of the exigencies of the situation, a calculated guess on the basis of whatever evidence we have in hand.¹⁷

Room for Consensus

The weight of the evidence suggests that government committees, independent researchers, and even media spokesmen would agree on at least one point. That is, under some conditions, for certain people, media violence can have clearly adverse effects. So can an over-indulgence in sweets or alcohol.

The agreement is there; the controversy centres upon the solution of a grisly calculus. How many people are affected? How adversely? In protecting one group in society, what damage, inconvenience, or infringement of rights is imposed on other members of society? Under the circumstances, decision-makers – whether on the media side or the government side – can hardly be faulted for making haste slowly.

One area of special concern is the effect of violence on children. The reasons for concern are obvious. The value systems, beliefs, and habits of children are widely considered to be more readily subject to change and manipulation than those of adults.¹⁸ Also, children spend between a quarter and a third of their waking hours watching television.¹⁹ Thus, it is neither unreasonable nor surprising that researchers have devoted considerable time to examining both the short-term and long-term impact of various types of media content on children.

George Comstock has carried out extensive bibliographic collections and interpretations of research on the impact of television.²⁰ He cites numerous research projects to substantiate such statements as the following:²¹

The observation of television portrayals can alter the balance between the inclination to perform an act and the inhibitions against such performance on the part of adolescents. Although most of the evidence to date concerns the disinhibition or stimulation of aggression, there is little reason to think the same effect would not occur for other classes of behavior.

The trend of evidence reverses early findings that television violence reduces aggression among young people by inducing catharsis, although there are circumstances in which the observation of violence will lower aggressiveness.

The behavior observed on television becomes acquired or learned by young children in the absence of immediate practice or reinforcement, and such acquisition occurs in regard to a variety of classes of behavior, including socially desirable as well as aggressive behavior.

Exciting television content of a wide variety of classes (of which violence is only one example) can probably activate or

stimulate behavior which otherwise would not be expressed or would be expressed at a lower level.

Simply because so much research has been done on children, there is a temptation for those in the field to extrapolate from the findings about children to predictions of adult behaviours and attitudes. In fact, in this study, an extrapolation has been made from the findings on mentally disordered children to predictions concerning mentally disordered adults. This is because the research on relationships between mental disorder and media effects has mostly been done with children. Even this data is extremely scanty.²² Most researchers have concentrated their efforts on groups of “normal” children, at best showing only a casual interest in a few mentally disordered children they might encounter.

Mental Disorder and the Media

In England, the Television Research Committee, asked by the government to review the research in the field of media violence, concluded that, “. . . for some people violence in the media can be unhealthy and detrimental. The difficulties of the frustrated, maladjusted and isolated can be intensified and already existing deviant behaviour patterns may be reinforced.”²³

This position was reflected in a statement by the Airline Pilots' Association about a film called *The Doomsday Flight*, which depicted a hijacking. The technique used in the film obviously had some appeal to viewers; it seems that whenever it was shown, someone would hijack a plane shortly thereafter, using the technique described in the film. The Airline Pilots' Association urged cancellation of the film, arguing that “. . . the mentally unstable are highly responsive to, and usually provoked by, suggestion”.²⁴

In another review of the media violence literature, the author discusses the impact of television on selected groups. He concludes that “. . . the most complacent of them [social scientists] would admit that some individuals – the mentally unstable, the ultra-sensitive, the profoundly ignorant – react to the small screen in a different way from the norm.”²⁵

In concluding that there is a clear and undesirable relationship between media impact and mental disorder, he points out that he is not just talking about a few unstable individuals in society. He notes that at least one study demonstrated that no less than 23.4 per cent of the population suffered from mental symptoms rated by psychiatrists as “marked”, “severe”, or “incapacitating”.²⁶

Looking more specifically at children, Dr. Mark Abrams has stated that:

The available evidence from research on these points among (ordinary, average) children is slight and often negative. It appears that when mal-adjusted and well-adjusted children are exposed to identical amounts of violent mass media content, the former, unlike the latter, show a marked preference for such material, derive distinct satisfactions from it, and in the

process of consumption, their problems are sustained rather than resolved.”²⁷

In short, Dr. Abrams interprets the existing research literature as being inconclusive with respect to the “average” child – but he does feel strongly about the effects on those who are disturbed. He goes on to state that, “Since media violence, in some way as yet unknown to us, apparently intensifies the difficulties of maladjusted and frustrated children, a strong case can be made for removing such material.”²⁸

Comments concerning this special susceptibility of the mentally disordered are fairly common in the literature. For example, Himmelweit, who did research on the impact of media violence on children, concluded that, “We did not find that the viewers were any more aggressive or maladjusted than the controls. Television is unlikely to cause aggressive behaviour, although it can precipitate it among the few children who are emotionally disturbed.”²⁹

In *Violent Conflict in American Society*, Iglitzin states, “Statistics on mental illness, juvenile delinquency and drug use indicate the large number of people who are experiencing forms of social maladjustment and who are consequently vulnerable to the appeal of mass violence.”³⁰

One researcher has actually attempted to assess the level of mental disorder in his adult population of subjects and relate this to perceptions of violence on television.³¹ In this project, all participants were assessed as to their level of “fearfulness”, “aggressiveness”, and “neuroticism”. However, since the research subjects were a random sample of the adult population, only a few of the total number of respondents could genuinely be considered to show any significant signs of disorder. Also, as in other projects in which the disordered individuals are not the major population studied, the numbers of responses from such a small sub-group cannot be adequately subjected to statistical analysis.

In the above study, adults who were excessively fearful usually expressed the greatest concern about the amount of violence on television programs. On the other hand, those who were assessed as extremely aggressive were least likely to consider much of what they watch as violence at all. The researcher states that:

... these data do not constitute conclusive evidence, they lend support to the common-sense view that reactions to portrayals of violence are ... a function of the viewer's personality, the violent images presented on the television screen feeding the fears of the fearful but often falling short of the perception threshold of the aggressor.³²

Thus, what we know about the relationship between mental disorder and media violence has been limited by two factors. First, the number of mentally disordered individuals actually studied has always been extremely small, usually a few individuals out of a larger population of normal subjects being studied by the researcher. Existing conclusions about the mentally

disordered are therefore based on very few observations.

The second problem is that most conclusions about the relationships between mental disorder and media violence are based on extrapolations from the observations of children rather than adults.

Finally, it should be noted that the severity of mental disorder is an important issue, but one which has seldom been given serious consideration by researchers. For purposes of this project, the mentally disordered population of interest consists of individuals who are not institutionalized – who are not, therefore, the most seriously disordered individuals. However, it is, a population large enough to be of serious social concern.

Why the Delay?

In the past, government committees, researchers, and laypersons have readily made statements about the impact of media violence on the mentally disordered, but there has been very little data to support their conclusions. Furthermore the available data has been suspect, both in terms of absolute numbers of individuals studied, and in terms of extrapolations made from children to adults.

The proportion of non-institutionalized, mentally disordered individuals in the population is not small. In recent decades, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to identifying the incidence of mental disorder in North American populations.³³ The range of estimates, based on field research, is wide, but most researchers would probably agree that a reasonable estimate is 15 per cent of the general population.

The incidence research carried out to date has always been plagued by problems of resources and method. The best way to identify the number of mentally disordered individuals in the community is, obviously, to interview every single individual living in that community. This is a very expensive process, and not very many researchers can afford to use it. The alternative is to use a sampling technique. However, because of some very special characteristics of the population being studied, researchers have always found reason to criticize each other's sampling methods.³⁴

To date, research done on the non-institutionalized mentally disordered has not gone far beyond the basic issue of counting. That is, most people have simply been interested in determining what percentages of the total population are mentally disordered to a mild, severe, or incapacitating degree. Sampling procedures are usually so expensive and time-consuming that little effort has been directed towards the collection of additional information from this population.

Chapter Three

What is Assessed

According to *Webster's New World Dictionary*, "violence is a force which injures or abuses".¹ Such a meaning of violence includes both personal injury and property damage.

This is the definition of violence that will be used in this study. It is of course recognized that not everyone uses the term in the same fashion. The more extensive definition of the term violence (Appendix A), formulated by The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, is much more detailed and comprehensive than the Webster's definition, but is not at all in conflict with the manner in which the term "violence" is used throughout this study.²

Research on the effects of media violence has always emphasized the tendency of such media portrayals to induce viewers to act more violently than they otherwise would. Of course, the fact is that there are many possible different effects of media violence. For example, it has already been suggested that seeing horror shows is probably less likely to induce violence than it is to induce feelings of irrational fear or anxiety.

The effects of violence cannot be easily measured nor can they be easily separated one from the other.

The Field Survey

The data for this project was collected by means of a field survey. One of the limitations of this technique is that few people will tolerate being interviewed for more than one hour. Therefore, the amount of information which can be collected from any one individual is limited. Second, interviews often take place under semi-private circumstances or under circumstances where there are numerous distractions. These are not insurmountable problems, but it is clear that only a limited number of different concepts can be measured precisely in any single interview. In the social sciences, the accuracy with which a concept is measured is usually a direct function of the amount of time taken for the interview and the amount of attention the interviewee is willing to devote the project at hand.

In field surveys, then, the precision with which concepts can be measured and the absolute number of

concepts which can be assessed at any one interview are always limited.

Of course, the major advantage of field surveys – and the reason why they are used so extensively – is that information can be collected on large numbers of individuals. This is essential if any generalizations are to be made from the findings about the sample of individuals interviewed to the larger populations from which they are drawn.

The effects of violence studied in this survey are:

- aggressive attitudes and actions
- tolerance or accepting attitude to violence
- anxiety or fearfulness about violence
- defensive or "victim-like" actions to cope with violence
- distorted beliefs or perceptions of the realities or facts about violence-related issues

Each of these effects will be briefly discussed.

Aggressive Attitudes

The first effect assessed is the degree to which a respondent indicates aggressive or assaultive attitudes or habits. That is, does he/she "blow up" when someone irritates him/her? Does he/she feel that many problems with people could be solved by simply acting in a more assaultive or aggressive fashion? Has he/she ever been arrested or has he/she engaged recently in physical fights with spouses, friends, or strangers?

There is evidence to suggest that assaultiveness or aggressiveness might be an outcome of viewing media violence. First, it has long been known that children who observe films of violence are, immediately thereafter, more likely to act in an aggressive fashion toward others than are viewers who observe a non-aggressive film.³

Researchers now generally agree that observing media violence under the right conditions increases the tendency of both children and adults to act aggressively.⁴ There is still considerable controversy about how long these effects last. Most important, it is not at all clear just how aggressive the viewer becomes.

That is, will media violence push someone into acting in an aggressive fashion that is completely inappropriate to the situation at hand – or is it just likely to make him/her act a bit more aggressively than he/she normally would?

This study attempts to assess a mental state, attitude, or readiness to engage in aggressive activity. Although there was, of course, no opportunity to observe an interviewee's aggressiveness "in action", these self-reported attitudes were supplemented in each case by anecdotes about his/her history of violence. That is, each individual was asked about recent physical fights, trouble with the law, and type of crime (e.g., violent or non-violent) for which he/she may have been arrested.

Tolerance

A number of writers and researchers have suggested that, with continual exposure to media violence, viewers may simply be learning to tolerate and accept such media fare.⁵ For example, some researchers have noted that immediately after viewing violent portrayals on film, children were much less likely to pay attention to, or try to stop, real violence in their immediate environment.⁶ Researchers have also noticed that television viewers who watch a lot of violent programs demonstrate much less evidence of physiological arousal and attention to depictions of violence on film than do individuals who do not normally watch such fare.⁷

If the media do induce an increased tolerance for violence in real life, the implications for society are decidedly unpleasant. In fact, the case in which a young woman was beaten and stabbed repeatedly in full view and hearing of other residents of her apartment, without any of them attempting to come to her rescue, generated nation-wide news coverage and attention.⁸ It was clear from this incident, and subsequent interest in research on this matter, that most people react with horror to the thought of their fellow citizens becoming inured to violence in their surroundings.

Of course, in this study it is not possible to observe individuals being tolerant or apathetic toward violence around them. But their attitudes on this issue can be assessed. For example, do they feel bored or disinterested with deaths and the "sob stories" of victims and survivors depicted in the media? Do they think that people should mind their own business – so that if a man beats his wife, that's their problem and no one else's? Do they accept as an immutable fact that organized crime is going to continue to grow and that there is not much anyone can do about it?

It should be recognized, after all, that adopting a tolerant or apathetic attitude is a very common technique used by many individuals to cope with personal problems that they can't seem to solve. The thought goes something like this: if your boss upsets you, and you can't seem to change the situation, then you might just as well "learn to accept it".

In its extreme sense, tolerance can eventually lead to

positive acceptance. For example, an advertiser might choose to flood the media with an advertisement. It may appear so frequently that it becomes irritating. However, you eventually learn to tolerate the advertisement and, when you go to make a purchase, the name of that particular product may be the only one which "comes to mind". Similarly, a person repelled by media violence may watch it to keep a spouse company – and become not only desensitized to, but a fan of, *Starsky and Hutch*.

Anxiety

Tolerance is a socially undesirable adaption to violence. However, the short-term personal payoff for this type of coping response is rewarding.

Of course, people do commonly develop response patterns that are personally counter-productive. Anxiety is a near-universal response to stressful circumstances. It brings with it so much grief and so much interference with decision-making, memory, and skilled behaviours that it has been extensively studied.⁹

In the face of all reason and/or repeated contacts, a state of anxiety can become ever more debilitating for an individual. For example, as any student will attest, simply taking more tests does little to reduce one's anxiety about taking tests. Even doing well on tests seldom, in itself, helps a student reduce his/her level of test anxiety.¹⁰

Researchers into the effects of violence in the media know well the common technique of increasing the anxiety of viewers for research purposes by simply showing them a violent film.¹¹ As in most common laboratory manipulations, it is generally believed that the long-term after-effects on the subjects' emotions is not really a matter of concern – assuming, of course, that the subjects appear to be normally adjusted in all respects. As a matter of common sense and proper ethical practice, no serious researcher would consider attempting such manipulations on subjects who gave any evidence of being mentally disordered (unless this subject population were actually being studied, and the researcher was qualified as a clinical therapist to deal with the possible after-effects of such manipulations).

It is quite conceivable that exposure to media violence can induce feelings of heightened anxiety in some viewers. As mentioned earlier, this is certainly the case for many individuals who watch horror movies.

For some individuals, the anxiety response is tied quite specifically to a particular occasion or thing. For many others, however, the anxiety response is a basic personality pattern. For such a person, anxiety experienced in one aspect of life tends to leak over into his/her general outlook on life and responses to other situations.¹²

It is feasible, then, that observing media violence would raise the anxiety level of the viewer. Of course, in this survey, physiological measures or observations are not taken while the interviewee is watching or reading

about violence in the media. Rather, the respondent's general levels of anxiety and fearfulness with respect to violence are assessed from answers given to survey questions. For example, do you feel that all apartments should have well-trained guards to control who comes in and out? Is it possible that anyone, even your own neighbour, could be the sort of person who turns out to be arrested for a mass killing? Are there more crimes being committed than the police and the media are really telling us about?

It is important to note that these particular questions attempt to identify fearfulness or anxiety, not to determine whether or not the individual actually does anything about these feelings. For example, a woman may feel quite fearful about the prospect of having to walk down a "perfectly safe" street at night. Whether or not she actually lets herself be inconvenienced by this fear – that is, whether or not she actually takes action based on her feeling – is another dimension, called "defensiveness or victimization".

Defensiveness/Victimization

Researchers have noted that media violence can influence individuals so that they actually learn how to become proper victims of violence and willingly inconvenience themselves to fit their perceptions of the dangers in society around them.¹³

For example, we all learn that during a robbery, the correct procedure to avoid injury or death is to comply passively with the robber's demands. The better we learn our role as a victim, the more easily and safely can the robber pursue his career. While learning the victim's role has distinctive implications for personal survival and health, it does little to discourage the spread of crime and violence in society. On a more constructive note, individuals are likely to take evasive or protection action which may inconvenience them but which helps protect them from possible encounters with violence.

One effect of media violence, then, might be to encourage people to take defensive actions or to accept the victim's role if they encounter violence. In this study, these attitudes are assessed by asking respondents if, for example, they sometimes avoid going out to the theatre or to a friend's house because they might encounter a mugger. Are they seriously considering, or do they already have, a weapon to protect themselves, or a burglar alarm? Should people learn techniques of self-defence?

Responses to such questions depend to a considerable extent upon how much violence the respondent actually believes there is in society. It seems reasonable to expect that people who feel that violent crimes occur relatively frequently will take more defensive actions than those who feel that their chances of being involved in crime are rather slight. Thus, "accuracy of perceptions" is another area to be studied.

Accuracy of Perceptions

Researchers have pointed out that the environment as presented on television differs in some significant ways from the everyday environment of most viewers. For example, the so-called average family portrayal on television often has material possessions that suggest an upper-middle-class income. Also, many more of those "average families" portrayed on television are headed by professionals, executives or business managers than would be the case in reality. Police and criminals are obviously over-represented on television. Also, the real percentage of crimes which are violent is relatively small – but this is not the case on television. In fact, of course, the actual incidence of violence is much overstated on television.¹⁴

If a viewer's ideas about his society are actually shaped by the television depiction of society, beliefs such as those noted above can be assessed and compared to actual facts.

For example, the actual number of murders known to have been committed in Metropolitan Toronto can be compared with estimates of the number of murders made by those who are exposed to high and low levels of media violence. If media violence affects perceptions, the frequent consumer of media violence might be expected to over-estimate the actual number of murders committed. Similarly, if the frequent viewer of television violence is asked to estimate what percentage of all crimes are violent, and is given two figures from which to choose – an over-estimate and an under-estimate – we would expect him/her to select most frequently the over-estimate.

Correlates versus Effects

A number of possible effects of media violence observed by other researchers have been discussed above. It is not the intent of this study to demonstrate that these effects occur. The primary interest here is the degree to which these effects, as assessed by a survey-research approach, may differ in magnitude for a mentally disordered group and a comparison group of individuals without symptoms of disorder.

The differences which do emerge are not necessarily the effects of media violence alone. There are any number of reasons, for example, why an individual might act in a highly defensive manner. Such an individual may, upon being exposed to a frequent diet of media violence, have developed exaggerated fears about the possibility of personally being attacked on the street or at home. On the other hand, the extreme defensiveness may rise from the fact that the individual actually has been attacked, or has known a close friend or relative who has been attacked. Or, people who are excessively shy or who do not have any friends may not go out at night. They may justify such behaviour by believing that there is too great a chance of becoming victims of an attack or robbery. Also, since they do not go out at night and have nobody to talk to, they may

watch an excessive amount of television; that in turn may feed their fears.

The point is that there are many alternative explanations as to why an individual may exhibit high levels of aggressiveness, anxiety, tolerance, defensiveness, or misperceptions. This study simply demonstrates what combinations of factors go together. Researchers and readers alike are free to make interpretations about the underlying reasons for the correlations observed between the variables studied. As in the most carefully designed laboratory research, however, there is always the possibility that alternative hypotheses from those supported by the researcher may also explain the research findings. Of course, in a field in which so much previous research has been done, inferences can always gain extra explanatory power by virtue of the fact that they may be congruent with the findings of previous studies.

Measuring Mental Disorder

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, published by the American Psychiatric Association (1952), divides the "disorders of psychogenic origin or without clearly defined physical cause or structural change in the brain" into (1) psychotic disorders, (2) psychophysiological autonomic and visceral disorders, (3) psychoneurotic disorders, (4) personality disorders that include sexual deviations, addictions, et cetera, and (5) transient situational personality disorders, such as stress situations, adjustment to life, et cetera.¹⁵

"The inability to use one's physical and mental resources is one of the outstanding signs of mental disorder".¹⁶ In this definition, put forward by Benjamin Wolman, mental disorder is usually manifested as a pattern of irrationality in cognitive processes, emotional disbalance, and social maladjustment. In survey studies such as that undertaken here, the overwhelming majority of the mentally disordered individuals interviewed would fall into the latter group.

At the other end of the scale, "mental health is a condition and level of social functioning which is socially acceptable and personally satisfying".¹⁷

For treatment purposes, psychiatrists and psychologists typically diagnose individuals in accordance with a series of categories defined under the major areas of classification outlined in *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* of the APA. However, researchers are typically more concerned with identifying the intensity, degree, or seriousness of disorder observed. The basic question is simply, "Does or does not this particular individual show sufficient signs of disorder to suggest that he/she should be receiving treatment?" Individuals are usually assessed as to whether they exhibit mild, severe, or incapacitating levels of mental disorder. All such individuals would be considered "cases", but only those in the incapacitated category would usually be considered disturbed enough to require hospitalization. The proportion of individuals in this population is

always relatively small. Most individuals needing treatment are never hospitalized in a psychiatric facility, nor do they ever see mental health professionals.¹⁸ In a study carried out in the United States, it was noted that approximately one of every seven individuals will, at some point, see a mental health professional. One of every four individuals will indicate feeling at one time or another that psychiatric help is needed.¹⁹

In his book *Mental Health in Ontario*, Hanly notes that psychosis – a level of disorder that generally requires hospitalization – is a relatively uncommon condition, representing less than 16 per cent of significantly disabling mental illnesses. The remaining 84 per cent of such illnesses are generally referred to as "psychoneuroses".²⁰

How does one identify a mentally disordered individual? In a clinical situation, an interviewer would carry out a systematic inquiry into the symptoms which the patient has reported having recently. Symptoms of mental disorder include:

- somatic symptoms (e.g., headaches, constipation)
- fatigue
- sleep disturbance
- irritability
- lack of concentration
- depression
- anxiety
- phobias
- obsessions and compulsions
- sense of depersonalization²¹

Of course, the number of symptoms, as well as their intensity and persistence, are of considerable importance in helping the interviewer make a judgment. In addition, the interviewer would carefully observe the subject and attempt to identify behavioural cues or abnormalities that would suggest a state of mental disorder. The cues include:

- slow speech patterns and lack of spontaneity
- suspicious or defensive manner
- histrionics, tendency to exaggerate
- depressed manner
- obvious anxiety, agitation, tension
- inappropriate elation, or euphoria
- flattened or incongruous expression of affect
- depressive thought content
- excessive concern with bodily functions²²

Again, these cues are rated as to the frequency and intensity during the interview.

The content of the interview itself will usually consist of questions about family, employment, social and

illness histories, current status, and recent events or changes in these areas. To carry out such assessments obviously requires a fairly significant amount of time as well as the services of a highly trained, experienced interviewer.

For research purposes, it has obviously been necessary to develop a quick, inexpensive, and reasonably accurate screening procedure. Essentially, this means taking some standard questions that should be asked in an interview and translating them into a questionnaire format, which can then be self-administered or administered by an interviewer who is not a mental-health professional. While no questionnaire will be as accurate as the person-to-person contact with a professional, researchers have found that as long as they are dealing with large numbers of subjects, the misclassification of a few individuals does not significantly distort the research findings. A number of assessment techniques are available to the researcher today. The length of test (longer tests are often more accurate) and the degree of structure involved (researchers using highly trained or professional interviewers generally use less structured assessment devices) must be selected to fit the demands of the particular research project.

For this project, a questionnaire developed by Dr. D. P. Goldberg and researched in many different projects in England, the United States, and Canada was chosen. Documentation as to its accuracy and validity, relative to that of other existing tests, is readily available.²³

This is a 30-item test. Here is a sample item, and the standard response categories from which the respondent selects:

Have you recently lost much sleep over worry?
(circle one)

- not at all
- no more than usual
- rather more than usual
- much more than usual

A number of studies have been carried out to assess the reliability and validity of this questionnaire. To cite the results of one study, the test-retest reliability was 0.77 and the split-half reliability was 0.92. The validity coefficient was 0.80, using the ratings of a psychiatrist trained in the use of a structured interview format. The overall misclassification rate was 11 per cent; 91.4 per cent of those individuals identified in the interviews as mentally disordered were identified as such using the questionnaire. In other words, 8.6 per cent of the "cases" were missed. With respect to the non-cases, 87 per cent were correctly classified – that is, 13 per cent of the "normals" were classified as mentally disordered.

These figures indicate that the Goldberg questionnaire is superior to other questionnaires that would have been of appropriate length for this project. Of course, some questionnaires provide data that is comparable and in some cases somewhat better than the 30-item

Goldberg. However, these are much too long to be useful in a field setting. These other questionnaires include a 60-item Goldberg, the Fouldes' 366-point Symptom-sign Inventory, and Saslow's 447-point Screening Test.²⁴

The Interview Process

In this chapter, the techniques for selecting interview subjects and conducting the interviews will be discussed.

Sampling Issues

No one has yet discovered a methodology that is beyond criticism for the selection – at a reasonable cost – of a random sample of mentally disordered adults who are not hospitalized. It is probably fair to say that standard sampling procedures that are likely to please research technicians are also likely to horrify clinicians who are aware of the number and type of mentally disordered individuals most likely to be missed in the usual sampling procedures. It is important to consider some of these types of individuals who have been sought out for interviews for this project.

First, some individuals exhibit symptoms of mental disorder but are, none the less, able to function reasonably effectively in society. That is, they can maintain a stable home life and/or hold down an excellent job. These are the easiest-to-reach individuals. While their scores on a mental health questionnaire would indicate some mental disorder, they may show few signs of significant maladjustment or unhappiness in their everyday life. Some researchers feel that the mere presence of symptoms of this order is not enough to assess the mental health of an individual. They argue that an individual can, at the same time, exhibit signs of superb adjustment in certain areas of life and exhibit symptoms of disorder in other aspects of life. Total mental health is then considered to be a balance between an individual's "pluses and minuses", rather than simply a reflection of the "minuses" alone.¹

In this study, there has been no attempt to enter into this additional complication of assessing mental disorder. Nevertheless, the thrust of the project is such that if a bias in sampling does occur, it should surely be towards the "poorly adjusted" mentally disordered, rather than towards the "better adjusted" end of the scale.

Second, many individuals have been mentally disordered for a long period of time and, while not seriously disturbed, have gradually been forced to adjust to a

deteriorating life-style of transiency, unemployment, and ill health.

It has been pointed out by other researchers that this is a very important group of individuals, since they truly constitute the fringe of society.² Particularly from the standpoint of involvement in violence and attitude toward violence, it is important that this group not be missed for this particular project. Yet these are precisely the individuals who often live by themselves, have no home, or never return home except to sleep for a few hours at night. This group, in fact, epitomizes the hard-to-find interviewee who represents that 20 per cent of the population on which interviewers often spend 80 per cent of their time.

Third, when an individual exhibits symptoms of anxiety or depression, irritability or confusion – or any or all combinations of these – he/she is very likely to ignore or reject pleas to participate in a research project. Also, it must be recognized that many mentally disordered individuals are simply too embarrassed to want to discuss such matters with strangers.³

When individuals such as these live with someone else, it is exceedingly difficult for an interviewer to make contact with them, let alone know if they are at home. To get cooperation from this group of individuals requires either a reference through a friend or a two-phase contact. A brief preliminary contact is needed to give the interviewer an opportunity to become acquainted with the subject and break down suspicions; this is then followed at a later date by the actual interview.

Sampling Bias

Of course, every population surveyed will have a certain proportion of "hard-to-find" or "refused-to-cooperate" people. But, to the degree that such individuals are missing from a sample, the data collected on that population is going to be marginally unrepresentative. In most surveys, non-participants usually represent a small proportion of any sample of individuals. There are statistical and methodological techniques to adjust for the error introduced by such cases.⁴

In this project, it was thought that a major rather than

a minor proportion of the population would be likely to fall into the hard-to-find category. Special care had to be taken so that the bulk of the sample was not made up of the well-adjusted mentally disordered individuals. Such individuals could be expected to appear on a voters' list (one common way of drawing samples) or to live and be available in a randomly pre-selected living space (another common way of drawing samples).⁵

During a pre-test, a random selection of living units within a random selection of four census tracts in Toronto were identified. It quickly became apparent that it was not economically feasible to screen an entire family in an attempt to identify the occasional individual who was mentally disordered and cooperative. Priorities were carefully assessed and it was decided that, if a bias were to be introjected into the sampling process, it should definitely not be in the direction of including the amenable mentally disordered person who was at home when the interviewer called, who answered the door, and who was cooperative. As a matter of judgment then, the sample selection procedures were specifically designed to ensure an adequate representation of those mentally disordered individuals who were transients, social misfits, or otherwise on the fringes of society.

In fact, it is well known that a higher incidence of mental disorder is found among the lower socio-economic classes.⁶ As could be expected then, any reasonably efficient identification technique for finding mentally disordered people to interview will necessarily be heavily weighted toward individuals from the poorer sections of the community.

Two-Phase Identification

The interview process involved two phases – a screening phase and an interview phase.

The screening phase was designed to quickly identify individuals who might qualify for the project and to prepare them for a longer interview at a subsequent date.

The Screening Process

The screening interview (Appendix B) took only a few minutes to complete. It consisted of a very short introduction, followed by a question asking whether or not the interviewee has recently seen a disturbing, violent event in the media. If the interviewee recalled such an event, the interviewer then asked a few short yes-or-no questions about the interviewee's health. If the interviewee reported at least two symptoms that could possibly be indicators of mental disorder, he/she was asked to participate in a longer interview session.

If the interviewee did not recall having seen a disturbing, violent event in the media, then the interviewer expressed thanks for the time and proceeded immediately to the next most convenient individual. Since interviewers often worked in crowded streets and shopping centres, they would frequently speak with as

many as 15 to 30 people an hour. During the course of the project, approximately 9,500 people were approached in this manner.

Of this number, 657 qualified in the screening interview by reporting that they had recalled a violent media event and by giving evidence, on at least two questions, of possible mental disorder. Of these, 72 per cent or 482 individuals, were interviewed. Those who were not interviewed included people who were persistently inebriated, confused, uncooperative, or mentally retarded. Many individuals simply gave the interviewer a false address or telephone number so they could not be contacted at a later date. Of the 482 interviews recorded, seven proved to be useless due to interviewer error, so the actual number included in the analysis was 475.

Screening Techniques

Three techniques of identifying potential subjects were used. First, screening interviews were carried out in public places. Of those 475 individuals who eventually completed the longer interview, 50 per cent were first approached by the screening interviewer in a shopping centre or on a downtown parking lot. Twenty-five per cent were approached directly on one of the major downtown streets of Toronto.

A second technique was to carry out interviews on a door-to-door basis. This accounted for approximately 15 per cent of the total number of respondents.

The third technique involved the use of referrals from other individuals. That is, for approximately 10 per cent of the cases, interviews were carried out because the interviewer was specifically directed to an individual by someone who felt that, in terms of symptomology, the person in question would be "what the interviewer was looking for".

The Pre-Testing Process

The objective of the screening interview was to reach a level of approximately 50 per cent accuracy in predicting mental disorder. That is, it was desired that no more than 50 per cent of those individuals who qualified for the long interview should actually qualify as being mentally disordered when subjected to the 30-item Goldberg scale.

Also, as a necessary efficiency criterion to ensure that efforts would be balanced against resources, a screening location qualified only if the interviewers could make an appointment with one qualified respondent per hour.

The project manager did not set quotas for each interviewer; rather, he/she monitored information concerning contacts on the basis of age and sex in such a way that males and females were approached equally and that approximately 50 per cent of those in the sample were between the ages of 18 and 35 and the other 50 per cent were between 35 and 65.

The Long Interview

The second phase of the interview process involved actually going to each individual's home to carry out the hour-long interview. The content of the interview covered demographic data, media preferences and use rates, a scale to measure mental disorder, and scales to measure the aforementioned effects of violence, such as tolerance, anxiety, aggressiveness, defensiveness, and misperceptions.

A number of the interviewers wished to participate anonymously in the process, so arrangements were made to meet them either at the researcher's downtown office or in a restaurant or library. These individuals constituted no more than 5 per cent of the total interview population.

Methodological Controls

It will be recalled that the intent of the screening interview was to be correct in identifying mental disorder only 50 per cent of the time. One reason for doing this was to ensure that when an interviewer carried out the long interview, he/she would not know whether the interviewee was actually in the mentally disordered group or the comparison group. Such blind interviewing is always a recommended technique to ensure minimal interviewer bias in the data.

The second reason for the 50 – 50 screening objective was to generate a realistic comparison group for the mentally disordered group. That is, just any group of individuals who are not mentally disordered would hardly serve as a comparison group – especially since the sample of the mentally disordered would have to include transients and other fringe members of society. By using precisely the same screening method for both the comparison group and the mentally disordered group, differences between the two groups on dimensions other than mental disorder were minimized.

Interviewer Controls

Each day those individuals conducting screening interviews gave names, addresses, and telephone numbers of qualified respondents to the project manager. The project manager then distributed these names to interviewers who carried out the longer interviews. Most of the screening interviewers who were reasonably successful were allowed to do some of the longer interviews. In all cases, a quality control check on 10 per cent of all long interviews completed was performed by the project manager and the research director.

Interview Administration

The questionnaire was designed so that it could be either self-administered or administered by the interviewer. In practice, interviewers administered the interview (that is, each item and the choices were read to the respondent) up to the beginning of the last 30 questions, which constituted the Goldberg questionnaire. The interviewer then told the respondent, "I have

been reading all the questions to you so far; now you can fill out these last few by yourself, if you like." If the respondent had difficulty in reading, or was too disturbed or otherwise incapacitated, the interviewer administered the last 30 items also.

The questionnaire was occasionally self-administered, with the guidance of the interviewer. When the respondent was articulate, intelligent, and involved, the interviewers found that reading the items and choices was a slow and irritating experience for all parties concerned. In these cases, the respondent completed the questionnaire in the presence of the interviewer.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in the long interview (Appendix C) contains 138 questions. Many of the individual items are combined to form scales of concepts discussed in previous chapters – such as aggressive attitudes or feelings of anxiety or defensiveness. The specific items which have been so combined, and the statistical decisions involved in this process, are discussed in detail in the following chapters.

In keeping with the standards of professional practice and the laws of copyright, the last three pages of the questionnaire are not included in Appendix C, since they contain the 30 Goldberg items to assess mental disorder.

Ethical Considerations

To a certain extent, the ethical constraints under which this project operated precluded the collection of data from a number of potentially interesting cases. Interviewers doing both the screening and the long interviews were instructed to immediately terminate an interview if there was any indication of significant resistance, increasing confusion, or any other indications that the interviewee felt pressured.

In projects dealing with the identification of the mentally disordered, interviewers inevitably encounter cases which they feel need immediate professional attention. In the few cases where this did occur, the research director personally contacted the individuals by telephone in all but two cases. Information about the assistance available through social service agencies or other sources was volunteered as it seemed appropriate.

Chapter Five

Describing the Interviewees

In this chapter, those findings from the research that describe the personal characteristics of the interviewees will be reported. Where there are differences between the characteristics of the mentally disordered group and the comparison group, these will be discussed.

In making comparisons between any combinations of numbers, the question always arises as to when differences in magnitude are worth discussing. For example, if in this study the scores on the Goldberg scale indicated that 45 per cent of the female population and 50 per cent of the male population are mentally disordered, is this 5 per cent difference worth noting?

Is it fair to say, based upon a difference of 5 per cent, that males show more evidence of mental disorder than females? Indeed, if the project were done again (using the same sample selection procedure and the same questionnaire), should we expect the same finding from our new group of respondents?

The answers to such questions are determined by means of common statistical analyses. Such analyses examine the relative distribution of scores on a mental-health scale for both males and females and take these distributions into account, according to systematic rules of comparison, in making judgments about the meaningfulness or significance of such a percentage difference.

In such analyses, it is not just the size of the difference between the two percentage points that is taken into consideration; the actual spread or distribution of every individual's score in each group is also compared. There are many introductory books in statistical analysis that explain the process of such comparisons in technical detail.¹

For purposes of this report, suffice it to say that the data discussed has been subjected to various forms of statistical analysis whenever appropriate. When differences between figures are discussed, it should be understood that the differences warrant discussion because analyses have shown the differences to be statistically significant.

When the difference between two figures is significant, this means that the observed difference is so large that it would be expected to occur purely by accident

only five times, or less, out of 100. That is, one can be exceedingly confident that the difference is genuine—that the difference observed in the small sample of respondents is the same as that existing in the population from which they were drawn.

Age

The percentage of individuals falling into each category for the total sample studied appears in Exhibit 1. It can be seen that there is a significant difference between the disordered and comparison groups with respect to the distribution of individuals in different age categories. In the disordered group, 68.6 per cent are under 35; in the comparison group only 57.1 per cent are under 35.

According to other field studies on mental disorder, there is no systematic relationship between age and frequency of disorder. Some studies find the highest level of disorder in the older age groups, whereas others find just the reverse.²

Considering the overall age distribution, notice that a high proportion of the respondents are under 25. All the interviewers noted that younger people were more interested in the topic being studied and were also very open in discussing their symptoms with the interviewers.

Exhibit 1

Mental Disorder and Age

Age	Comparison group	Mental disorder
18–24 years	25.8%	40.5%
25–34 years	31.3	28.1
35–44 years	11.9	8.8
45–54 years	15.5	17.1
55–64 years	11.9	4.1
65 years and over	3.6	1.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Sex

More females (59.8 per cent) than males (40.2 per cent) were interviewed. Although equal numbers of males and females were approached during the screening interviews, the interviewers reported that the females were generally more cooperative, both in discussing their symptoms and their views on violence, and in their willingness to make an appointment to be interviewed at length.

The finding that women are less reticent than men in discussing their problems has been noted by other researchers.³ The higher incidence of women is not, of course, an indication that more women than men are mentally disordered. In fact, although women were much less reluctant to talk to the interviewers, the proportion of disordered females is not significantly greater than the proportion of disordered males in the total sample.

Marital Status

The data on marital status, presented in Exhibit 2, shows that there is a substantial proportion of single, divorced, and separated individuals among the interviewees. This is not surprising since a significant proportion of the sample are young; one would naturally expect many of them to be unmarried.

Those individuals who indicated that they were single were asked if they went out on dates with members of the opposite sex. About 35 per cent indicated either that they were not interested in such activities or that they only went out on dates very seldom. About 30 per cent dated different people and about 34 per cent dated the same person regularly. It is, presumably, only this latter group of "singles" who maintain anything approaching a stable relationship with a member of the opposite sex.

As Exhibit 2 also indicates, the females are significantly more likely to be married than are the males.

Exhibit 2

Sex and Marital Status

Marital status	Female	Male
Married	47.7%	33.5%
Divorced/widowed	11.0	6.8
Separated	8.5	6.8
Single	32.8	52.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Education

Exhibit 3 indicates that the sample includes a large proportion of individuals who represent the extremes of education. That is, over 30 per cent of the sample

population has not graduated from high school. This is particularly striking because of the high proportion of individuals in the sample who are under the age of 25. Usually one would expect to find this high proportion of individuals not completing high school only in a much older age group.

At the other end of the continuum, however, notice that approximately the same proportion of individuals have either had some college experience or graduated from college. This distribution is a function of two factors. First, low levels of education tend to be related to unemployment, which, in turn, is related to mental disorder. Since mentally disordered individuals are selectively being screened from the population, it is not surprising that a high proportion of individuals fall into the low education category. At the other extreme, interviewers found that among the interviewees contacted, those who had had some college education were more likely than any other group to express an interest in the project and indicate a willingness to participate further.

Exhibit 3

Education

Grade school	9.4%
Some high school	24.0
High school	19.1
Some college	22.9
Post high school	4.7
Community college	3.8
University	8.1
Some post-graduate	4.0
Post-graduate	4.0
Total	100.0%

Race

Exhibit 4 indicates that, with respect to race, there is a preponderance of Caucasian respondents. This distribution definitely does not represent the relative proportion of mental disorder in the various racial groups located in Toronto. Rather, it reflects the fact that the Goldberg questionnaire has been developed and validated on an English-speaking population.⁴

The questionnaire contains a number of colloquial concepts (e.g., "Have you recently found everything getting on top of you?") which are open to questionable interpretations by individuals from other cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, while data was not collected on such dimensions as dominant language, or country of birth, there is clearly and intentionally an under-representation of the various large ethnic groups in Toronto (e.g., Portuguese, Greeks, Italians). The

reasons for avoiding anyone in these groups who could not speak and understand English fluently is, once again, because of the questionable interpretation that would have to be made of the scores on the Goldberg questionnaire.

Exhibit 4

Race

Asiatic	2.3%
Negro	4.4
Caucasian	90.3
East Indian	1.1
Mixed, or refused	1.9
Total	100.0%

Housing

The question on housing was particularly included to ensure the identification of a proportion of the population who might be considered as transients. Various response categories also are meant to express a continuum representing high-quality to low-quality housing.

As Exhibit 5 indicates, this population is reasonably stable, with only 12 per cent living in either a rooming house or "no particular place at all".

Exhibit 5

Housing

Detached house	31.4%
Duplex	15.0
Apartment	41.7
Rooming house	8.5
Other	3.4
Total	100.0%

Income

There is little to note on income other than emphasizing that the average level is low, relative to other available statistics on the income of Toronto residents.³ On Exhibit 6, note that over 60 per cent of the total sample earns \$8,000 or less.

Income and Disorder

As Exhibit 6 also indicates, there is a significant relationship between mental disorder and personal

income. Those with higher incomes are less likely to indicate symptoms of disorder. In the comparison group, 37.5 per cent earn over \$8,000, compared with only 27.3 per cent of those in the disordered group.

This finding is congruent with the outcomes of other researchers.⁶ Mental disorder implies, after all, a form of maladjustment which would probably make it difficult to attain the higher levels of income within one's occupational level, and might also make it difficult to find and hold a job.

Exhibit 6

Mental Disorder and Level of Income

Amount earned during the past year	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Up to \$4,000	35.8%	49.8%
\$4,001-\$8,000	26.7	22.9
\$8,001-\$14,000	22.9	18.0
\$14,000 and over	14.6	9.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Employment Status

Almost 40 per cent of the sample, as Exhibit 7 shows, were employed at the time the study was conducted. The unemployment rate among those looking for full-time work was approximately 10 per cent.

For all practical purposes, it is reasonable to consider those individuals who are unemployed and looking for part-time work, or employed only part-time, as not being seriously committed to the labour force.

Of those who are not working and are not looking for full-time work, many are homemakers. (Exhibit 8). This is to be expected, since over half of the population consists of women and about one-third of the population is at student age - less than 25 years old. Eleven per cent of the interviewees reported being ill or disabled. While this figure is high, it is to be expected, since half of the sample was selected for the study precisely because they exhibited symptoms of mental disorder.

Exhibit 7

Employment Status at the Time of the Interview

Employed full-time	39.6%
Employed part-time	17.2
Unemployed, looking for full-time work	10.4
Unemployed, looking for part-time work	5.0
Not working and not looking for work	27.8
Total	100.0%

Exhibit 8*Sex and Employment Status*

Employment status at the time of the interview	Female	Male
Currently employed	31.5%	51.3%
Unemployed, seeking work	11.0	9.6
Unemployed, not seeking work	57.5	39.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Employment and Mental Disorder

According to Exhibit 9, significantly more of the comparison group than of the disordered group were employed at the time of the interview. Approximately the same percentage of individuals in both groups were unemployed and not seeking work. The disordered group had twice as many individuals as the comparison group who were unemployed but seeking work.

Exhibit 9*Mental Disorder and Employment Status*

Employment status at the time of the interview	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Currently employed	44.2%	34.0%
Unemployed, seeking work	6.8	14.8
Unemployed, not seeking work	49.0	51.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Unemployment History and Disorder

Exhibit 10 indicates that the two groups also differ significantly with respect to the number of weeks during the past 12 months when they have been out of work. This question was asked only of those individuals who were, at the time of the interview, either employed or actively seeking work. In other words, all of these individuals were an active part of the labour force.

The majority of the comparison group respondents were out of work for less than one week during the past 12 months, while only 34.1 per cent of the disordered group fell into this category.

In contrast, 18.6 per cent of the comparison group, but 36.2 per cent of the disordered group were out of work during the past 12 months for a period of nine weeks or longer. The differences emphasize, once again, the social maladjustment that is an implied characteristic of those individuals exhibiting symptoms of mental disorder.⁷

Exhibit 10*Mental Disorder and Period of Unemployment*

During the past year, how long have you been unemployed and seeking work?	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Less than 1 week	52.6%	34.1%
1-3 weeks	14.4	16.5
4-8 weeks	14.4	13.2
9-25 weeks	12.4	20.8
Over 25 weeks	6.2	15.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Occupation

In examining the occupations of this sample, as displayed in Exhibit 11, the high proportion of professionals and technicians is readily noted. Recall that a significant proportion of this group has a relatively high level of education, which would be expected to be reflected in socio-economic status of occupations.

The other major groupings include secretarial, sales, service workers, and labourers. For the most part, these positions can be attained without benefit of a high school diploma – which over 30 per cent of this sample does not have.

Those individuals who were not employed at the time of the survey were asked what their last occupation had been. Three categories stand out. Of those currently unemployed, 22 per cent had last worked as labourers; ex-secretaries accounted for 14 per cent; and those who had been professionals or technicians accounted for 15 per cent.

There were no significant differences between the disordered group and the comparison group with respect to their occupations.

Exhibit 11*Occupation at the Time of the Interview*

Professional/Technical	22.9%
Managers	7.9
Secretarial (senior)	7.1
Secretarial (clerical)	15.4
Sales	12.0
Craftsmen	6.4
Operatives	5.6
Service workers	11.3
Labourers	8.6
Household workers	2.6
Total	100.0%

Health

All respondents were asked if, during the last year or so, they had consulted someone about their physical health, mental health, or family problems.

To the question about physical health, 121 or 25.5 per cent of the 475 respondents reported that they had neither consulted a professional concerning their physical health during the past year, nor did they feel they should have done so.

Fully 66.9 per cent of the respondents indicated that they actually had seen a doctor about their physical health during the past year, and 7.6 per cent reported that, while they did not actually see a doctor, they should have done so.

There were no significant differences between the mentally disordered group and the comparison group in response to this question concerning physical health.

Mental Health

Respondents were also asked if, during the last year, for reasons of mental health, they had seen a psychiatrist or psychologist. Exhibit 12 indicates that, as expected, a significantly greater proportion of the mentally disordered than the comparison group reported that they had either seen a mental-health professional or felt that they should have. Note that, nevertheless, fully 65.7 per cent of the mentally disordered population reported that they neither saw a psychologist or psychiatrist during the past year, nor did they feel that they should have.

Exhibit 12

Mental Disorder and Seeking Mental Health Assistance

Sought help in past year from mental health professional	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Yes, I should have	5.6%	14.2%
Yes, I actually did	7.9	20.1
No	86.5	65.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

These data simply support what many other researchers have found – that is, people are embarrassed to admit that they have mental-health problems. Furthermore, by far the greatest majority of individuals with mental-health problems never seek assistance from a mental-health professional.⁸

For the purposes of this project, respondents are considered either “mentally disordered” or “not mentally disordered” (comparison group). Within the mentally disordered group, there are obviously varying levels of severity of disorder. Researchers have noted that the Goldberg questionnaire used for this project to identify mentally disordered respondents can also be

used to give some measure of severity of disorder.⁹ That is to say, the more symptoms the respondent indicates that he/she has, the more severe the level of disorder is usually judged to be by a clinical psychiatrist or psychologist.

The range of scores on the Goldberg scale is zero to 30. Considerable research has demonstrated that scores of four or less on this questionnaire indicate that the respondent does not exhibit any significant symptoms of mental disorder.¹⁰ A score of five or more places the individual in the mentally disordered category. This distinction – in medical terms, discriminating the “cases” from the “non-cases” – is useful in simply indicating who does and who does not need treatment. There is less agreement among clinicians as to what precise score on the Goldberg questionnaire discriminates the severely disordered from the moderately or mildly disordered. However, the data produced by previous researchers suggests that, as a rough guideline, scores of 13 and above constitute severe levels of disorder.

At the other end of the scale, it is possible to examine the comparison group in terms of those who have almost total absence of any symptoms whatever and those who exhibit a few symptoms, but obviously not enough to constitute a significant state of mental disorder.

Exhibit 13 indicates the number of individuals at either extreme. Of those in the comparison group – with scores of four or less – over one-half have either no symptoms or only one symptom. Among those in the disordered group – scores of five or above – about one-third could be considered to be severely disordered.

Exhibit 13

Severity of Mental Disorder

No disorder (1 or fewer symptoms)	31.8%
Clinically insignificant disorder (2-4 symptoms)	21.9
Moderate disorder (5-12 symptoms)	30.1
Severe disorder (13 or more symptoms)	16.2
Total	100.0%

Family Problems

All respondents were asked if, during the past year, they had seen someone such as a social worker or a minister about the problems they were having with their family. Mentally disordered individuals often have difficulties in family adjustment.¹¹ As Exhibit 14 indicates, the mentally disordered group did, in fact, report seeking assistance for family problems significantly more frequently than did those in the comparison group.

Exhibit 14

Mental Disorder and Seeking Assistance for Family Problems

Sought help in past
year for family
problems

	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Yes, I should have	4.8%	8.2%
Yes, I actually did	9.1	15.5
No	86.1	76.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Chapter Six

Media Use

All respondents were asked questions about how much time, or how frequently, they exposed themselves to television, movies (at movie theatres), newspapers, magazines, and radio. They were also asked which types of presentations or programs they most preferred, or most frequently attended, in these media. The purpose of this aspect of the project was to investigate differences in the media consumption patterns of the mentally disordered and the comparison groups.

Television

The respondents were asked to indicate how many hours a day they watched television and to identify the shows which they watched regularly during the past six months.

As Exhibit 15 indicates, over 85 per cent of the respondents watched some television every day. Approximately 70 per cent watched television between one and four hours per day, and almost 15 per cent watched for four hours a day or more.

The amount of television watched relates significantly to the respondent's level of education. Heavy viewers of television – those who watch for four hours a day or more – are, as Exhibit 16 indicates, likely to be those who have not graduated from high school.

Exhibit 15

Hours of Television Watched Per Day

Never	13.0%
1–2 hours	50.7
3–4 hours	21.7
4–5 hours	7.6
Total	100.0%

Types of Viewers

In what ways are heavy viewers – those who watch television for four hours a day or more – different from light viewers – those who watch two hours a day or less? Or, to phrase the question in a slightly different way, what personal information about someone would prove useful in attempting to predict whether or not that individual was a heavy or light viewer of television? And, if the type of information that would be useful in making such a prediction were known, how much weight or importance should be given to one piece of information as against another piece of information?

Exhibit 16

Television Viewing and Educational Level

Educational level	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Some high school or less	20.0%	24.9%	45.1%	50.0%	63.6%
Completed high school	21.7	23.2	29.4	22.2	18.2
Some college	33.3	32.1	14.7	25.0	15.2
Completed college or university	25.0	19.8	10.8	2.8	3.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The statistical technique known as “discriminant analysis” is used to answer such questions. In this study, the following variables were entered into an analysis in order to determine what combinations of information would prove to be useful in discriminating between high and low viewers:

- education level
- age
- income
- quality of housing
- sex
- employment status
- marital status
- mental disorder

The procedure essentially involves the application of step-wise linear regression analyses. These statistically assess each of the above-mentioned predictor variables with respect to its relevance or usefulness in discrimination between two groups.

The particular strength of this form of analysis is that the relationship between a predictor variable (e.g., level of education) and a criterion variable (e.g., being a heavy or light viewer) can be assessed while holding constant, or partialling out, the impact of other related predictor variables. For instance, among a group of individuals of varying ages, it might be found that the younger individuals are more likely than the older ones to be heavy viewers. Now, if one wanted to assess the relationship between the level of mental disorder exhibited by individuals in this group and their viewing habits, it would be important to know the extent to which the observed relationship between disorder and viewing was due to the relationship of age and viewing. After all, what if more young people than old people happen to be in the mentally disordered group? The strength of the relationship between mental disorder and viewing habits, in this group, could not be known until the extent to which the influence of age on the relationship was assessed and “subtracted from” the observed relationship between mental disorder and viewing patterns.

The Predictors

Exhibit 17 contains the following essential information about the discriminant analysis:

- the variables entered into the analysis
- the combination of variables which prove useful – statistically significant – in discriminating between heavy and light television viewers
- the relative weights of the predictor variables

The relative weights associated with each variable indicate that, for this combination of variables, the larger the weight the more important – or more useful – the variable is in predicting whether or not an individual is a heavy or light television viewer.

Basically, those who watch television for four hours a day or more are likely to differ from those who watch television for two hours a day or less by being:

- poorly, rather than well educated
- residents of apartment houses or rooming houses, rather than detached houses or duplexes
- unemployed rather than employed
- single or separated rather than married
- in the mentally disordered, rather than the comparison, group

Exhibit 17

Discriminant Analysis: Television Viewing

Variables entered into the analysis	Standard discriminant function coefficients*
Education	-0.62
Age	
Income	
Housing	0.33
Sex	
Employment status	0.23
Marital status	-0.34
Mental disorder	0.40

* The larger the coefficient, the more important the variable in the prediction equation.

Programs Viewed

All respondents were asked the names of the programs they had viewed regularly during the past six months on television. No lists of suggested programs were shown to them, nor did the interviewers suggest either categories or names of popular programs.

Types of programs which respondents reported viewing regularly were coded into the 12 categories outlined in Exhibit 18. Primary interest lay only in what types of programs an individual watched. Thus, if someone named three talk shows, then it would simply be noted that the individual watched one or more talk shows. In categories other than crime dramas, comedies, and soap operas, respondents seldom mentioned more than one example of the same category of program. For these three categories, however, the actual number of programs mentioned was counted. Previous researchers had either demonstrated or

suggested that, in these categories, the number of programs watched may be related to certain aspects of mental stability or attitudes that might have implications for the purpose of this study.¹

It should be emphasized that these data are not necessarily representative of the popularity or frequency with which various categories of programs are watched among the general population. The respondents knew that the study concerned the relationship between media use and violence. This may well have influenced

their answers about the amount of television they watch, as well as about the types of programs they watch regularly. The primary objective in collecting this type of data, of course, was to attempt to identify differences between the mentally disordered and the comparison groups.

As Exhibit 19 indicates, there is a significant relationship between mental disorder and number of soap operas an individual reports watching. No such significant relationship exists, however, with respect to the number of crime dramas or comedies mentioned. Some researchers have noted that there is so much violence on television that merely being a heavy viewer of television automatically means being a heavy viewer of violence.² Exhibit 20 indicates that there is quite clearly a significant relationship between the amount of television watched and the number of crime dramas viewed regularly.

Comedies are an equally dominant force on television. Exhibit 21 indicates that the number of comedy shows watched is also significantly related to the amount of television watched.

Exhibit 18

Type of Television Shows Mentioned

Comedies (<i>Mary Tyler Moore, Bob Newhart</i>)	22.0%
Crime dramas (<i>Kojak, Starsky and Hutch</i>)	18.6
News	10.3
Soap operas (<i>The Edge of Night, Mary Hartman</i>)	10.2
Movies and entertainment specials	8.2
Historical dramas (<i>The Waltons, Masterpiece Theatre</i>)	7.6
Sports	5.8
Educational or information specials (<i>Wild Kingdom, The Ascent of Man</i>)	5.6
Talk Shows (<i>Front Page Challenge, Johnny Carson</i>)	4.0
Musical and variety programs (<i>Sonny and Cher, Bobby Vinton</i>)	4.0
Game shows	3.6
Continuous dramas (<i>Saga, Upstairs, Downstairs, Rich Man, Poor Man</i>)	.1
Total	100.0%

Exhibit 19

Mental Disorders and Soap Operas

Number of soap operas watched	Comparison group	Mental disorder
High	83.5%	75.0%
Medium	9.8	17.3
Low	6.7	7.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 20

Hours of Television Viewing and Crime Dramas Mentioned

Hours of television viewing per day	No crime drama	1 crime drama	2 crime dramas	3 crime dramas	4 crime dramas	5 crime dramas	6 crime dramas
Under 1 hour	19.1%	3.6%	1.8%	4.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
1-2 hours	50.2	59.5	55.4	37.5	28.6	0.0	0.0
3-4 hours	17.7	22.6	21.4	41.7	57.1	66.7	100.0
4-5 hours	7.2	8.3	8.9	4.2	0.0	33.3	0.0
6 hours or more	5.8	6.0	12.5	12.4	14.3	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 21*Hours of Television Viewing and Comedies Mentioned*

Hours of television viewing per day	No comedies	1 comedy	2 comedies	3 comedies	4 comedies
Under 1 hour	20.7%	4.1%	1.5%	3.2%	5.9%
1-2 hours	49.0	45.4	67.7	58.1	29.4
3-4 hours	19.2	28.9	18.5	22.6	29.4
4-5 hours	5.7	11.3	4.6	16.1	11.8
6 hours or more	5.4	10.3	7.7	0.0	23.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Movies

Respondents were asked how often they went to movie theatres and what sort of movies they liked to see the most. The great majority of the population, as Exhibit 22 indicates, go to only five movies or less per year.

Exhibit 22*Frequency of Movie Theatre Attendance*

Never	18.3%
1- 5 per year	43.7
6-12 per year	20.8
2- 5 per month	13.6
6 per month or more	3.6
Total	100.0%

Television versus Movie Attendance

There is a statistically significant relationship between the frequency of attendance at the movie theatres and the number of hours of television watched per day. As Exhibit 23 indicates, the more movies that are attended, the less television is watched. At the extremes, 80 per cent of those who attend six or more movies per month watch television for only two hours per day or less. By the same token, 80 per cent of those who watch television for six hours per day or more, attend five or fewer movies per year.

Type of Theatre Patrons

A discriminant analysis was carried out on those individuals who attended movie theatres frequently – twice or more per month – and those who attended infrequently – five times per year or less. As in the case of the analysis on the television viewers, the purpose of this approach is to identify the pattern of characteristics that discriminates between frequent and infrequent users of the movie medium.

Exhibit 23*Frequency of Television Viewing and Movie Theatre Attendance*

Hours of television viewing per day	Never attend movies	1-5 movies per year	6-12 movies per year	2-5 movies per month	6 or more movies per month
Never	7.0%	12.3%	13.4%	17.5%	29.4%
1-2 hours	44.2	47.5	63.9	52.4	52.9
3-4 hours	20.9	26.5	14.4	19.0	5.9
4-5 hours	12.8	6.9	6.2	6.3	5.9
6 hours or more	15.1	6.9	2.1	4.8	5.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 24 displays the variables entered into the discriminant analysis. Those that proved useful in discriminating between frequent and infrequent attenders of movie theatres, and the relative importance of these individual variables, as indicated by the magnitude of the weight assigned to each variable, are also presented in Exhibit 24.

Those who attend the movie theatres frequently differ from those who attend infrequently in being:

- younger rather than older
- more likely to live in an apartment house or a rooming house than in a detached house or duplex
- more likely to be male than female
- more likely to be employed than unemployed
- more likely to be single or separated than married

Note that, in this analysis, mental disorder did not prove to be a useful predictor of movie attendance.

Exhibit 24

Discriminant Analysis: Frequency of Movie Attendance

Variables entered into the analysis	Standard discriminant function coefficients*
Education	
Age	0.62
Income	
Housing	-0.25
Sex	-0.25
Employment status	-0.20
Marital status	-0.41
Mental disorder	

* The larger the coefficient, the more important the variable in the prediction equation.

Movie Preferences

Respondents were asked what kind of movie they preferred. Interviewers noted that there was often a considerable discrepancy between the actual content of a theme of a movie cited and the manner in which the respondent viewed it.

For example, a respondent might say, "I like light entertainment or comedy, you know – something like one of those Clint Eastwood Westerns". Since a dominant theme in most of the Clint Eastwood Westerns is violence, it left some question as to whether the respondent really preferred violence or comedy. After the study had been under way for some time, the interviewers were requested to have the respondents

state not only the type of movies they enjoyed, but also to name one or two movies they had liked.

The types of movies which individuals indicated they preferred were grouped into the categories listed in Exhibit 25. As Exhibit 24 indicates, approximately 37 per cent of the respondents indicated that they preferred comedy or light-entertainment movies.

In those instances in which an individual cited not only the type of movie he/she preferred, but actually gave the name of one or two movies, those movies were analyzed in accordance with the type of violence, if any, they contained. For example, violence was considered to be a major theme in the movie *The Godfather*. The actual type of violence involved was categorized as being "crime violence". Violence was also considered to be a major theme in the movie *The Exorcist*, but the type of violence involved here, was categorized as "fantasy violence". Exhibit 26 indicates the various types of violence represented in the movies cited by respondents. Crime and adventure types of violence were the most frequently mentioned.

Exhibit 25

Type of Movie Mentioned

Comedy	29.6%
Musical/Disney	11.3
Biographies/Documentaries	7.7
Romance/Drama	23.2
Violence	23.2
Other/Foreign	5.0
Total	100.0%

21.3% of the respondents did not prefer a particular type of movie.

Exhibit 26

Type of Violent Theme in Movies Cited

Crime (<i>The Godfather</i>)	18.5%
Adventure (<i>Westerns</i>)	18.8
Historical (<i>Barry Lyndon, Battle of Midway</i>)	8.1
Humorous (<i>Murder by Death, The Sting</i>)	14.4
Fantasy/Horror (<i>The Exorcist, Frenzy</i>)	17.0
Vigilante (<i>Straw Dogs, Billy Jack</i>)	3.3
Disaster/Nature (<i>Earthquake, Jaws</i>)	7.4
Other (psychological issues, or mixed)	12.5
Total	100.0%

79.8% of the respondents did not state a preference.

There were no relationships between either types of movies preferred or the type of violent theme in the movies named, and the incidence of mental disorder.

Newspapers

Almost one-half of the respondents interviewed, as indicated in Exhibit 27, reported reading a newspaper regularly – that is, six times a week or more.

Exhibit 27

Frequency of Newspaper Reading

Never	4.9%
1–3 per month	9.5
1–2 per week	18.4
3–5 per week	19.1
6 or more per week	48.1
Total	100.0%

Every respondent was also asked to identify any particular section of the paper he/she preferred. As Exhibit 28 indicates, almost 20 per cent of the respondents who read newspapers had no section or sections they preferred in particular. Among those who did indicate preferences, the news sections were the most popular, followed by the family/women's sections.

Exhibit 28

Preferred Section(s) of the Newspaper

Family/Women/Health	23.1%
Comics/Horoscope/Crossword	8.8
Entertainment/Culture	15.3
Advertisements	5.0
Sports	11.1
Travel	1.7
Business/Financial	3.1
News/Editorials	31.9
Total	100.0%

22.5% of the respondents did not prefer a particular section of the newspaper.

Respondents were also asked to name the newspaper they usually read. This information is summarized in Exhibit 29. It must be emphasized that these data are in no way representative of the actual readership – on a city- or province-wide basis – of the newspapers cited.

Among the individuals interviewed, however, it is clear that *The Toronto Star* – which has every appearance of being aimed at the “average” man – is the most frequently identified newspaper.

The second most popular newspaper is *The Toronto Sun*. This is a light, easy-to-read newspaper which leans toward the use of sensational headlines and orientation toward youth. The third most popular newspaper is *The Globe and Mail*, which is oriented toward the businessman and financier. Given the low average income of the respondents, it is perhaps not surprising that the readership of this newspaper is not larger.

Many individuals named more than one newspaper as usually read. In fact, the average number of newspapers named was 1.38 (S.D. = 0.78). The distribution of responses is presented in Exhibit 30.

Exhibit 29

Name of Newspaper(s) Read

<i>The Toronto Star</i>	48.4%
<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	22.0
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	15.0
<i>The New York Times</i>	8.1
Other Canadian	3.8
Other Non-Canadian	2.7
Total	100.0%

14.5% of the respondents did not name newspapers.

Exhibit 30

Number of Different Newspapers Read

None	6.1%
1 newspaper	59.4
2 newspapers	27.4
3 newspapers	5.9
4 or more newspapers	1.2
Total	100.0%

Types of Readers

A discriminant analysis was carried out on those individuals who were frequent readers of newspapers – three or more per week – and those who were infrequent readers of newspapers – three or less per month. This analysis identifies the pattern of characteristics discriminating between frequent and infrequent readers of newspapers.

Exhibit 31 displays the variables which were entered into the discriminant analysis. The variables that

proved useful in discriminating between frequent and infrequent readers of newspapers, and the relative importance of these individual variables as indicated by the magnitude of the weight assigned to each variable, are also presented in Exhibit 31. Those who read newspapers frequently differ from those who read newspapers infrequently in being:

- older rather than younger
- employed rather than unemployed
- in the comparison group rather than in the mentally disordered group

Note that frequent use of the newspaper medium is predicted, in part, by knowing that an individual is in the comparison group, while frequent use of the television medium is predicted by knowing that the individual is in the mentally disordered group. That is, the heavy use of one medium is associated with mental disorder, while the heavy use of another medium is associated with the absence of mental disorder.

Exhibit 31

Discriminant Analysis: Newspaper Reading

Variables entered into the analysis	Standard discriminant function coefficients*
Education	
Age	0.91
Income	
Housing	
Sex	
Employment status	0.49
Marital status	
Mental disorder	-0.26

* The larger the coefficient, the more important the variable in the prediction equation.

Magazines

The data about the frequency with which magazines are read is presented in Exhibit 32. The respondents were also asked to name the magazines they usually read; these were categorized in accordance with the list which appears in Exhibit 33. The three types of magazines most frequently cited were news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Fortune*), home/fashion magazines (e.g., *Cosmopolitan*, *Good Housekeeping*) and popular fiction (e.g., *Reader's Digest*, *Redbook*).

The number of magazines mentioned by respondents was also counted. The mean average number of magazines mentioned was 2.25 (S.D. = 1.84). The

distribution of the number of magazines mentioned by the respondents is presented in Exhibit 34.

Exhibit 32

Frequency of Magazine Reading

Never read magazines	17.1%
1 magazine per month	27.5
2-3 magazines per month	25.7
4-5 magazines per month	15.6
6 or more magazines per month	14.1
Total	100.0%

Exhibit 33

Types of Magazines Mentioned

Home/Fashion (<i>McCall's</i> , <i>Cosmopolitan</i>)	22.9%
Special topic (<i>Modern Photography</i> , <i>Road & Track</i>)	15.9
Business (<i>Time</i> , <i>Fortune</i>)	22.9
Romance/Sex (<i>Playboy</i> , <i>True Romance</i>)	8.4
Popular Fiction (<i>Redbook</i> , <i>Reader's Digest</i>)	17.9
Intellectual/Educational (<i>Scientific American</i> , <i>Canadian Forum</i>)	10.4
Other (non-English, non-French)	1.6
Total	100.0%

19.4% of the respondents did not name magazines.

Exhibit 34

Number of "Usually Read" Magazines Mentioned

Named no magazines	19.6%
1 magazine	18.5
2 magazines	22.1
3 magazines	18.1
4 magazines	10.5
5 magazines or more	11.2
Total	100.0%

Magazines and Other Media Use

Exhibit 35 indicates that there is an inverse relationship between the number of magazines read and the amount of time spent in viewing television. Those who watch television for six hours a day or more tend to read no, or very few, magazines.

The relationship is somewhat different between number of magazines read and the frequency with which the respondent reports attending movies. As Exhibit 36 indicates, those who report never attending

movies are also very likely to report never reading magazines. And those who attend movies frequently are also likely to read several magazines per month.

Exhibit 35

Frequency of Television Viewing and Magazine Reading

Hours of television viewing per day	Never read magazines	1 magazine per month	2-3 magazines per month	4-5 magazines per month	6 or more magazines per month
Never	11.4%	8.6%	15.0%	15.3%	16.7%
1-2 hours	35.4	57.0	57.5	45.8	51.5
3-4 hours	27.8	19.5	20.8	27.7	12.1
4-5 hours	8.9	8.6	5.8	5.6	9.1
6 hours or more	16.5	6.3	0.9	5.6	10.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 36

Frequency of Movie Theatre Attendance and Magazine Reading

Frequency of attendance at movie theatres	Never read magazines	1 magazine per month	2-3 magazines per month	4-5 magazines per month	6 or more magazines per month
Never been	44.3%	14.0%	14.2%	9.7%	13.6%
1- 5 per year	35.4	51.0	43.3	41.7	39.4
6-12 per year	6.3	23.3	21.7	29.2	24.2
2- 5 per month	12.7	10.1	16.7	15.3	13.6
6 per month or more	1.3	1.6	4.1	4.1	9.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Type of Magazine Readers

A discriminant analysis was carried out on those individuals who read a large number of magazines per month – four or more – and those who read few magazines per month – one or less. The purpose of the analysis was to identify the pattern of characteristics discriminating between heavy and light users of the magazines medium.

Exhibit 37 displays the variables which were entered into the discriminant analysis. The variables that actually proved useful in discriminating between heavy and light magazine readers, and the relative importance of these individual variables, are also presented in Exhibit 37.

Those who read magazines frequently differ from those who read them infrequently in being:

- well rather than poorly educated

- younger rather than older
- male rather than female
- in the comparison group rather than in the mentally disordered group

Note that for both print media – newspapers and magazines – mental disorder is associated with infrequent use, whereas this relationship is reversed with respect to predicting whether an individual is a frequent or infrequent viewer of television.

Radio

As Exhibit 38 indicates, most people listen to the radio from one to two hours a day. Note that the highest-use category of five hours a day or more was recorded for 20.3 per cent of the respondents. This may appear to be a very high level of media use. However, other

Exhibit 37*Discriminant Analysis: Magazine Reading*

Variables entered into the analysis	Standard discriminant function coefficients*
Education	-0.64
Age	0.45
Income	
Housing	
Sex	-0.20
Employment status	
Marital status	
Mental disorder	0.52

* The larger the coefficient, the more important the variable in the prediction equation.

researchers have noted that the radio is used in a somewhat different fashion from most other media.³ For many people, the radio simply provides a background to their other activities. It is not, in effect, a medium likely to draw the concentrated attention that is characteristic of movies, television, or newspapers.

Exhibit 38*Frequency of Radio Listening*

Never listen to radio	6.3%
Under 1 hour per day	23.2
1-2 hours per day	31.6
3-4 hours per day	18.6
5 hours or more per day	20.3
Total	100.0%

Program Preferences

The respondents were asked to indicate the types of programs to which they listened most often. Those who cited only one type of program mentioned rock music with about the same frequency as middle-of-the-road or country music, as shown in Exhibit 39. The rest of the respondents indicated some combination of programs listened to, the most frequent being some combination of music and news.

Exhibit 39*Radio Programs Mentioned*

Rock music	23.1%
Middle of the road/Country music	20.4
Classical/Jazz	7.9
News programs	9.9
Talk shows	1.3
Music plus news	17.8
Music plus sports	2.9
Other programs	4.7
Three or more mentioned	12.0
Total	100.0%

Types of Listeners

A discriminant analysis was carried out on those individuals who were heavy users of the radio medium – three hours a day or more – and those who listened to the radio infrequently – one hour or less per day.

Exhibit 40, displays the variables which were entered into the discriminant analysis. The variables that proved useful in discriminating between frequent and infrequent radio listeners, and the relative importance of these individual variables, are also presented in Exhibit 40.

Those who are heavy users of the radio medium differ from those who are infrequent users in being:

- poorly rather than well educated
 - single or separated rather than married
-

Exhibit 40*Discriminant Analysis: Radio Listening*

Variables entered into the analysis	Standard discriminant function coefficients*
Education	0.77
Age	
Income	
Housing	
Sex	
Employment status	
Marital status	-0.69
Mental disorder	

* The larger the coefficient, the more important the variable in the prediction equation.

Overview

The most important finding in the preceding pages is that respondents in the mentally disordered group are significantly more likely to be found among heavy television viewers than among light television viewers. This relationship is reversed, however, for the heaviest users of the newspaper and magazine media.

The variable of mental disorder does not prove to be a significant predictor in discriminating between either frequent and infrequent movie attenders or frequent and infrequent radio listeners.

Television

Among the population surveyed, 70 per cent reported watching television for between one and four hours per day. Preferred programs included crime dramas and comedies.

Predictors of heavy television viewing, in order of relative importance, are the factors of being:

- poorly rather than well educated
- residents of apartment houses or rooming houses, rather than detached houses or duplexes
- unemployed rather than employed
- single or separated rather than married
- in the mentally disordered rather than the comparison group

Movies

A majority of the respondents surveyed reported going to the movies five times a year or less. Favourite movies included comedies and those with violence.

Those who attend movie theatres frequently differ from those who attend infrequently in being:

- younger rather than older
- more likely to live in an apartment house or rooming house, than in a detached house or a duplex
- more likely to be male rather than female
- more likely to be employed rather than unemployed
- more likely to be single or separated rather than married.

Newspapers

A majority of the respondents surveyed read a newspaper six times a week or more. Favourite sections included the news section and the family/women's sections.

Those who read newspapers frequently differ from those who read newspapers infrequently in being:

- older rather than younger
- employed rather than unemployed
- in comparison group rather than in the mentally disordered group

Magazines

The average respondent surveyed reports reading more than two magazines per month. Favourite magazines included news magazines and home/fashion magazines.

Those who read magazines frequently differ from those who read them infrequently in being:

- better rather than poorly educated
- younger rather than older
- male rather than female
- in the comparison group rather than in the mentally disordered group

Radio

Over 50 per cent of the respondents surveyed reported listening to the radio between one and two hours per day. Rock music and middle-of-the-road or country music are the most popular programs.

Those who are heavy users of the radio medium differ from those who are infrequent users in being:

- poorly rather than well educated
- single or separated rather than married

Aggression and Assault

Do people actually act more violently, or develop attitudes conducive to violence, as a consequence of being exposed to depictions of violence in the media? The fact that the controversy over the answer to that question has not yet been resolved after several decades of research illustrates both the importance of the question and the complexity of the issues involved.

It is clear that, under some circumstances, exposure to violent films can induce individuals to act in a more aggressive manner than they normally would.¹ Controversy rages about how long that residual effect lasts, and what other causes of aggression-inducing effects might be in operation.

There is also a problem about the most appropriate way to assess aggressiveness. Since individuals in our society very seldom tend to act in an overtly aggressive fashion, assessments must be made on the basis of observing very few actual events. An alternative technique is to attempt to assess aggressive or violent tendencies or attitudes. The presumption here is that if someone develops a mental set that is favourable toward the use of aggression to solve problems, this is a source for concern, even if the behaviours which might at some time accompany such perceptions are not actually observed.

What Is Measured

Researchers have noted that there are no existing measurement techniques that can be used on the general population to assess accurately the probability of an individual acting, at some time in the future, in a violent manner.² The best predictor of future violent behaviour is a record of past violent behaviour.³

In this study, a number of different approaches were taken to the assessment of the respondent's aggressiveness or aggressive attitudes. The measurement techniques included the following:

- a series of opinion and "probable behaviour" questions designed to discriminate between individuals holding aggressive and non-aggressive attitudes
- a question about the respondent's recent involvement in a physical fight

- a question about the respondent's arrest record
- assessment of the degree of violence involved in the crime for which the respondent reportedly was arrested
- a question about the arrest record of the respondent's friends
- assessment of the above record as to the nature of the violence involved in the crimes committed

Attitudes

The items used to assess aggressive attitudes are presented in Exhibit 41. Respondents were asked to give one of the following responses to each of the questions:

- strongly disagree
- disagree
- agree
- strongly agree

Exhibit 41

Aggressive Attitudes Items

You should not kill someone, if you have the chance, just because they try to rob you of the \$20 you have in your wallet.

If you were a policeman or policewoman, you would solve more crimes by being tough with your suspects and informers than by being nice.

People usually have to be pushy, aggressive, and tough to be successful in society today.

If someone insults you or cheats you, you should be able to "get back at them" if the police do not do anything.

There are a lot of small-time criminals in town who should be beaten up and told to go elsewhere.

If someone teases or insults you without reason, you never hit them or threaten to hit them.

You do *not* lose your temper very easily.

Even if you had the chance, you would probably not try to kill someone who was trying to kill you.

If you had the chance, you would kill someone who was attempting to rob you.

There are a few crooked people in your neighbourhood, or at work, who you would like to see get "beat up" to teach them a lesson.

It is hard for you to imagine yourself as a thief who robs wealthy people at gunpoint.

You would like to be a member of a neighbourhood protection group which keeps out of the area undesirable people who the police just leave alone for "lack of evidence".

You cannot imagine yourself hurting or killing someone "just for the heck of it".

Every now and then, you get so frustrated that you just feel like "smashing someone".

You have quite a few arguments with people.

You are easy-going until pushed too far, then you explode.

Note that the questions are worded in such a way that for a respondent to express attitudes that are consistently in the direction of aggressiveness, he/she must give a disagreement response to some questions and an agreement response to other questions. This form of questionnaire construction is a necessary precaution to force the respondent to think about each question before answering it. Otherwise, there is a tendency for respondents to settle into the use of one choice and then proceed to use it throughout the questionnaire. Of course, the question reversal technique is also a standard procedure used to eliminate the so-called agreement-set response pattern.⁴

Each question was scored on a scale of one to four and the responses were summed to create a scale score representing a measure of each individual's aggressive attitudes.

The responses on this scale were distributed into the following three categories:

- high aggressiveness (top 10 per cent of the scores)
- moderate aggressiveness (next 25 per cent of the scores)
- low aggressiveness (remaining 65 per cent of the score)

Mental Disorder

Exhibit 42 indicates that the mentally disordered are more likely to exhibit strong aggressive attitudes than those in the comparison group.

Another manner in which the mentally disordered group appears to be more inclined toward aggressiveness is apparent in Exhibit 43. These data indicate

Exhibit 42

Mental Disorder and Aggressive Attitudes

Level of aggressive attitudes	Comparison group	Mental disorder
High	7.5%	13.6%
Medium	22.7	27.3
Low	69.8	59.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%

that those in the mentally disordered group were significantly more likely to have been in a physical fight during the past month than those in the comparison group. Note that the mentally disordered were equally likely to fight with strangers, friends, and spouses. The comparison group, on the other hand, apparently fights almost exclusively with strangers.

Of course, being involved in a fight is not always one's own fault. It is conceivable that the mentally disordered individuals were simply more frequently forced to defend themselves – perhaps because of their unusual behaviour – than those in the comparison group.

Exhibit 43

Mental Disorder and Fighting Behaviour

In the past month, have you had a physical fight with anyone?

	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Fought with a stranger	2.8%	2.7%
Fought with a friend	0.4	2.7
Fought with my spouse	0.0	2.8
No fights in the past month	96.8	91.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Aside from all possible other explanations, the data in Exhibit 44 suggest that those who engage in anti-social activities such as fighting are also likely to engage in other anti-social activities which eventually attract the attention of the police. This exhibit indicates that the mentally disordered are significantly more likely to have been arrested than those in the comparison group.

While very few people actually get arrested for committing violent crimes, it is reasonable to consider an arrest record as at least one indication of actual or potential aggressiveness. The point is that an arrest

demonstrates some proclivity to engage in anti-social actions. This is an important indicator, since one of the primary deterrents to acting aggressively would seem to be the reluctance of individuals to behave in a socially unacceptable manner.

It is important to keep in mind that violence and criminality are not necessarily functions of mental disorder. After all, in relation to the comparison group, the disordered group is younger, less likely to be employed, more likely to have experienced long periods of unemployment, and more likely to be earning a lower income. The interplay of such variables should not be under-estimated. That is, to be unemployed is known to be highly stressful.⁵ It is also known that highly stressful circumstances can precipitate a state of mental disorder.⁶ Also, low rates of employment may lower one's income to the point where expectations can only be met, or frustrations expressed, through criminal action.

Other researchers have attempted to explore the relationship between mental disorder and the propensity for violence. The findings to date are inconclusive. Some researchers show that mental patients commit more violent crimes than other criminals; other

studies show just the reverse.⁷ No one has attempted to assess the non-institutionalized mentally disordered – as has been done here – on the assessment of evidence of aggressive behaviours or attitudes.

Exhibit 44

Mental Disorder and Arrest Records

Have you ever been arrested?	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Yes	10.3%	19.6%
No	89.7	80.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Media

The extent to which aggressive attitudes and behaviours are related to exposure to the various media is presented in the following discussion.

Exhibit 45

Television Viewing and Aggressive Attitudes

Level of aggressive attitudes	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
High	8.2%	5.9%	19.6%	11.1%	18.2%
Medium	32.8	24.7	19.6	22.2	33.3
Low	59.0	69.4	60.8	66.7	48.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 46

Television Viewing and Enjoyment Through Aggression

Media violence has made me realize that I could get more enjoyment out of life if I were a more demanding and aggressive person

	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
More than usual	9.8%	16.4%	24.5%	22.2%	36.4%
Same as usual	23.0	26.9	31.4	27.8	24.2
Less than usual	1.6	2.1	3.9	5.6	0.0
Not at all	65.6	54.6	40.2	44.4	39.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Attitudes

Exhibit 20 showed that those who watch a lot of television tend to watch a lot of violence. As many researchers have noted, the impact of this media diet may be to increase aggressiveness and/or aggressive attitudes.⁸ As Exhibit 45 indicates, those who watch a lot of television are significantly more likely to hold strong aggressive attitudes than light viewers.

All respondents were asked to identify a violent event which they had seen in the media, and which had disturbed them, a short time before the interview. They were then asked a series of questions about how this particular event affected their attitudes or perceptions. One of the questions was, "After seeing and hearing about the violent event, I felt that I could get more enjoyment out of life if I were a more demanding and aggressive person." Exhibit 46 indicates that heavy viewers were significantly more likely than light viewers to report feeling this way "more than usual" after seeing the event.

There were no significant relationships between frequency of media use and aggressive attitudes for any of the other media studied.

Fighting/Criminality

As Exhibit 47 indicates, heavy television viewers were much more likely to have been involved in a physical fight during the month preceding the interview than were light viewers.

Exhibit 47

Television Viewing and Fighting

In the past month, have you had a physical fight?	2 or less hours per day	4 or more hours per day
Yes	3.35%	7.25%
No	96.65	92.75
Total	100.0 %	100.0 %

Exhibit 48

Television Viewing and Arrest Record

Have you ever been arrested?	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Yes	15.0%	10.5%	20.0%	11.1%	30.3%
No	85.0	89.5	80.0	88.9	69.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

With respect to personal arrest records, Exhibit 48 indicates that heavy television viewers were significantly more likely to have been arrested than light viewers.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not any of their friends had been arrested, and if so, to specify the nature of the crime. The crimes were then coded as being either violent or non-violent in nature.

Exhibit 49 indicates that heavy television viewers were more likely than light television viewers to have a friend who had been arrested. Furthermore, as Exhibit 50 indicates, among those with friends who had been arrested, the friends of the heavy viewers were significantly more likely than those of the light viewers to have been arrested for a violent crime.

There is no relationship between fighting/criminality and media use noted for any of the other media studied.

Mental Health and the Media

In the preceding paragraphs, aggressiveness and aggressive attitudes have been shown to be characteristic of the mentally disordered group and of those who are heavy television viewers.

Furthermore, in the discriminant analysis performed to identify the personal characteristics that would discriminate between heavy and light television viewers (Exhibit 17), it was noted that mental disorder was one of the predictors of heavy television viewing.

So that the relationship between mental disorder and television viewing could be examined more carefully, the data on aggressive attitudes were subjected to an analysis of variance, using mental disorder and television viewing as the independent variables.

With this technique, it is possible to compare the relative importance or influence of one independent variable against another, with respect to their influence on the dependent variable – in this case, scores on the aggressiveness scale. The analysis indicates that only one variable – television viewing – appears to be related significantly to the dependent variable of aggressiveness scale scores. Exhibit 51 indicates that heavy viewers of television had average scores on the aggressiveness scale, which indicated that they held more aggressive attitudes than light viewers.

In a second analysis of variance, mental disorder was

Exhibit 49*Television Viewing and Reports of Friends Being Arrested*

Have any of your friends ever been arrested?	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Yes	55.2%	38.5%	57.0%	55.6%	63.3%
No	44.8	61.5	43.0	44.4	36.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 50*Television Viewing and Violence of Friend's Crime*

Were the crimes for which a friend was arrested of a violent or non-violent nature?	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Violent crime	11.5%	10.0%	35.4%	27.8%	29.4%
Non-violent crime	88.5	90.0	64.6	72.2	70.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

again used as an independent variable and high and low movie attendance was used as a second independent variable. In this case, as Exhibit 52 indicates, there is a

significant effect due to mental disorder, but not to movie attendance, upon the aggressiveness scale score. Furthermore, there is a significant interaction between movie attendance and mental disorder.

Exhibit 52 indicates that the mentally disordered had stronger aggressive attitudes than those in the comparison group. This is in keeping with the finding that the individuals in the mentally disordered group are more likely to actually engage in aggressive behaviour than are those in the comparison group. The interaction between mental disorder and movie attendance is particularly interesting. The mean scores in Exhibit 52 indicate that, among those who attend movies infrequently, the level of aggressiveness increases only marginally as one moves from the comparison group to the mentally disordered group. However, among those who attend movies frequently, the level of aggressive attitudes among the mentally disordered group are significantly greater than for the comparison group. To put it another way, those who are mentally disordered exhibit significantly stronger aggressive attitudes if they attend movies frequently rather than infrequently.

Another analysis of variance was performed, using as dependent variables frequency of newspaper reading and mental disorder. Exhibit 53 indicates that, once again, there was a significant effect due to mental disorder. As noted in the previous analysis, the level of aggressiveness was higher among the mentally disordered than those in the comparison group.

Exhibit 51*Analysis of Variance: Aggressive Attitudes and Television Viewing*

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	107.064	3.376	0.064
B (television viewing)	1	201.752	6.362	0.012
A x B	1	15.149	0.478	0.999
Residual	365	31.713		

*Mean Scores: Aggressive Attitudes Scale**

	Low television viewing	High television viewing
Mental disorder	31.887	29.512
Comparison group	32.782	31.464

* The lower the score, the more aggressive the attitudes.

Exhibit 52

Analysis of Variance: Aggressive Attitudes and Movie Attendance

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	448.214	13.730	0.001
B (movie attendance)	1	75.748	2.320	0.124
A x B	1	157.416	4.822	0.027
Residual	369	32.644		

*Mean Scores: Aggressive Attitudes Scale**

	Low movie attendance	High movie attendance
Mental disorder	31.277	28.631
Comparison group	32.787	33.295

* The lower the score, the more aggressive the attitudes.

Exhibit 53

Analysis of Variance: Aggressive Attitudes and Newspaper Reading

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	141.404	4.313	0.036
B (newspaper reading)	1	43.681	1.332	0.248
A x B	1	21.211	0.647	0.999
Residual	381	32.788		

*Mean Scores: Aggressive Attitudes Scale**

	Low newspaper reading	High newspaper reading
Mental disorder	30.026	31.478
Comparison group	32.276	32.484

* The lower the score, the more aggressive the attitudes.

Overview

In the preceding pages, it has been noted that the mentally disordered were more likely than those in the comparison group to express strong aggressive attitudes, to have recently been involved in a physical fight, and to have been arrested.

It was also noted that heavy television viewers, but not heavy users of any other medium, were more likely

than light television viewers to express strong aggressive attitudes, to have recently been in a physical fight, to have been arrested, and to have a friend who had been arrested for a violent crime.

Analyses of variance were carried out on the measure of aggressive attitudes in order to identify any possible interactions between frequency of media use and mental disorder. A significant interaction emerged only between movie theatre attendance and mental disorder. Basically, among those who go to the movies frequently, the level of aggressive attitudes is the same for both the comparison and the mentally disordered groups. However, among those who attend movies frequently, the level of aggressive attitudes among the mentally disordered is significantly greater.

Anxiety Concern

If an individual perceives the violence in society as getting out of hand and does not feel personally able to cope with it, then some expression of concern or anxiety is to be expected. It is important to distinguish between general feelings of anxiety, which can come from many varied sources, and anxiety relating specifically to the issue of interest to this project – societal violence and personal safety.

The primary measure of this dimension was a scale consisting of several specific attitudinal and “probable” behaviour questions. The specific items used in this scale are presented in Exhibit 54. As in the aggressiveness scale discussed in the preceding chapter, the questions were constructed in such a way that, for some items, an agreement response indicates anxiety, while for other items, the reverse is true.

The distribution of scale responses was divided into three categories of high, medium, and low. Roughly one-third of the population is included in each of these categories.

Exhibit 54

Anxiety/Concern Items

The news reports and the police do not tell us about all the crimes that are really happening on the streets of Toronto.

It would be a good idea to just cut back on the money given to the police because we have more protection now than the average person really needs.

The police and the laws in Canada are too tough on criminals.

The police should be given more power.

The way society is going, almost anyone’s neighbour nowadays could turn out to be the sort of person the police arrest for some crazy mass killing.

Waiting for a subway or a bus late at night is more dangerous than most people think.

There are a few crazy people around who may try to actually do some of the violent things shown in movies.

People who don’t avoid dark streets or disreputable bars deserve to be robbed or attacked.

Apartment buildings should have well-trained guards by the door who can demand everyone’s identification who enters.

Mental Disorder

Exhibit 55 indicates that mentally disordered individuals are more likely to exhibit strong attitudes and perceptions of anxiety and concern about violence in society than are those in the comparison group.

Exhibit 55

Mental Disorder and Level of Anxiety

Level of anxiety/concern	Comparison group	Mental disorder
High	22.7%	31.4%
Medium	39.6	40.9
Low	37.7	27.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

This relationship is not particularly surprising, since the exhibition of anxiety symptoms is a common characteristic of the mentally disordered.

It is interesting to note, however, that some mentally disordered individuals may have good reason to express higher-than-average levels of anxiety. After all, as indicated in Exhibit 43, the mentally disordered group have been in more fights than those in the comparison group. Also, as noted in Exhibit 56, the mentally disordered are much more likely to have been mugged than those in the comparison group. Such indicators would suggest that the mentally disordered are, as a group,

much closer to and aware of violence than those in the comparison group.

Exhibit 56

Mental Disorder and Mugging

Have you ever been mugged?	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Yes	10.5%	20.5%
No	89.5	79.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Media

As in the case of the discussion of aggressive attitudes, the pattern of media consumption was related to scores on the scale of anxiety/concern.

Television

Exhibit 57 indicates that heavy viewers of television were significantly more likely than light viewers to express attitudes indicating higher levels of anxiety and concern.

The respondents were also asked, in reference to a violent event which they had recently seen or heard in the media, if they were induced to worry about the terrible things that could happen to them some day. As Exhibit 58 indicates, heavy viewers were significantly more likely than light viewers to report that this specific media event made them worry about such things "more than usual".

Movies

Exhibit 59 indicates that there is a significant relationship between the frequency of attending movies and attitudes of anxiety/concern about violence in society. These data are the reverse of those observed for the relationship between television viewing and anxiety. That is, the data in Exhibit 59 suggest that the more frequently one attends movies, the less likely one is to exhibit attitudes of anxiety.

Of those who report that they never attend movies, 43 per cent score in the upper third of the anxiety scale, while 11.6 per cent score in the lowest third of the anxiety scale. The direction of these figures shows the direct reversal among those individuals who attend six or more movies per year. For example, among those who attend six to 12 movies per year, 41.8 per cent fall

Exhibit 57

Television Viewing and Anxiety

Level of anxiety/ concern	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
High	11.5%	23.0%	36.3%	33.3%	42.4%
Medium	42.6	39.3	37.3	55.6	36.4
Low	45.9	37.7	26.4	11.1	21.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 58

Television Viewing and Personal Safety

Media violence has made me worry about the terrible things that could happen to me some day

	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
More than usual	53.5%	44.4%	30.6%	35.9%	29.4%
Same as usual	32.6	34.1	45.9	42.2	47.1
Less than usual	1.2	1.0	3.1	6.3	0.0
Not at all	12.7	20.5	20.4	15.6	23.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

into the lowest anxiety category, while only 14.3 per cent fall into the highest anxiety category.

All respondents were asked if, after seeing or hearing about a specific violent event in the media, they subsequently worried that their own neighbourhood, or city, could be a dangerous place to live. Exhibit 60 indicates that there is a significant relationship between the respondent's answer to this question and the frequency with which he/she reported attending movies.

The direction of the relationship is similar to that noted above – that is, the more frequently the

respondent attended the movies, the less likely he/she was to worry “more than usual” about the dangerousness of the neighbourhood or the city.

Magazines

Exhibit 61 indicates that the more magazines the respondent reads, the less likely it is that he/she will express a high degree of anxiety and concern about violence. Note that the direction of the relationship here is the same as that noted between frequency of attending movies and position on the anxiety scale.

Exhibit 59

Movie Attendance and Anxiety

Level of anxiety/ concern	Never attend movies	1-5 movies per year	6-12 movies per year	2-5 movies per month	6 or more movies per month
High	43.0%	30.1%	14.3%	15.6%	17.6%
Medium	45.3	38.3	43.9	37.5	29.5
Low	11.7	31.6	41.8	46.9	52.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 60

Movie Theatre Attendance and Worries About Neighbourhood Dangers

Media violence has made me worry about the fact that my house or city may not be a safe place to live

	Never attend movies	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
More than usual	53.5%	44.4%	30.6%	35.9%	29.4%
Same as usual	32.6	34.1	45.9	42.2	47.1
Less than usual	1.2	1.0	3.1	6.3	0.0
Not at all	12.7	20.5	20.4	15.6	23.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 61

Magazine Reading and Anxiety

Level of anxiety/ concern	Never read magazines	1 magazine per month	2-3 magazines per month	4-5 magazines per month	6 or more magazines per month
High	36.3%	27.1%	25.6%	21.9%	21.2%
Medium	43.7	47.3	36.4	37.0	33.3
Low	20.0	25.6	38.0	41.1	45.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Mental Health and the Media

A series of three analyses of variance were carried out. In each case, one of the independent variables was mental disorder. This variable was paired respectively with the independent variables of television viewing time, frequency of attendance at movies, and number of newspapers read.

In the analysis of variance involving mental disorder and television viewing, there was only one significant effect – that of television viewing. The data presented in Exhibit 62 indicate that heavy viewers of television are significantly more likely to exhibit attitudes of anxiety/concern than light viewers.

Exhibit 62

Analysis of Variance: Concern/Anxiety and Television Viewed

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	11.044	0.846	0.999
B (television viewing)	1	183.310	14.047	0.001
A x B	1	3.975	0.305	0.999
Residual	365	13.050		

*Mean Scores: Concern/Anxiety Scale**

	Low television viewing	High television viewing
Mental disorder	12.160	10.573
Comparison group	12.610	10.482

* The lower the score, the more concern/anxiety.

In the analysis performed with the frequency of movie attendance, there was one significant effect – that of movie attendance. As the data on Exhibit 63 indicate, higher levels of anxiety/concern are exhibited by those individuals who attend movies only infrequently.

In the analysis performed with the number of newspapers read and the mentally disordered, there was a significant interaction effect. As Exhibit 64 indicates, the anxiety level was uniformly high for the mentally disordered, whether they read newspapers frequently or not. However, for those individuals who are not mentally disordered, a higher level of anxiety and concern was exhibited by those who read newspapers frequently rather than infrequently.

Overview

In the preceding pages, it was seen that those in the mentally disordered group are more likely than those in the comparison group to exhibit strong feelings of

anxiety and concern about violence. They may express these attitudes because they are closer to personal violence than those in the comparison group – that is, the mentally disordered are more likely to have been involved in fights and to have been mugged.

Heavy viewers of television were also found to express a higher level of anxiety and concern about violence. The reverse effect was noted for those who had

Exhibit 63

Analysis of Variance: Concern/Anxiety and Movie Attendance

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	51.849	3.611	0.055
B (movie attendance)	1	316.443	22.038	0.001
A x B	1	45.972	3.202	0.071
Residual	369	14.359		

*Mean Scores: Concern/Anxiety Scale**

	Low movie attendance	High movie attendance
Mental disorder	10.818	12.214
Comparison group	11.194	14.295

* The lower the score, the more concern/anxiety.

Exhibit 64

Analysis of Variance: Concern/Anxiety and Newspaper Reading

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	36.634	2.580	1.105
B (newspaper reading)	1	25.448	1.792	0.178
A x B	1	52.479	3.695	0.052
Residual	381	14.202		

*Mean Scores: Concern/Anxiety Scale**

	Low newspaper reading	High newspaper reading
Mental disorder	11.333	11.541
Comparison group	13.569	11.819

* The lower the score, the more concern/anxiety.

attended movies frequently and those who were heavy readers of magazines. That is, heavy use of these media was not associated with higher levels of anxiety and concern about violence.

Analyses of variance were done to identify any possible interactions between mental disorder and media use. The mentally disordered exhibited a general high level of anxiety and concern that was not related to frequency of newspaper reading. However, the heavy readers of newspapers in the comparison group exhibited more anxiety and concern than the light readers of newspapers.

Victimization/Defensiveness

It is possible for an individual to express anxiety without indicating a clear interest or involvement in taking either corrective or defensive action. That is to say, a person may feel that it is dangerous to ride the subways at night, but go ahead and do it anyway. Or, he/she may feel that the crime rate is too high to justify cutting back on police protection. None the less, this belief need not lead to vigorous lobbying for more police or other actions to support improved or strengthened police protection.

The scale to measure anxiety or concern did not include any indication of the response that the respondent felt he/she might or could take.

All of the items for the victimization/defensiveness scale, presented in Exhibit 65, require that the individual indicate a readiness to be inconvenienced in an attempt to avoid being a victim of societal violence. The scale was constructed in the same manner as other scales previously described, with respect to reversal of items and with respect to the choice of responses available to each person.

Exhibit 65

Victimization/Defensiveness Items

Have you ever seriously considered getting a burglar alarm system for your home?

Have you ever seriously considered having a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself in your home?

Before you go to bed in the evening, do you or someone else check to see if the doors and windows are locked?

When you park your car, do you lock the doors?

In Toronto, you should be careful where you walk alone after dark, as some areas of town are quite dangerous.

There would be a lot less crime if the average citizen, who could prove he or she could use a gun, were allowed to carry a gun anywhere they wanted.

People should learn techniques of self-defense.

Walking alone around the main downtown shopping area after midnight is an activity you would recommend as "reasonable and safe" to out-of-town visitors.

You would try to stop, with physical force if needed, a person of your own size and sex from assaulting an elderly, helpless woman.

You leave lights on in your home, to discourage burglars, when you, and the rest of your household, go out for the evening.

You usually avoid going out at night alone because there is a chance you may be attacked.

You sometimes leave a party or a friend's house early because you worry about being attacked on the street late at night.

You try to avoid taking the subways when you are by yourself late at night.

You do not leave much cash in your home or apartment because thieves may break in and take it.

You do not want to carry a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself.

You have learned a few good self-defence tricks by watching television or movies.

Mental Disorder

On this scale, there were no significant differences between the responses of those in the two groups.

However, several items in Exhibit 66 were selected for individual analysis. Differences between the two groups did emerge on the question about ownership of a weapon. As Exhibit 67 indicates, the mentally disordered group were significantly more likely than the comparison group to report that they either already had a weapon or were seriously considering getting one.

Exhibit 66*Defensiveness Items: Individual Analysis*

Have you ever seriously considered getting a burglar alarm system for your home?

1. Have one already
2. Got dog *just* for the purpose
3. Yes
4. No

Have you ever seriously considered having a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself in your home?

1. Have one already
2. Yes
3. No
4. Other (specify)

Before you go to bed in the evening, do you or someone else check to see if the doors and windows are locked?

1. Yes
2. Doors only
3. No

When you park your car, do you lock the doors?

1. Always
 2. Valuables inside, in poor areas
 3. At night only
 4. Never
-

Media

Scores on the victimization/defensiveness scales were also assessed in view of the amount of time the respondents reported spending with each medium.

Television

Exhibit 68 indicates that heavy television viewers are significantly more likely than light television viewers to score in the upper third of the defensiveness/victimization scales.

Exhibit 68*Television Viewing and Victimization/Defensiveness*

Level of victimization/defensiveness	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
High	13.1%	23.0%	39.2%	47.2%	54.5%
Medium	42.6	36.0	39.2	33.3	21.2
Low	44.3	41.0	21.6	19.5	24.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 67*Mental Disorder and Owning a Weapon*

Have you ever considered having a weapon for protection?

	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Yes	19.3%	27.4%
No	80.7	72.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Significant differences were also noted among television viewers in their response to the question about their feelings immediately after viewing a violent media event. They were asked if, after seeing or hearing about the violent event, they realized that those people who try to be heroes usually end up getting hurt. An individual who was concerned about "getting involved", and who generally would be expected to take steps to avoid trouble, would probably agree to this statement. In fact, as Exhibit 69 indicates, heavy viewers were significantly more likely than light viewers to agree with this statement.

Exhibit 69*Television Viewing and Attitudes of Victimization*

Media violence has made me realize that those people who try to be heroes end up getting hurt

	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
More than usual	16.7%	31.2%	45.0%	41.7%	54.5%
Same as usual	36.7	35.9	36.0	36.1	30.3
Less than usual	3.3	3.4	2.0	2.8	3.0
Not at all	43.3	29.5	17.0	19.4	12.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Movies

Exhibit 70 shows a reversal from the findings noted above; it indicates that the more frequently one attends the movies, the *less* likely it is that scores on the victimization/ defensiveness scale will be high.

There were also significant differences in the response to the question suggesting that "heroes usually only end up getting hurt". Exhibit 71 replicates the finding noted above – that is, the more frequently one attends the movies, the less likely it is that this attitude of victimization is endorsed.

Significant differences also emerge with respect to another question: "After seeing and hearing about the violent event, I thought about things like buying better door locks, or getting a weapon to protect myself, my family or my property from criminals." Exhibit 72 indicates that the more frequently one attends movies, the less likely one is to be stimulated to purchase protective devices or weapons.

There were no other significant relationships between measures of victimization/defensiveness and the other media studied.

Exhibit 70*Movie Attendance and Victimization/Defensiveness*

Level of victimization/ defensiveness	Never attend movies	1-5 movies per year	6-12 movies per year	2-5 movies per month	6 or more movies per month
High	41.9%	29.1%	20.4%	29.7%	23.5%
Medium	40.7	35.0	36.7	34.4	29.4
Low	17.4	35.9	42.9	35.9	47.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 71*Movie Attendance and Attitudes of Victimization*

Media violence makes me think about the fact that people who try to be heroes usually get hurt

	Never attend movies	1-5 movies per year	6-12 movies per year	2-5 movies per month	6 or more movies per month
More than usual	51.2%	36.5%	18.9%	31.3%	35.3%
Same as usual	39.5	35.5	36.8	28.1	35.3
Less than usual	2.3	1.0	6.4	3.1	11.8
Not at all	7.0	27.0	37.9	37.5	17.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 72

Movie Attendance and Perceived Need for Protection

Media violence makes me think about buying better door locks, or getting a weapon for protection?

	Never attend movies	1-5 movies per year	6-12 movies per year	2-5 movies per month	6 or more movies per month
More than usual	36.0%	28.4%	17.5%	21.9%	29.4%
Same as usual	25.6	22.6	22.7	25.0	17.6
Less than usual	0.0	1.0	4.1	1.6	11.8
Not at all	38.4	48.0	55.7	51.5	41.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Mental Disorder and Media

An analysis of variance was performed with mental disorder as one independent variable and extent of television viewing as the second independent variable. On the victimization/defensiveness scale, there was only one significant effect – that of television viewing. As Exhibit 73 indicates, the heavy viewers show higher levels of anxiety/defensiveness than the light viewers.

A second analysis of variance, which was carried out using frequency of attendance at movies as one of the independent variables, produced one significant finding. In this case, the significant effect was that of mental disorder. As Exhibit 74 indicates, the mentally disordered show more evidence of victimization/defensiveness attitudes than those in the comparison group.

Exhibit 73

Analysis of Variance: Victimization/Defensiveness and Television Viewing

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	2.495	0.075	0.999
B (television viewing)	1	727.446	21.922	0.001
A x B	1	0.019	0.001	0.999
Residual	365			

*Mean Scores: Victimization/Defensiveness Scale**

	Low television viewing	High television viewing
Mental disorder	26.141	22.542
Comparison group	26.314	22.661

* The lower the score, the more victimization/defensiveness.

Exhibit 74

Analysis of Variance: Victimization/Defensiveness and Movie Attendance

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	130.833	3.718	0.052
B (movie attendance)	1	89.989	2.557	0.106
A x B	1	0.041	0.001	0.999
Residual	369	35.192		

*Mean Scores: Victimization/Defensiveness Scale**

	Low movie attendance	High movie attendance
Mental disorder	23.854	25.071
Comparison group	25.052	26.218

* The lower the score, the more victimization/defensiveness.

Overview

In the preceding pages, it was noted that there were no differences between the two groups with respect to attitudes of victimization/defensiveness. There were, however, indications that the mentally disordered were more interested in owning a weapon for protection than those in the comparison group.

The heavy television viewers exhibited significantly stronger attitudes of anxiety and defensiveness than the light viewers. The reverse was true with respect to the variable of movie attendance. In this case, those who attended movies only infrequently had the highest levels of anxiety/defensiveness.

Tolerance

Frequent exposure to the media usually means frequent exposure to depictions of violence. As other researchers have suggested, an arousing or attention-getting stimulus can lose its impact with continued exposure. In the case of violence in the media, this may mean that continued exposure to violent content can lead to apathy, inattention, or tolerance toward both media depictions of violence and the “real-life” violence with which one might come into contact.

The primary measure of this dimension was a scale consisting of opinion statements about the acceptability or importance that respondents attached to violence. Additional questions were concerned with finding how a respondent felt he/she might act in the face of violence in their presence.

The specific items used in this scale are presented in Exhibit 75. As in the scales discussed in preceding chapters, the questions were constructed in such a way that, for some items, an “agreement” response indicates tolerance, while for other items, the reverse is true.

The distribution of scale responses was divided into three categories – high, medium, and low. Roughly one-third of the population is included in each of these categories.

Exhibit 75

Tolerance Items

You have seen so much violence on television, in shows and on news reports, that you find yourself getting bored with it all.

We might as well just get used to the fact that the robbery, the attacks, and other violence in our community are here to stay.

You have your own troubles, so you do not pay much attention any more to all the killings reported on the news.

Do you think that the government is making too much of a fuss about the violence in our society?

The spread of organized crime in Toronto will soon be controlled and eventually eliminated by police efforts.

Mental Disorder and Media

In only one of the analyses was there any indication that scores on the tolerance scale were related to either mental disorder or to the respondent’s pattern of media use.

The analysis of variance using mental disorder and frequency of movie attendance as independent variables was the one that did generate a significant finding. Movie attendance did have a significant effect on the tolerance scale. As predicted, those who attend movies frequently show a greater level of tolerance for aggression than those who attend movies infrequently.

Since this is the single case in which the tolerance scale emerged as being related to any of the factors being studied, most researchers would be inclined to treat the finding with caution.

With the exception of this one finding, it would be best to conclude that either the scale for measuring tolerance was not very sensitive or that tolerance toward violence is influenced by a myriad of factors – such as humanistic attitudes or general level of emotional sensitivity – which cut across both media-use habits and state of mental health.

Overview

The single finding with movies does, indeed, support the principle that frequent exposure to media violence is associated with increased tolerance for violence. Certainly, the results of various laboratory studies have demonstrated that, in the short-term, this is the case.¹

Nevertheless, the weight of the findings in the present study is not really sufficient to provide compelling support for the hypothesis about tolerance effects.

Accuracy of Perceptions

It is in the nature of opinions that there is often no base or value against which their accuracy can be judged. For example, two individuals might be in extreme disagreement about whether or not there are too many murders in Toronto. People may hold differing opinions, whether or not they are aware of all of the “facts” of a situation. After all, how many murders is “too many”?

On the other hand, it is quite possible to compare the accuracy of individuals’ perceptions about certain factual aspects of the environment. That is, irrespective of their opinions, how accurately do the two individuals in question estimate the actual number of murders that have occurred?

Other researchers have observed that heavy viewers of television tend to exhibit perceptions reflecting the world as portrayed on television rather than the real environment in which they live.¹

It is known that the media often over-portray an upper-middle-class lifestyle that is unrepresentative of society as a whole. Also, the media tend to over-represent the proportion of individuals involved in law-enforcement work, the amount of crime being committed, and the proportion of that crime which is violent.

In Exhibit 76, the items dealing with media versus reality and the response choices are presented. In all cases, the smaller number is more representative of the actual figure, while the larger number is more representative of the media world picture.² In other words, those respondents who consistently choose the smaller number are more accurate in their perceptions than those who show a tendency to select the larger figure.

Exhibit 76

Accuracy Items: Media versus Reality

During any given week in Canada, about how many people out of 100 are involved in some kind of violence? Would you say about one person in 100 or about 10 in 100?

In Canada, what per cent of all crimes are violent

crimes – like murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault? Would you say it is 15 per cent or 25 per cent?

In Canada, about what per cent of all males who have jobs work in law enforcement and crime detection – like policemen, detectives, et cetera. Would you say it is 1 per cent or 5 per cent?

About what per cent of Canadians who have jobs are professionals or managers – like doctors, lawyers, teachers, proprietors, or other executives? Would you say it is 20 per cent or 25 per cent?

A somewhat different technique was used to judge the individual’s level of accuracy about the actual frequency with which crimes are committed. Exhibit 77 gives the questions about estimates of different types of crime. The true response to each question was determined through police reports. The respondent was then asked to choose between two numbers – one half again as small as the true number, and the other half again as large as the true number. For example, if the actual number of times a particular crime was reported was 100, then the respondent was given two choices – 50 and 150.

In scales of this nature, there is no particular interest in an item-by-item analysis; but the total response pattern can indicate habitual over-estimation or under-estimation of responses. This technique is useful whenever respondents are likely to have widely varying perceptions of reality or when they would be likely to have absolutely no idea what a reasonable answer would be, without guidance from suggested choices. For those unfamiliar with techniques of questionnaire design, there is often the feeling that the true response should also be offered as a choice. The result of this inclusion, however, is usually that respondents will over-use the middle number of any sequence of three number choices when they are uncertain about the correct answer. In this case, the inclusion of this middle number would reduce the variability in the response patterns. Also, because of the known response bias, a spurious level of accuracy would emerge.

Exhibit 77

Accuracy Items: Estimating Crime

A burglary is an illegal break and entry into a factory, a store, an apartment, or a house. In all of Metropolitan Toronto during 1975, do you think that the number of burglaries recorded by the police during 1975 was: 8,275 or 24,825?

A robbery is a crime which takes place in the presence of the victim and in which property or something of value is taken from that individual by use of force. Which of the following numbers most accurately represents the number of robberies recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 973 or 2,918?

In certain cases of assault, a weapon is used and the victim is wounded. Which of the following numbers do you think most accurately represents the number of woundings recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 215 or 644?

Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of murders recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 24 or 72?

Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of rapes recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 102 or 306?

Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of simple assaults (these are attacks upon a victim which do not result in robbery, rape, wounding, or murder) upon individuals which were recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 3,969 or 11,906?

Mental Disorder

On the questions concerning the number of people, out of 100, who are involved in some kind of violence each week in Canada, there were significant differences in the response patterns of the comparison group and the mentally disordered group. As Exhibit 78 indicates, the mentally disordered show a significantly greater tendency to over-estimate the proportion of people involved in violence. This finding is congruent with the differences noted between the two groups in their attitudes to anxiety and defensiveness. That is, as Exhibit 55 indicates, the mentally disordered tend to see their environment as being more dangerous than do those in the comparison group.

Also, it must be recalled that the mentally disordered are more likely to have been in a physical fight (Exhibit 43) and to have been arrested (Exhibit 44) than their counterparts in the comparison group.

The experience of being mugged is also significantly

more common among the mentally disordered than among those in the comparison group (Exhibit 56). In short, the mentally disordered have more personal experience with real-life violence than those in the comparison group. Their attitudes reflect this, and it is not particularly surprising that their perceptions – as noted in Exhibit 78 – also reflect this.

Exhibit 78

Mental Disorder and Perceptions of Violent Involvement

Accuracy in estimating people involved in violence	Comparison group	Mental disorder
Accurate estimate	42.7%	31.3%
Over-estimate	57.3	68.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Media

The accuracy of the respondents' perceptions was also assessed in relation to their media consumption patterns.

Television

In Exhibit 79, the data show that the frequency of over-estimation of the percentage of people involved in violence during any given week increases dramatically with the amount of television watched. This finding is congruent with that observed by other researchers.³ The principle here is that heavy viewers base their perceptions of reality on the world as portrayed by the media. Since much media content is saturated by depictions of violence, the perceptions of those who spend several hours a day absorbing this "world" are influenced in a predictable manner.

Exhibit 80 indicates a similar finding with respect to the respondents' estimates of the percentage of crimes that are violent. Most crimes with which the police must deal are non-violent. However, those who watch six or more hours of television per day are far more likely to over-estimate the percentage of crimes that are violent than those who watch two hours or less per day.

Content analyses of television programming have demonstrated that, relative to the socio-economic structure of society, the upper-middle class is over-represented in television. If heavy television viewers derive their perceptions of reality largely through the media, then it is predicted that they would over-estimate the proportion of our society in the upper-middle-class category.

A previous researcher has approached this issue by asking respondents to estimate the proportion of individuals in society who are professionals or managers.⁴ This is the least confusing way to collect

Exhibit 79*Television Viewing and Perceptions of Numbers of People Involved in Violence*

Estimates of the number of people involved in violence during the past week	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Under-estimation	39.3%	44.8%	32.4%	19.9%	12.9%
Over-estimation	60.7	55.2	67.6	80.1	87.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 80*Television Viewing and Perceptions of Violent Crime*

Estimates of the percentage of crimes which are violent	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Under-estimation	55.7%	56.5%	42.2%	52.8%	36.4%
Over-estimation	44.3	43.5	57.8	47.2	63.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

information about perceptions of social class, since occupation is closely tied to class differences.

As Exhibit 81 indicates, heavy viewers of television do, indeed, over-estimate the proportion of professionals and managers in society. Almost 40 per cent of those who watch television for six or more hours a day chose the inaccurate response, whereas only half that proportion of individuals who watch television for less than an hour a day erred in the direction of over-estimation.

These findings dealt with perceptions of television viewers on specific topics. The responses to the items displayed in Exhibit 76 were summed to provide average measure of accuracy in perception. The distribution of these summed responses was then divided into thirds so that individuals could be classified as being

highly accurate, moderately accurate, or inaccurate in their perceptions.

As Exhibit 82 indicates, heavy viewers of television are significantly more likely to fall into the "inaccurate" group than are light viewers.

Other Media

The chi square analysis used to assess relationships between measurements of perception and media use did not produce any further significant relationships other than those noted for television. If, however, only the extremes – high and low media use – are examined and the various summed scores, as opposed to the responses to individual items, are analyzed, some further relationships with respect to movie attendance are evident. These are discussed in the following section.

Exhibit 81*Television Viewing and Perceptions of Lifestyle*

Estimates of the proportion of professionals and managers in Canadian society	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Under-estimation	83.6%	72.8%	66.0%	61.1%	60.6%
Over-estimation	16.4	27.2	34.0	38.9	39.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 82

Television Viewing and Accuracy of Perceptions

Accuracy of perceptions about the Canadian level of violence and social fabric	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
Highly accurate	52.5%	48.1%	31.4%	27.8%	21.2%
Moderately accurate	27.9	24.7	39.2	38.9	27.3
Inaccurate	19.6	27.2	29.4	33.3	51.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Mental Health and the Media

An analysis of variance was performed with mental disorder as one independent variable, and heavy versus light television viewing as the second independent variable.

When the dependent variable is the sum of the responses on the questions concerning accuracy of perceptions, there is a significant effect due to time spent watching television. As Exhibit 83 indicates, heavy viewers of television tend to be less accurate in their perceptions than light viewers. This finding replicates those discussed in the preceding section.

However, the analysis of variance also indicates a statistically significant interaction between the two independent variables of frequency of television viewing and mental disorder. The interaction indicates that,

among light viewers of television, there is little difference in the level of accuracy between the two groups. In fact, moving from the comparison group to the mentally disordered group, the level of accuracy increases slightly. The direction of this relationship is reversed, however, for heavy viewers of television. In their case, the level of accuracy decreases as one moves from the comparison group to the mentally disordered group.

The above finding cannot, of course, demonstrate a causal effect. However, it is congruent with the hypothesis that not only do heavy viewers of television have a more inaccurate perception of the world than light viewers, but that certain sub-groups within the population of heavy viewers (in this case, the mentally disordered) are particularly subject to influence through the media.

A second analysis of variance used as its two independent variables mental disorder and frequency of movie attendance. The dependent variable – accuracy of perception – was the same as for the analysis discussed above. As Exhibit 84 indicates, there was only one significant finding – that of the effect of mental disorder. Here the comparison group indicated a higher level of accuracy of perception than the mentally disordered group. This finding essentially replicates the data presented in Exhibit 78, which demonstrated that on the specific issue of the number of people involved in violence during any given week, the mentally disordered group were more likely to over-estimate the correct answer than were those in the comparison group.

Estimation of Crime

The data concerning the over- or under-estimations of crime were subjected to an analysis of variance with mental disorder and frequency of television viewing as the two independent variables. In this case, there was a significant effect due to the amount of television viewing. Exhibit 85 indicates that the light viewers of television estimated significantly lower levels of crime than the heavy viewers.

A similar analysis of variance was carried out on the same data, but using mental disorder and frequency of

Exhibit 83

Analysis of Variance: Accuracy on Perceptions and Television Viewing

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	0.221	0.175	0.999
B (television viewing)	1	22.934	18.151	0.001
A x B	1	5.841	4.623	0.030
Residual	365	1.264		

*Mean Scores: Accuracy of Perception**

	Low television viewing	High television viewing
Mental disorder	1.617	2.549
Comparison group	1.689	1.964

* The lower the score, the more accurate the perception.

Exhibit 84*Analysis of Variance: Accuracy on Perceptions and Movie Attendance*

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	5.806	4.534	0.032
B (movie attendance)	1	0.552	0.431	0.999
A x B	1	0.000	0.000	0.999
Residual	369	1.281		

*Mean Scores: Accuracy of Perception**

	Low movie attendance	High movie attendance
Mental disorder	2.047	1.952
Comparison group	1.797	1.705

* The lower the score, the more accurate the perception.

Exhibit 85*Analysis of Variance: Estimating Crime Levels and Television Viewing*

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	0.219	0.082	0.999
B (television viewing)	1	13.703	5.147	0.023
A x B	1	0.041	0.015	0.999
Residual	365	2.663		

Mean Scores: Estimating Crime Levels

	Low television viewing	High television viewing
Mental disorder	3.074	3.549
Comparison group	3.113	3.643

movie attendance as the independent variables. The data, presented in Exhibit 86, indicate that there is a significant effect due to frequency of movie attendance. However the finding is the reverse of that noted above for television viewing. That is, the less frequently one attends movies, the more likely the tendency to over-estimate the amount of criminal activity.

This latter finding is congruent with the data about levels of anxiety and defensiveness (Chapters 8 and 9,

respectively). Generally, the findings suggested that, for all media users other than television viewers, undesirable or uncomfortable attitudes and perceptions were more frequently associated with light users than with heavier users.

Exhibit 86*Analysis of Variance: Accuracy on Perceptions and Movie Attendance*

Source of variation	df	Mean Square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	0.002	0.001	0.999
B (movie attendance)	1	12.988	4.943	0.025
A x B	1	0.799	0.304	0.999
Residual	369	2.627		

Mean Scores: Estimating Crime Levels

	Low movie attendance	High movie attendance
Mental disorder	3.409	2.845
Comparison group	3.365	3.026

Overview

A number of different techniques were used to assess the accuracy of the individual's perceptions of the amount of violence in society and the distribution of certain social roles and income levels in society.

The mentally disordered group is more likely than the comparison group to over-estimate the number of individuals involved in violence during any given week. Heavy television viewers differ from light television viewers in over-estimating the number of individuals involved in violence during the week, in over-estimating the proportion of crimes which are violent, and in over-estimating the proportion of individuals in society who are managers or professionals.

An analysis of variance was conducted to examine the possibility of interaction effects between media use and mental disorder. One finding indicates that, among light television viewers, there is no difference between the mentally disordered and the comparison groups with respect to their general level of accuracy. However, among heavy viewers, those in the mentally disordered group tend to be significantly less accurate in their perceptions than those in the comparison group.

Using as a basis the actual number of crimes reported to the police in Toronto, respondents were given the opportunity to either over-estimate or under-estimate the actual number of crimes committed in each of several categories. There were two findings of interest.

Heavy viewers of television were more likely than light viewers to over-estimate the number of crimes reported. For frequency of movie attendance, however, the relationship was reversed. Those who attended movies infrequently were more likely than those who attended movies frequently to over-estimate the amount of crime reported.

Overview and Conclusions

Are people adversely affected by exposure to depictions of violence in the media? For years, researchers have demonstrated to one another and to the public at large that there is no simple answer to such a question.

To date, there seems to be some consensus on at least two points. First, it is clear that there are many short-term adverse effects of media violence. Under the right conditions, exposure can make individuals more aggressive, more fearful, and more accepting of violence done to others. Second, many people agree that the mentally disordered are particularly likely to develop either undesirable attitudes or behaviour patterns as a result of being exposed to media violence.

Purpose

There is considerable data to support the conclusions about the short-term impact of media violence on attitudes and behaviours. There is very little data to support the conclusions about the susceptibility of mentally disordered individuals.

The purpose of this study was to examine the media-use patterns and the possible media effects among a sample of mentally disordered adults. If these data turned out to be significantly different from similar data collected from a sample of adults exhibiting no symptoms of mental disorder, then some groundwork would have been laid for design of future research to isolate causal factors. Most important, such findings would have provided some support for the second conclusion – that the mentally disordered individual exhibits a high level of susceptibility to media violence.

Outcomes

Certainly, the mentally disordered group exhibited more aggressive tendencies and stronger attitudes of anxiety/concern and victimization/defensiveness than did those individuals in the comparison group. The mentally disordered were also somewhat less accurate in their perceptions about the amount of violence in society.

It was not at all clear, however, that the characteristics associated with mental disorder could be related to amount or type of media use. It did emerge that,

among both groups, heavy use of certain types of media was associated with aggressive tendencies, anxiety, victimization, and various over-estimations or misperceptions of the amount of violence in society.

Mental Disorder and Media

However, while the mentally disordered group showed many of the effects that have been attributed to extensive viewing of media violence, these effects are also symptomatic of mental disorder as a psychological state. In other words, those in the mental-health and legal fields would expect the mentally disordered population to exhibit characteristics such as those mentioned above – even before the advent of mass communications media such as television, radio, or movies.

Also, media-use patterns or preferences of the mentally disordered are not distinctly different from those in the comparison group. In other words, the fact that the mentally disordered were more aggressive, anxious, defensive, and inaccurate was probably not a function of an unusually strong preference for crime programs or a function of a predilection for generally heavier use of the media.

Predicted Results

In the statistical analyses, mental disorder proved to be one of several variables useful in predicting heavy television use and light magazine and newspaper use. It should be noted, though, that it was always the weakest of a group of predictors. As an isolated variable, it was not significantly related to media use.

There was some limited evidence, however, that under certain conditions of heavy media use, those in the mentally disordered group responded differently from those in the comparison group. Specifically, it was presumed that the mentally disordered would be more prone to absorb and believe the portrayals of reality in the media than those who were not mentally disordered. In fact, among those who watched very little television, there were no differences between the two groups with respect to their level of accuracy in perceptions. Among heavy television viewers, however, there was – as has

been previously noted by other researchers – a decrease in the accuracy of perceptions. In this study, it was found that heavy television viewers who were mentally disordered indicated even higher levels of inaccuracy in perceptions than did heavy viewers in the comparison group.

Thus, at least with respect to the measure of accuracy of perceptions, these data suggest that the mentally disordered show a greater level of susceptibility to influence from heavy television viewing than those in the comparison group.

Some further limited support for the relationship between mental disorder and the susceptibility emerged in the analysis of the relationship between aggressive attitudes and movie attendance. The nature of the findings was very similar to those discussed above – that is, among individuals who attend movies infrequently, there are no differences between the two groups with respect to aggressive attitudes. However, among those who attend movies frequently, the mentally disordered exhibit stronger aggressive attitudes than those in the comparison group.

Interpretation

These findings are congruent with the original proposition that the mentally disordered may be more susceptible to adverse effects of media violence than the comparison group. However, two things must be kept in mind. First, these are relatively isolated findings, although they should not be considered accidental or random. They supported the original proposition concerning the susceptibility of the mentally disordered. Furthermore, they are congruent with the findings generated by other researchers in this field. Of course, since many propositions were not supported as predicted, the existing data, while strongly suggestive, would in no way be considered conclusive by careful researchers.

A second point is that, in these findings, only frequency of media use proved to be a relevant variable, not the actual amount of media violence consumed. While there is no question that high levels of media use are related to high levels of media violence consumption, the latter variable did not, in itself, prove to be significantly related to any of the other variables of interest.

Television Viewing and Media Effects

The data indicate a clear and strong relationship between most of the predicted media effects and heavy use of television. Aggressive attitudes and behaviours, anxiety, defensiveness, and inaccurate perception of certain aspects of society are all characteristic of the heavy television viewer, but not the light television viewer. Other researchers have both suggested and demonstrated such effects to be associated with exposure to media violence.

Other Media

A fact of particular interest is that, while both newspapers and movies contain considerable violence, heavy users of these media *do not* show these predicted media effects on attitudes and behaviours. Indeed, when significant relationships do appear, they are the reverse of that noted for television viewers. For example, those who attend movies infrequently exhibit higher levels of anxiety, defensiveness, and inaccurate perceptions than those who attend movies frequently.

Conclusions

Most of the research conducted on the non-institutionalized mentally disordered has been concerned with identifying the percentage of such individuals in the general population and in collecting demographic and health data.

The Unknowns

Through contacts with the mentally disordered in psychiatric facilities, correctional institutions, and treatment clinics, professionals in the mental-health and the legal fields have developed a patchwork of opinions about the attitudes and behaviours of the mentally disordered. Of course, most of those who are mentally disordered never come into contact with the professionals in either of the aforementioned fields. Existing opinions of the non-institutionalized mentally disordered are based largely upon conjecture, faith, and theoretical constructs.

Insanity and Violence

Individuals who have been judged insane have committed violent and bizarre acts. In some cases, they have been stimulated and inspired by depictions of violent events in the media. So, some mentally disordered individuals, under certain circumstances, are a threat to the safety and well-being of other individuals. In some cases, the precipitating factor or trigger appears to have been media violence.

Of course, many individuals other than those who are mentally disordered have been known to imitate, or to report being stimulated by, media violence. So, it happens to everybody. But are the mentally disordered more susceptible to such influence than average individuals?

Violence for Everyone

Looking just at the issue of violence and crime for the moment, the data which have been reported by many different researchers over a long period of years suggest that mentally disordered individuals are no more likely to be involved in violent crime than those who exhibit no symptoms of mental disorder. In this study, the mentally disordered group and the comparison group showed no significant differences with respect to

amount of violence preferred in shows and programs or in the actual level or type of media used.

The Seriously Disordered

So far, discussion has centred upon the non-institutionalized mentally disordered individual. What about those whose symptoms are so severe that they have been hospitalized? Do they show evidence of susceptibility toward an inculcation, or acting out, of the violence they see in the media?

The detailed data relevant to this question are presented in a separate study for this Royal Commission. It was noted that many of the patients in the mental hospital population surveyed were heavy users of the media. However, there was no evidence that these patients were significantly more aggressive, or held more aggressive attitudes, than a comparison group in the general population.

Summary

- Most researchers have shown that mentally disordered individuals are no more likely to be arrested for violent crimes than those who exhibit no such symptoms of disorder.
- Mentally disordered individuals show no inclination to prefer greater amounts of violence in the media, or to have distinctive patterns of media use.
- Mentally disordered individuals who are frequent movie-goers exhibit more aggressive attitudes than those in the comparison group or than those in the mentally disordered group who seldom attend movies.
- Mentally disordered individuals who are heavy television viewers exhibit less accurate perceptions of reality than those in the comparison group or than those mentally disordered individuals who are infrequent viewers of television.

Other Effects

It was postulated that mentally disordered individuals might, in the face of violence, be more anxious, more defensive, or more apathetic than those who exhibit no symptoms of mental disorder. Also, if the mentally disordered are more susceptible to media influence, then they may develop a more inaccurate perception of the world than those exhibiting no symptoms of mental disorder.

The few differences noted between the mentally disordered and the comparison group on these various measures were seldom related in any systematic way either to differences in media use or in media preferences. That is to say, the mentally disordered exhibited higher levels of anxiety about the safety of their environment than did those in the comparison group. However, in so far as these perceptions did not vary with type or frequency of media use, one could

conclude that the differences are no more than an expression of the symptomatology of mental disorder.

Selectivity

It should be kept in mind that there is a considerable degree of selectivity involved in media-consumption patterns. Other researchers have shown that, without question, it is remarkably easy to make anxious people considerably more anxious by seating them in a laboratory and asking them to watch a violent film designed to arouse viewers' anxieties. Most important, the film itself is never the major determinant of the reactions observed. The critical issue is the "mental set" of the individual. The same violent film will have very different reactions upon individuals, depending upon whether they are told it is an educational film, film of a real torture scene, or an "entertainment" movie.

Mental Readiness

Outside the laboratory, individuals exercise selectivity in the type of media to which they choose to be exposed, and in the conditions under which they will seek one sort of exposure or another.

For example, you may be content to attend a high-drama or social-issue movie by yourself, but you may want to go to a comedy with a friend so that you can enjoy yourself more. If you are an anxious person, you may choose not to go to a horror movie at all – until a friend asks you. Thus, mentally disordered individuals would not necessarily be expected to avoid media presentations that were fear-arousing, but they might be expected to be more selective in the conditions and times under which they would select their media fare.

Television Viewing

Heavy television viewers, whether mentally disordered or not, exhibited stronger aggressive attitudes, more anxiety, more feelings of victimization and defensiveness, and more inaccuracy in their perceptions than did light television viewers. For the most part, the heavy use of any of the other media was not consistently related to this undesirable pattern of attitudes and perceptions.

What is the cause and what is the effect here? Do viewers become anxious as a result of watching a lot of television? Or, are anxious people afraid to leave their homes, and, therefore, do they watch a lot of television just to fill the time?

This project was not specifically designed to examine the intricacies of cause-and-effect relationships. On the other hand, given that so much other research has been done in this field, the inferences to be drawn are painfully obvious.

First, there is a conceptual basis for anticipating that certain program content will affect viewers in a particular way. Second, researchers have tested these notions under carefully controlled laboratory conditions.

For example, researchers have demonstrated

something that playwrights have always known – that the emotions of viewers can be easily manipulated by applying relatively straightforward techniques of media development and presentation. People can be made more anxious, they can be made more aggressive, they can be made more fearful and defensive. They can even, after repeated exposures to violence, be made more apathetic in the face of real violence.

No research project or projects can incorporate all possible conditions that account for every reasonable alternative. In the short term, the predicted effects of media violence can be seen to exist. But for how long? And, would the effects noted in laboratory research have been observed if the individual were comfortably at home viewing the same media presentation, not aware that he/she was being “studied”?

Questions such as these are the reasons why projects like this one are done. When people do their television viewing at home – not in the laboratory and not when they feel they are being studied – will heavy viewers exhibit the behaviours and attitudes predicted, and noted, in laboratory studies? If they do – and in this project they do – a number of alternative interpretations come to mind:

- First, the finding could be accidental,
- Second, “those kind of people” (the aggressive, the anxious, the defensive, et cetera) are of a personality type inclined to be heavy viewers of television. In other words, the medium itself does not actually change or affect viewers.
- Third, heavy television viewers exhibit attitudes and perceptions similar to those observed in laboratory manipulations because television programming in the long term has effects like those noted/predicted in the short term. Indeed, on what conceptual basis would one really expect the effects to be different?

Which of the above alternatives seems the most reasonable to you? The combination of laboratory and field research suggests that there is at least some reason to give serious consideration to the third choice. Most people would probably opt for a combination of two and three. Some would want to rephrase the question. The point is, few people would reject the “media effects” choice outright and then be prepared to argue that the similarity in laboratory and field findings is purely coincidental. Choose the alternative that seems reasonable to you. After all, on issues such as this, data are never “all in” and, indeed, there is seldom agreement as to the appropriate question to ask.

The Steady Diet

If media effects can be demonstrated to occur in the short term, is it unreasonable to suggest that heavy viewers of television – those who watch for 28 hours a week or more – are not subjected to similar influences?

Many movies are violent. Why don’t those who attend a lot of movies exhibit a similar pattern of

attitudes and perceptions to those individuals who watch a lot of television? It is certainly difficult to believe that the contents of movies are more benign than television programming. The answer probably lies in the sheer amount of exposure that the heavy users of each medium experience over the course of a week.

Four hours a day or more is considered to constitute heavy television use. Fifteen per cent of the survey population falls into this category. This means that they spend 25 per cent of their waking hours – or more – in viewing television.

In contrast, a heavy user of the movie medium attends one or two movies per week. That amounts to no more than two and a half to three hours per week, or about 3 per cent of the individual’s waking hours.

The heavy television viewer, then, is exposed to a medium that can be expected to create undesirable attitudes and perceptions again and again, every day of the week. In the movie theatre, the impact may be more intense because of the viewing situation, but it only occurs once or twice a week.

Much is known about selective perception. It is expected that many heavy viewers of television possess behavioural habits and personality characteristics that are congruent with both programming content and the environmental conditions of the television viewing situation.

The data from this study certainly do not constitute conclusive evidence that the attitudes and perceptions differentiating heavy viewers from light viewers are primarily caused by exposure to the medium in question. However, the findings of previous researchers clearly suggest that all the elements for justifying a causal, or at least reinforcing, process do in fact exist.

Recommendations

The data certainly seem to suggest that, for reasons of mental health and psychological well-being, one might well take the personal decision to avoid excessive consumption of television. Of course, it should be recognized that for many people such a decision would be extremely difficult. Like many leisure-time activities, television watching can undoubtedly become an ingrained habit that is extremely hard to break.

Of course, to put the situation into perspective, it should be noted that the impact of television does not seem to be great enough to justify labelling excessive television consumption as a clear and present danger to society.

One of the problems in interpreting these data lies in the fact that it is difficult to relate responses on attitudinal scales to actual behaviour. There are, nevertheless, clear implications for both predictive research and common sense judgment.

At the very least, the issue has something to do with personal decisions concerning lifestyles and happiness.

References

Chapter One

- 1 Soddy, K., and Ahrenfeldt, R., *Mental Health and Contemporary Thought* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967), p. 85.
- 2 Mark, V., and Irving, F., *Violence and the Brain* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 151.
- 3 Fraser, John, *Violence in the Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 9.
Wolfe, Morris, "Keep That Old Nervous System Jumping," *Saturday Night*, July/August 1976, pp. 74-75.
- 4 *Variety*, "MPAA Film Ratings 1968-75," November 5, 1975.
- 5 Based on data from BBM Bureau of Measurement and A. C. Nielsen.
U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
The Globe and Mail "What You See Is What You'll Get," Saturday, August 14, 1976.
- 6 McMurtry, William R., *Investigation and Inquiry into Violence in Amateur Hockey* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, 1974).
Smith, Michael D., "The Legitimation of Violence: Hockey Players' Perceptions of their Reference Group Sanctions for Assault," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 12, 1975, pp. 72-80.
Lefkowitz, M.M., Walker, L.P., Eron, L.D., and Huesmann, L.R., "Preference for Televised Contact Sports as Related to Sex Differences in Aggression," *Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1973, pp. 417-420.
- 7 Jacobs, Lewis, *The Rise of the American Film* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1968), pp. 296-297.
Haskins, Jack B., "Stories of Violence Get High Readership," *Editor and Publisher*, Vol. 101, No. 42, 1968, p. 38.
- 8 Trevelyan, John, *What the Censor Saw* (London: Michael Joseph, 1973).
- 9 Burnet, Mary, *The Mass Media in a Violent World* (Paris: UNESCO, 1971.)
U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, op cit.
Canada. Parliament. Senate. Special Committee on Mass Media, Report, Vol. 3, *Good, Bad or Simply Inevitable?* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).
Television Research Committee, *Second Progress Report and Recommendations* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969).
- 10 Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M., and Davidson, E.S., *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth* (New York: Pergamon, 1973), pp. 1-3.
Bandura, A. *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973).
U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, op cit.

Chapter Two

- 1 Comstock, George, *Television and Human Behavior: The Key Studies* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
Comstock, George, and Linsey, Georg, *Television and Human Behavior: The Research Horizon, Future and Present* (Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M., and Davidson, E.S. *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth*. (New York: Pergamon, 1973).
Toplin, R., *Unchallenged Violence* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. 183.
- 2 *Newsweek*, "Exorcism Frenzy", February 11, 1974.
- 3 *Time Magazine*, "Jaws - The Real Thing," June 23, 1975.
- 4 Weltman, J., "The Independent Television Code on Violence and the Control of Violence in Programmes," *European Broadcasting Union Review*, Vol. 24, May 1973, pp. 28-34.
Steinberg, C., *The Communicative Arts* (New York: Hastings House, 1970).
Murray, G., *The Press and the Public* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972).
Inglis, R.A., *Freedom of the Movies: A Report on Self-Regulation from the Commission on Freedom of the Press* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).
Criminal Code of Canada R.S.C. 1970, c.C-34, Sections 159, 163, 164 and 262.
Customs Tariff Act. R.S.C. 1970, c.C-41, Schedule C. Sections 46 and 50.
Post Office Act. R.S.C. 1970, c.P-14, Section 7.
The Theatres Act. R.S.P. 1970, c. 459, as amended.
- 5 Schur, E., *Our Criminal Society* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969).
- 6 Robinson, J., *The Comics: An Illustrated History of Comic Strip Art* (New York: Putnam's, 1974).
Thrasher, F.M., "The Comics and Delinquency: Cause or Scapegoat?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 23, Spring 1949, pp. 195-205.
- 7 Blake, R.A., "Violence: The Price of Good Box Office?" *America*, Vol. 126, 1972, pp. 148-151.
Brown, Les, *Television: The Business Behind the Box* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 58-68.
Benson, G., and Engeman, T., *Amoral America* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1975).
- 8 U.S. National Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence, *Statement on Violence in Television Entertainment Programs*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 5.
- 9 *The Globe and Mail*, "What You See Is What You'll Get," Saturday, August 14, 1976.
Dominic, J., and Pearce, M., "Trends in Network Prime-Time Programming, 1953-1974", *Journal of Communication*. 1976, Vol. 26, pp. 70-80.
U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
- 10 U.S. Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Television

- and Social Behavior, *Television and Social Behavior: Technical Reports to the Committee* Vol. 1, *Media Content and Control*
Vol. 2, *Television and Social Learning*
Vol. 3, *Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness*
Vol. 4, *Television in Day-to-Day Life*
Vol. 5, *Television's Effects: Further Explorations* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
- Television Research Committee, *Second Progress Report and Recommendations* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), pp. 38-43.
- 11 Steinfeld, J., Statement of the Surgeon General Concerning Television and Violence. In *Where Do You Draw The Line?* Victor Klein, ed. (Brigham Young University Press, 1974), pp. 177, 178.
 - 12 Television Research Committee, op. cit.
Burnet, Mary, *The Mass Media in a Violent World* (Paris: UNESCO, 1971).
U.S. Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, op. cit.
 - 13 U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behaviour. *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
 - 14 Toplin, R. *Unchallenged Violence* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. 183.
 - 15 Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M., and Davidson, E.S., *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth* (New York: Pergamon, 1973).
 - 16 Comstock, George, *Television and Human Behavior: The Key Studies* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
Comstock, George and Lindsey, Georg, *Television and Human Behavior: The Research Horizon, Future and Present* (Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
 - 17 Tannenbaum, P., *Mass Media and Violence* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), Vol. 9A, p. 47.
 - 18 Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M., and Davidson, E.S., op. cit., pp. 1-3.
 - 19 Ibid.
Muson, Howard, *Media Violence* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 21.
Robinson, J.P. "TV's Impact on Everyday Life: Some Cross-National Evidence." In U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. *Television and Social Behavior*. Vol. 4. *Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
Buckley, W., *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1973.
 - 20 Comstock, George, *Television and Human Behavior: The Key Studies* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
Comstock, George, and Lindsey, Georg, *Television and Human Behavior: The Research Horizon, Future and Present* (Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
 - 21 Comstock, George, "The Evidence So Far," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 3, 1975, pp. 25-34.
 - 22 Priestland, G., *The Future of Violence* (Bristol: Western Printing Services, 1974), p. 16.
Bailyn, L., *Mass Media and Children: A Study of Exposure Habits and Cognent Effects*, *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. 73, 1959, pp. 1-48.
- Shulman, M., *The Ravenous Eye* (London: Camelot Press, 1973), p. 179.
- Williams, R. *Communications*, (London: Chatto, Windus, 1966), pp. 106-107.
- Glucksmann, A. *Violence on the Screen*. The British Film Institute, Education Department, London, 1971, p. 43.
- 23 Television Research Committee, *Second Progress Report and Recommendations* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), pp. 38-43.
 - 24 Spiegel, A., *Miami Herald*, January 3, 1973.
 - 25 Shulman, M., op. cit.
 - 26 Srole, L., Langner, T.S., Michael, S.T., Opler, M.K., and Rennie, T.A., *Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhattan Study* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962).
 - 27 Williams, R., op. cit.
 - 28 Ibid.
 - 29 Himmelweit, H., and Glucksmann, A., *Violence on the Screen* (The British Film Institute, Education Department, London, 1971), p. 43.
 - 30 Iglitzin, L., *Violent Conflict in American Society* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1972), p. 49.
 - 31 Shaw, I., and Newell, D., *Violence on Television* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972), p. 172.
 - 32 Ibid., p. 138.
 - 33 Langner, T., and Michael, S. *Life Stress and Mental Health* (London: Ress Press, 1968).
Leighton, D., Harding, J., Macklin, D., Macmillan, A., and Leighton, A., *The Character of Danger* (New York: Basic Books, 1963).
Llewellyn, Thomas E., "The Prevalence of Psychiatric Symptoms within an Island Fishing Village," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, Vol. 83, 1960, pp. 197-204.
Dohrenwend, B.P., and Dohrenwend, B.S., "The Problem of Validity in Field Studies of Psychological Disorder," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Vol. 70, February 1965, pp. 52-69.
 - 34 Raj, D., *The Design of Sample Surveys* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 127.
Sudman, S., *Reducing the Cost of Surveys* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1967), p. 40.
Dohrenwend, B.P., and Dohrenwend, B.S., op. cit.
Gruenberg, E., "Review of 'Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhattan Study,'" *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1963, pp. 77-95.

Chapter Three

- 1 *Webster's New World Dictionary* (Toronto: Nelson, Foster and Scott Ltd.).
- 2 Ontario. The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry. *Interim Report* (Toronto: January 1976).
- 3 Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M., and Davidson, E.S., *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth* (New York: Pergamon, 1973), pp. 1-3.

- Bandura, A., *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973).
- U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol. 3., *Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
- 4 Comstock, George, *Television and Human Behavior: The Key Studies* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
- Comstock, George, and Lindsey, George, *Television and Human Behavior: The Research Horizon, Future and Present* (Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1975).
- 5 Cline, V.B., Croft, R.G., and Courrier, S., "Desensitization of Children to Television Violence," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 27, 1973, pp. 360-365.
- Wertham, F., "Is T.V. Hardening Us to the War in Vietnam?" in *Violence and the Mass Media*, O. Larsen, ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).
- 6 Drabman, R.S., and Thomas, M.H., "Does Media Violence Increase Children's Toleration of Real-Life Aggression?" *Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1974, pp. 418-421.
- Thomas, M.H., and Drabman, R., "Toleration of Real Life Aggression as a Function of Exposure to Television Violence and Age of Subject," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, Vol. 21, 1975, pp. 227-231.
- 7 Carruthers, M., and Taggart, P., "Vagotonicity of Violence: Biochemical and Cardiac Responses to Violent Films and Television Programmes," *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 4, 1973, pp. 384-389.
- Cline, V.B., Croft, R.G., and Courrier, S., "Desensitization of Children to Television Violence," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 27, 1973, pp. 360-365.
- 8 *The Globe and Mail*, March 14, 1964.
- 9 Tanner, J., "Psycho-social Factors as Stressor Agents", in J. Tanner, ed., *Stress and Psychiatric Disorder* (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publishers, 1960).
- Lazarus, Richard S., *Psychological Stress and the Coping Process* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966).
- Appley, M.H., and Trumbull, R., *Psychological Stress* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967).
- 10 Paul, G., *Insight Versus Desensitization* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1965).
- Guilford, J.P., "Response Biases and Response Sets," in *Attitude Theory and Measurement*, M. Fishbein, ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1967), pp. 277-281.
- 11 Lazarus, R. and Alfert, E., "The Short-circuiting of Threat," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 69, 1967, pp. 195-205.
- Berkowitz, L., and Alioto, J.T., "The Meaning of an Observed Event as a Determinant of its Aggressive Consequences," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 28 (1973), pp. 206-217.
- Maccoby, E.E., and Wilson, W.C., "Identification and Observational Learning from Films," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 55, 1957, pp. 76-87.
- 12 Spielberger, C. Theory and Research on Anxiety, in *Anxiety and Behavior*, C. Spielberger, ed. (New York: Academic Press, 1966), pp. 12-16.
- McGuire, W., "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed. G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, eds. (Toronto: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 144, 218.
- 13 Gerbner, George, and Gross, Larry, *Violence Profile No. 6: Trends in Network Television Drama and Viewer Conceptions of Social Reality, 1967-73* (Philadelphia: Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1974).
- Long, M.L., and Simon, R.J., "The Roles and Statuses of Women on Children and Family Television Programs," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 51, 1974, pp. 210-214.
- Seggar, J.F., and Wheeler, P., "World of Work in Television: Ethnic and Sex Representation in Television Drama," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 17, 1973, pp. 210-214.
- 14 Gerbner, George, "Cultural Indicators: The Case of Violence in Television Drama," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 388, March 1970, pp. 69-81.
- 15 American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual: Mental Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: APA, 1952).
- 16 Wolman, B.B., "Mental Health and Mental Disorders," in *Handbook of Clinical Psychology*, B.B. Wolman, ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 1127.
- 17 Boehm, W.W., "The Role of Psychiatric Social Work in Mental Health," in A.M. Rose, ed. *Mental Health and Mental Disorder* (New York: Norton, 1955), p. 537.
- 18 Gurin, G., Veroff, J., and Feld, Sheila. *Americans View their Mental Health* (New York: Basic Books, 1960).
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Hanly, C., *Mental Health in Ontario* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1970).
- 21 Goldberg, D.P., *The Detection of Psychiatric Illness by Questionnaire* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.

Chapter Four

- 1 Bradburn, N.M., *The Structure of Psychological Well-being* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).
- 2 Gruenberg, E., "Review of 'Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhattan Study,'" *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1963, pp. 77-95.
- 3 Nunnally, J.S., *Popular Conceptions of Mental Health* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961).
- 4 Raj, D., *The Design of Sample Surveys* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 127.
- Partan, M., *Surveys, Polls and Samples* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), p. 111.
- Deming, W., *Some Theory of Sampling* (London: Wiley & Sons, 1950), p. 32.
- Sudman, S., *Reducing the Cost of Surveys* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1967), p. 40.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Dunham, H.W. "Social Structures and Mental Disorders: Competing Hypotheses of Explanation, in *Causes of Mental Disorders: A Review of Epidemiological Knowledge* (New York: Millbank Memorial Fund, 1959), pp. 227-265.

Hollingshead, A.B., and Redlich, F.C., *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: Wiley, 1958).

Hyde, R.W., and Kingsley, L.V., "Studies in Medical Sociology: The Relation of Mental Disorder to the Community Socioeconomic Level," *New England Journal of Medicine*, Vol. 231, 1944, pp. 543-548.

Chapter Five

- 1 Hays, W.L., *Statistics for Psychologists* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963).
- Kerlinger, R.N., *Foundations of Behavioral Research* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).
- 2 Dohrenwend, B.P., and Dohrenwend, B.S., "The Problem of Validity in Field Studies of Psychological Disorder," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Vol. 70, February 1965, pp. 52-69.
- 3 Guilford, J.P., "Response Biases and Response Sets," in *Attitude Theory and Measurement*, M. Fishbein, ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1967), pp. 277-281.
- McGuire, W., "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed. G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, eds. (Toronto: Addison Wesley, 1954), pp. 144, 218.
- 4 Goldberg, D.P., *The Detection of Psychiatric Illness by Questionnaire* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- 5 Statistics Canada, *Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tract - Toronto*. Series B. Table 3. Catalogue Number 95-751 (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1974).
- 6 Hollingshead, A.B., and Redlich, F.C., *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: Wiley, 1958).
- Hyde, R.W., and Kingsley, L.V. "Studies in Medical Sociology: The Relation of Mental Disorder to the Community Socioeconomic level," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 1944, 231, pp. 543-548.
- 7 Fellows, R., "Past and Future Trends in Mental Disease," in *Diseases of the Nervous System*, Walsh, ed. (1945), pp. 203-208.
- Noyes, A. and Kolb, L., *Modern Clinical Psychiatry* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co., 1963).
- 8 Gurin, G., Veroff, J., and Feld, Sheila, *Americans View their Mental Health* (New York: Basic Books, 1960).
- 9 Goldberg, D.P., op cit.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Noyes, A., and Kolb, L., op cit.

Chapter Six

- 1 Kilguss, Anne F., "Using Soap Operas as a Therapeutic Tool," *Social Casework*, Vol. 55, No. 9 (1974), pp. 529-530.
- Marchand, P., "T.V. Soap Opera: Death in the Afternoon," *Maclean's*, Vol. 87, October 1974, p. 106.
- Noble, G., "Some Comments on the Nature of Delinquents: Identification with Television, Heroes, Fathers, and Best Friends," *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 10, 1971, pp. 172-180.
- 2 Gerbner, G., and Gross, L., "The Scary World of T.V.'s Heavy Viewer," *Psychology Today*, Vol. 9, 1976, p. 41.
- 3 Lazarsfeld, P. and Kendall, P., *Radio Listening in America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948).
- Singer, Benjamin, and Green, Lindsay, *The Social Functions of*

Radio in a Community Emergency (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1972).

Chapter Seven

- 1 Bandura, A., *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973).
- 2 Megargee, M., "The Prediction of Violence with Psychological Tests," in C. Spielberger, ed, *Current Topics in Clinical and Community Psychology* (New York: Academic Press, 1970), p. 98.
- 3 Rapoport, J., ed, *The Clinical Evaluation of the Dangerousness of the Mentally Ill* (Springfield: Thomas, 1967).
- Kozol, E., "The Diagnosis and Treatment of Dangerousness," *Crime and Delinquency*, 1972, 18, pp. 371, 383.
- 4 Guilford, J.P., "Response Biases and Response Sets," in *Attitude Theory and Measurement*, M. Fishbein, ed. (New York: Wiley, 1967), pp. 277-281.
- 5 Fellows, R., "Past and Future Trends in Mental Disease," *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 1944, Vol. 5, pp. 203-208.
- Inkeles, A., "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception and Value," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 66, 1960, pp. 1-31.
- 6 Brown, C., and Birley, J., "Crises and Life Changes and the Onset of Schizophrenia," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 1968, Vol. 9, pp. 203-214.
- Lindemann, E., "Psychosocial Factors as Stressor Agents," in J. M. Tanner, ed., *Stress and Psychiatric Disorder* (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publishers, 1960).
- 7 Stone, A. *Mental Health and the Law: A System in Transition*. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975). p. 27.
- J. Rapoport, op cit.
- 8 Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M., and Davidson, E.S., *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth* (New York: Pergamon, 1973).

Chapter Ten

- 1 Cline, V.B., Croft, R.B., and Courier, S., "Desensitization of Children to Television Violence," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1973, pp. 360-365.
- Thomas, M.H. and Drabman, R., "Toleration of Real-Life Aggression as a Function of Exposure to Television Violence and Age of Subject," *Merril-Palmer Quarterly*, Vol. 21, 1975, pp. 227-231.

Chapter Eleven

- 1 Gerbner, G., and Gross, L., "The Scary World of T.V.'s Heavy Viewer," *Psychology Today*, 1976, 9, p. 41.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.

Appendix A

How We Define Violence

How We Define Violence:

The Nature of Violence

Violence is action which intrudes painfully or harmfully into the physical, psychological, or social well-being of persons or groups.

Violence or its effect may range from trivial to catastrophic.

Violence may be obvious or subtle.

It may arise naturally or by human design.

Violence may take place against persons or against property.

It may be justified or unjustified, or justified by some standards and not by others.

It may be real or symbolic.

Violence may be sudden or gradual.

The Nature of Media Violence

Violence depicted in film, television, sound, print, or live performance is not necessarily the same as violence in real life.

Things not violent in reality may be violent in their portrayal.

Violence presented in the media may reach large numbers of people, whereas real violence may not.

The media may use many artificial devices to lessen or to amplify its emotional and social effects.

Violence depicted may do harm the original violence may not have done – or it may have no impact at all.

Appendix B

Screening Interview

Interviewer No. _____ Location _____ Method _____

Date _____ Page No. _____

Interviewee: Age _____ Sex _____ Refusal _____

No English _____

1. I am _____ of the firm John Renner & Associates. We are conducting research on what people think about violent events that are described on radio and television, and in the newspapers, et cetera. In the last week or two did you see a show or a news report in which something violent happened? For example, people fighting, destruction by earthquakes or a fire, kidnapping . . .
2. How did you find out about the event?
3. Would you tell me how you felt immediately after you saw or heard about the event?
4. Do you believe that this event affected you “much more”, “much less”, or “about the same” as other people?
5. Could you tell me if your feelings stayed with you for a few days or did you forget about the event?
6. The way people react to any situation is often influenced by their state of health. Have you been unusually up or down lately, or have you been feeling as usual?
7. During the past week have you –
felt more irritable than usual?
had more difficulty with your eyes?
not been able to concentrate?
broken a bone or sprained a muscle?
felt more down – sad?
felt your nerves bothering you more?
had more difficulty than usual in eating?
felt life is getting too difficult?

We are currently gathering information on the subject of “Violence in the Media” and your opinions and ideas would be of great value. Could we arrange an interview now at your convenience?

Appendix C Survey Questionnaire

Note: All technical materials used in the preparation of this report have been deposited in the library of The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry.

CONFIDENTIAL

A Study of Media and Attitudes

Survey Data Collected By:

Renner & Associates
1027 Yonge St., Suite 103
Toronto, Canada, M4W 2K9

MEDIA STUDY

Experience: We want to study what you think about the incidents you see on television, at the movies, or in the newspaper.

Violent Events: In the last little while, did you see a show or a news report where something especially violent happened? For example, you may remember things like people fighting, or someone being kidnapped, or hurt. Or, you might remember the destruction of cities by earthquakes or fires.

What and Where: Write down in a few words, the event that you remember. Say where you saw it – in the paper, the movies, television, or radio. Was it something on the news? a television series? a special documentary? What, exactly, was the thing or event you remember?

A1. _____

A2. **Feelings and Actions:** Here are some words which describe feelings and actions. Circle the number next to those words that describe how you felt or acted while you were watching, or listening to, or reading about, the violent events.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) felt absolutely nothing | 1 |
| (b) mad | 1 |
| (c) close to tears | 1 |
| (d) calm | 1 |
| (e) frustrated | 1 |
| (f) amused | 1 |
| (g) excited | 1 |
| (h) felt like leaving the room | 1 |
| (i) "on-edge" | 1 |
| (j) bored | 1 |
| (k) ashamed | 1 |
| (l) kept looking away | 1 |
| (m) thrilled | 1 |
| (n) nervous | 1 |
| (o) could not take my eyes away from the picture | 1 |
| (p) upset | 1 |
| (q) disgusted | 1 |

A3. **Effects:** After seeing and hearing about the violent event, I

(a) worried about the terrible things that could happen to me some day (circle the number by your choice on this and the following questions)

more than usual

same as usual 2
less than usual 3
not at all 4

- (b) worried that my own neighbourhood, or city, could be a dangerous place to live
- more than usual 1
same as usual 2
less than usual 3
not at all 4
- (c) thought about the fact that nobody can really do anything about most of the terrible things happening in the world
- more than usual 1
same as usual 2
less than usual 3
not at all 4
- (d) realized that those people who try to be heroes usually end up getting hurt
- more than usual 1
same as usual 2
less than usual 3
not at all 4
- (e) thought about things like buying better door locks, or getting a weapon, to protect myself, my family, or my property from criminals
- more than usual 1
same as usual 2
less than usual 3
not at all 4
- (f) felt that I could get more enjoyment out of life if I were a more demanding and aggressive person
- more than usual 1
same as usual 2
less than usual 3
not at all 4

Media Use: Now I would like to ask you about your preference in movies, television, and the other media.

B1. **Television:** How many hours a day do you watch television?

never 1
1-2 hours 2
3-4 hours 3
4-5 hours 4
6 or more 5

B2. During the past six months, what shows have you watched regularly on television? (LIST)

B3. **MOVIES:** How often do you go to movie theatres?

never 1
1-5 per year 2
6-12 per year 3
2-5 per month 4
6 per month or more 5

B4. What sort of movies do you like to go to most? Can you write down the names of those movies you liked?

B5. Newspapers: How often do you read a newspaper?

never	1
1-3 per month	2
1-2 per week	3
3-5 per week	4
6 per week or more	5

B6. Do you prefer any special sections?

B7. Which newspaper do you usually read?

Toronto Star	1
Sun	2
Globe and Mail	3
Other (specify)	4

B8. Magazines: How often do you read magazines?

never	1
1 per month	2
2-3 per month	3
4-5 per month	4
6 per month or more	5

B9. Which magazines do you usually read?

B10. Radio: How many hours a day do you listen to the radio?

never	1
under 1 hour	2
1-2 hours	3
3-4 hours	4
5 hours or more	5

B11. What types of programs do you listen to most often?

rock music	1
middle-of-the-road music, or country music	2
news programs	3
sports	4
other (specify)	5

Individual: These questions are important because they will help us understand the characteristics of people participating in this study.

C1. Employment: Are you employed (for pay) at the present time?

Employed full-time (35 hrs. wk. or more)	1
Employed part-time	2
Unemployed, and looking for full-time work	3
Not employed, looking for part-time work	4
Not employed, and not looking for work	5

C2. (If employed) What kind of work do you do ?

C3. (If employed or looking for full-time work) How many

weeks during the past twelve months have you been out of work either because of being unemployed or laid off?

less than 1 week	1
1 to 3 weeks	2
4 to 8 weeks	3
9 to 25 weeks	4
over 6 months	5

C4. (If unemployed or laid-off) How many weeks has it been since you were last employed?

less than 1 week	1
1 to 3 weeks	2
4 to 8 weeks	3
9 to 25 weeks	4
over 6 months	5

C5. What kind of job were you doing?

C6. Are you presently a:

Full-time student (during school year)	1
Full-time housewife or househusband	2
Retired	3
Ill or disabled	4
None of the above	5
Other (Specify)	6

D1. Social/Leisure: Would you like to see your friends:

more than you do now	1
about the same as now	2
less than now	3

D2. Think for a moment about those people, including relatives, whom you consider to be really close friends – those whom you can talk to about serious or important things. How many of these friends would you say you have?

none	1
1	2
2	3
3 to 4	4
over 4	5

D3. During the past week, how did you spend your time when you were not employed, or travelling to and from work ? Please estimate the hours spent in the following activities.

(a) watching television	hours ____
(b) listening to radio	hours ____
(c) going to movies	hours ____
(d) indoor games (cards, checkers)	hours ____
(e) home entertainment (parties, dinners)	hours ____
(f) outside entertainment (clubs)	hours ____
(g) observing sporting events (live)	hours ____
(h) participating in sports	hours ____
(i) reading	hours ____
(j) home repair	hours ____
(k) household (cleaning, cooking)	hours ____
(l) hobbies (please say what)	hours ____
(m) shopping	hours ____
(n) listening to record player or stereo	hours ____
(o) other	hours ____

E1. Family: What is your marital status ?

- Married 1
Common-law marriage 2
Widowed 3
Temporary/casual separation 4
Legal separation 5
Divorced 6
Single 7
- E2. (Unmarried) Do you go out on dates, or otherwise entertain members of the opposite sex?
Yes, usually with the same person 1
Yes, with several different people 2
Yes, but very seldom 3
No, not really interested 4
Other (specify) 5
- E3. How many people (include yourself, other adults, children and infants) live in your house, apartment, or rented room?
Number is _____
- F1. **Age:** What age were you on your last birthday?
18 to 24 years 1
25 to 34 years 2
35 to 44 years 3
45 to 54 years 4
55 to 64 years 5
65 and over 6
- G1. **School:** How much formal schooling have you had?
Grade school or less 1
Some high school 2
Completed high school 3
Some college or university 4
Other post-high-school training (trade school) 5
Completed community college 6
Completed university 7
Some post-graduate work 8
Completed post-graduate degree 9
- H1. **Income:** In 1975, how much money did *you* make, before taxes and other deductions?
Up to \$4,000 1
\$ 4,001 to \$ 6,000 2
\$ 6,001 to \$ 8,000 3
\$ 8,001 to \$10,000 4
\$10,001 to \$14,000 5
\$14,001 to \$18,000 6
\$18,001 to \$22,000 7
\$22,001 to \$26,000 8
\$26,001 or over 9
- H2. If married, what was the total family income for the year 1975, before taxes and other deductions. (Circle the appropriate number above)
- I1. **Race:** What is your racial origin ?
Asiatic 1
Negro 2
Caucasian 3
East Indian 4
Other (specify) 5
- J1. **Housing:** What sort of accommodation do you have? Do you live in:
Detached house 1
Duplex or row house 2
Apartment or condominium 3
Rooming house 4
Other (specify) 5
- J2. How many rooms to you have in your living quarters not counting the bathroom? Count a space as a room *only* if it is separated from other rooms by a floor-to-ceiling wall or partition.
Number of rooms _____
- K1. **Sex**
Female 1
Male 2
- L1. **Safety** Have you ever seriously considered getting a burglar alarm system for your home?
have one already 1
got dog *just* for purpose 2
yes 3
no 4
- L2. Have you ever seriously considered having a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself in your home?
have one already 1
yes 2
no 3
other (specify) 4
- L3. Before you go to bed in the evening, do you or someone else check to see if the doors and windows are locked?
yes 1
doors only 2
no 3
- L4. When you park your car, do you lock the doors?
always 1
valuables inside, in poor areas 2
at night only 3
never 4
- Events:** In each of the following questions, always circle just one of the two possible choices offered.
- L5. During any given week in Canada, about how many people out of 100 are involved in some kind of violence? Would you say about one person in 100 or about 10 in 100?
1 in a 100 1 10 in a 100 2
- L6. In Canada, what per cent of all crimes are violent crimes—like murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault? Would you say it is 15% or 25%?
15% 1 25% 2
- L7. In Canada, about what per cent of all males who have jobs work in law enforcement and crime detection—like policemen, detectives, et cetera? Would you say it is 1% or 5%?
1% 1 5% 2
- L8. About what per cent of Canadians who have jobs are professionals or managers—like doctors, lawyers, teach-

- ers, proprietors, or other executives? Would you say it is 20% or 25%?
- 20%..... 1 25%..... 2
- L9. A burglary is an illegal break and entry into a factory, a store, an apartment, or a house. In all of Metropolitan Toronto during 1975, do you think that the number of burglaries recorded by the police during 1975 was:
- 8,275..... 1 24,825..... 2
- L10. A robbery is a crime which takes place in the presence of the victim and in which property or something of value is taken from that individual by use of force. Which of the following numbers most accurately represents the number of robberies recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:
- 973..... 1 2,918..... 2
- L11. In certain cases of assault, a weapon is used and the victim is wounded. Which of the following numbers do you think most accurately represents the number of woundings recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:
- 215..... 1 644..... 2
- L12. Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of murders recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:
- 24..... 1 72..... 2
- L13. Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of rapes recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:
- 102..... 1 306..... 2
- L14. Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of simple assaults (these are attacks upon a victim which do not result in robbery, rape, wounding, or murder) upon individuals which were recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:
- 3,969..... 1 11,906..... 2
- M1. **Involvement:** Have you, or anyone you know, ever been mugged, robbed, or attacked on the street?
- (1) yes, me..... 1
(2) yes, other person..... 2
(3) no..... 3
- M2. Has your home, or the home of anyone you know, ever been broken into by thieves or delinquents?
- (1) yes, my home..... 1
(2) yes, other person's home..... 2
(3) no..... 3
- M3. Have you had a physical fight during the past month with anyone?
- (1) yes, stranger..... 1
(2) yes, friend..... 2
(3) yes, spouse..... 3
(4) no..... 4

- M4. Have you ever been arrested?
- Yes..... 1
No..... 2
- M5. (If yes) What were you charged with?
- Do not wish to say..... 1
Write here:..... 2
- M6. Have any of your friends ever been arrested?
- Yes..... 1
No..... 2
- M7. (If yes) What were you charged with?
- Do not wish to say..... 1
Write here:..... 2

Opinions: Different people seem to have very different opinions on how dangerous, or how safe, our community is. We have heard people say things like you will read below. If you agree very strongly with the statement, circle the "SA" under the statement. If you agree, but not too strongly, circle the "A". If your opinion is one of mild disagreement, circle the "D". If you strongly disagree, circle the "SD".

For example, suppose one of the statements were:
"The instructions for this questionnaire are hard to understand."

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

I hope that you would circle the SD to show that you strongly disagree.

Remember then:

Strongly agree = SA
Somewhat agree = A
Somewhat disagree = D
Strongly disagree = SD

- N1. **Opinion Statements:** The news reports and the police do not tell us about all the crimes that are really happening on the streets of Toronto.
- (1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N2. You have seen so much violence on television, in shows and on news reports, that you find yourself getting bored with it all.
- (1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N3. We might as well just get used to the fact that the robbery, the attacks, and other violence in our community is just here to stay.
- (1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N4. You should not kill someone, if you have the chance, just because they try to rob you of the \$20 you have in your wallet.
- (1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N5. In Toronto, you should be careful where you walk alone after dark, as some areas of town are quite dangerous.
- (1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N6. You have your own troubles, so you do not pay much attention anymore to all the killings reported on the news.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N7. If you were a policeman or policewoman, you would solve more crimes by being tough with your suspects and informers, than by being nice.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N8. People should learn techniques of self-defence.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N9. Do you think that the government is making too much of a fuss about the violence in our society?
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N10. There would be a lot less crime if the average citizen, who could prove he or she could use a gun, were allowed to carry a gun anywhere they wanted.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N11. It would be a good idea to just cut back on the money given to the police because we have more protection now than the average person really needs.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N12. The police and the laws in Canada are too tough on criminals.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N13. People usually have to be pushy, aggressive, and tough to be successful in society today.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N14. The police should be given more power.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N15. If someone insults you or cheats you, you should be able to "get back at them" if the police do not do anything.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N16. Waiting for a subway or a bus late at night is more dangerous than most people think.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N17. Walking alone around the main downtown shopping area after midnight is an activity you would recommend as "reasonable and safe" to out-of-town visitors.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N18. There are a lot of small-time criminals in town who should be beaten up and told to go elsewhere.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N19. The spread of organized crime in Toronto will soon be controlled and eventually eliminated by police efforts.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N20. The way society is going, almost anyone's neighbour

nowadays could turn out to be the sort of person the police arrest for some crazy mass killing.

- (1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N21. There are a few crazy people around who may try to actually do some of the violent things shown in movies.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N22. The murders and fights and other violence seen on television and movies probably cause people to be more violent than they otherwise would be.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N23. People who don't avoid dark streets or disreputable bars, deserve to be robbed or attacked.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N24. Apartment buildings should have well-trained guards by the door who can demand everyone's identification who enters.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

Actions: The following statements refer to actions some people do, or believe they may do. Using the same system of circling letters as before, show if you agree or disagree that you act in the way described in each statement. Remember:

- | | |
|-------------------|------|
| Strongly agree | = SA |
| Somewhat agree | = A |
| Somewhat disagree | = D |
| Strongly disagree | = SD |

- O1. **Action Statements:** You would try to stop, with physical force if needed, a person of your own size and sex from assaulting an elderly, helpless woman.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O2. If someone teases or insults you without reason, you never hit them or threaten to hit them.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O3. You leave lights on in your home, to discourage burglars, when you, and the rest of your household, go out for the evening.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O4. You do not worry about being robbed when you are carrying a large amount of cash.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O5. You usually avoid going out at night alone because there is a chance you may be attacked.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O6. You sometimes leave a party or a friend's house early because you worry about being attacked on the street late at night.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O7. You try to avoid taking the subways when you are by yourself late at night.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- O8. You do not leave much cash in your home or apartment because thieves may break in and take it.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O9. You do not want to carry a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O10. You have learned a few good self-defence tricks by watching television or movies.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O11. You do *not* lose your temper very easily.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O12. Even if you had the chance, you would probably not try to kill someone who was trying to kill you.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O13. If you had the chance, you would kill someone who was attempting to rob you.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O14. There are a few crooked people in your neighbourhood, or at work, who you would like to see get "beat up" to teach them a lesson.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O15. It is hard for you to imagine yourself as a thief who robs wealthy people at gunpoint.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O16. You would like to be a member of a neighbourhood protection group which keeps out of the area undesirable people who the police just leave alone for "lack of evidence".
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O17. You cannot imagine yourself hurting or killing someone "just for the heck of it".
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O18. Every now and then, you get so frustrated that you just feel like "smashing someone".
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O19. You have quite a few arguments with people.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O20. You are easy-going until pushed too far, then you explode.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O21. You have more trouble with your "nerves" than most people.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

Health Attitudes: During the last year or so, do you feel that you *should have* consulted someone about your:

Q1. *Physical Health* (M.D., surgeon)

- Yes, should have..... 1
Yes, actually did 2
No 3

Q2. *Mental Health* (psychiatrist, psychologist)

- Yes, should have..... 1
Yes, actually did 2
No 3

Q3. *Family Problems* (social worker, minister)

- Yes, should have..... 1
Yes, actually did 2
No 3

Institutionalized Populations' Views on Violence and the Media

John C. Renner, Ph.D.

A.R.A. Consultants Ltd.
Toronto, Ontario

Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction and Purpose	Page	237
	Basis for Agreement		237
	The Maladjusted		237
	Research Evidence		238
	Purpose		239
	Dynamics		239
2	Institutional Groups Studied		240
	Institutions Sampled		240
	Interviewing Federal Prisoners		240
	Interviewing Provincial Prisoners		241
	Interviewing Adult Mental Patients		241
	Interviewing Disturbed Juveniles		241
3	Describing the Institutionalized Population		242
	Age		242
	Sex		242
	Marital Status		242
	Education		242
	Race		244
	Income		244
	Employment Status		245
	Occupation		245
	Health		246
4	Media Use		249
	Television		249
	Movies		250
	Newspapers		252
	Magazines		254
	Radio		255
	The Heavy Media User		256
5	Aggression and Assault		257
	What is Measured		257
	Inter-Group Comparisons		258
6	Anxiety/Concern		261
	Inter-Group Comparisons		261
7	Victimization/Defensiveness		264
	Inter-Group		264
8	Tolerance		266
	Inter-Group Comparisons		266
9	Accuracy of Perceptions		267
	Media-World Perceptions		267
	Estimating Criminal Occurrences		267
	Inter-Group Comparisons		268
	Overview on Attitudes		270
10	Overview and Conclusions		271
	Purpose		271
	Outcomes		271
	Conclusions		272

References	Page 274
Appendix A The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry: How We Define Violence	275
B Survey Questionnaire	276

Exhibits

1 Age	Page 243
2 Sex	243
3 Marital Status	243
4 Education	244
5 Race	244
6 Personal Income	245
7 Employment Status	245
8 Occupation	246
9 Assistance Needed for Physical Health	246
10 Assistance Needed for Mental Health Problems	247
11 Incidence of Mental Disorder	247
12 Severity of Mental Disorder	248
13 Assistance Needed for Family Problems	248
14 Hours of Television Watched Per Day	249
15 Type of Television Programs Mentioned	250
16 Per Cent Mentioning Crime/Comedy/Soap Operas	250
17 Frequency of Movie Attendance	251
18 Type of Movie Attended	251
19 Type of Violent Theme in Movies Cited	252
20 Frequency of Newspaper Reading	252
21 Number of Different Newspapers Read	253
22 Name of Newspaper(s) Read	253
23 Preferred Section(s) of the Newspaper	254
24 Frequency of Magazine Reading	254
25 Number of "Usually Read" Magazines Mentioned	255
26 Types of Magazines Mentioned	255
27 Frequency of Radio Listening	255
28 Aggressive Attitudes Items	258
29 Recent Fighting Experience	259
30 Arrest Record	259
31 Criminal Experience with Violent Crime	260
32 Anxiety/Concern Items	261
33 Housebreaking Victims	262
34 Mugging Victims	262
35 Prisoners: Television Viewing and Anxiety/Concern	262
36 Analysis of Variance: Prisoners' Anxiety and Television Viewing	263
37 Victimization/Defensiveness Items	264
38 Owning a Weapon for Protection	265
39 Defensive Action: Car Locking	265
40 Tolerance Scale Items	266
41 Accuracy of Perceptions Scale Items	267
42 Estimates of Crime Scale Items	267
43 Estimating Involvement In Violence	268
44 Estimating Proportion of Violent Crimes	268
45 Estimating Proportion of Law Enforcement Personnel	269
46 Estimating Proportion of Managers in Society	269
47 Prisoners: Estimates of Crime and Television Viewing	269
48 Accuracy of Perceptions: Mean Scale Scores	270
49 Attitudes: Mean Scale Scores	270

Introduction and Purpose

In the welter of controversy surrounding the media violence issue, there are a few small pockets of mutual understanding and consensus. Government review bodies and independent researchers have generally agreed, for example, that individuals who show signs of social maladjustment or mental instability might be more susceptible than average individuals to the various adverse effects of media violence.¹

Basis for Agreement

For decades now, researchers, educators, and others have been producing skilfully designed and executed research projects and carefully constructed philosophical or scientific expositions about the effects of violence in the media. All of these seem to have played a very minor role in creating this area of consensus concerning media effects. This is not surprising – the field of violence research has always generated more arguments than agreements. Media people, reasonably enough, do not wish any further restrictions in the way of censorship or interference with their products. On the one hand, they feel that they have a social responsibility to maintain and protect the historical “freedom of the press”. On the other hand, the profits generated through the interest and attention of the public to portrayals of media violence are undoubtedly to be considered.²

Perhaps the general agreement with the proposition that certain individuals might be adversely affected by media violence reflects the perception that the proportion of the population in this category is so small that the proposition is not worth challenging.

After all, alcohol is available to anyone who is old enough and who has the price to purchase it. No one questions the fact that some purchasers will over-indulge to the point of physically or mentally destroying both themselves and their families. Presumably, if that proportion of the population should become significantly larger or more markedly expensive to maintain and treat in society, some form of alcohol “censorship” or prohibition might be brought into effect.

Thus, even media supporters can afford to be generous in not taking serious issue with the proposition that media violence can have undesirable effects upon a

very small proportion of people in the population. The opponents of media violence, realizing that there are so many other points that media spokesmen do *not* concede, have concentrated their efforts in the areas of controversy.

The Maladjusted

There are a few facts worth considering here. First, the terms “socially maladjusted” and “mentally disordered” are seldom used in a precise manner. Probably the most pragmatic way to define such a fringe population would be to study those who have been declared “criminals” or “mentally ill” and who are therefore institutionalized. While such populations are conveniently at hand, and are certainly clearly defined, it should be recognized that – as representatives of their respective fringe groups – they are only the tip of a rather large iceberg.

How Many?

First, most individuals now living in mental hospitals or prisons will be released, once again, into society. Many of these individuals will, once again, demonstrate their inability to fit into society so dramatically that they will be re-institutionalized. Many will continue to function at a marginally acceptable level.

Certainly, many people who exhibit symptoms of mental disorder will never see the inside of a mental institution. Field researchers have demonstrated that perhaps 15 per cent of the general, non-hospitalized population exhibit strong enough symptoms of mental disorder that they should be receiving treatment.³ The studies indicate that at least 5 per cent of the general population exhibit severely incapacitating symptoms of mental disorder and should be – but are not – hospitalized.

And what about criminals? Evidence suggests that there are many criminals who are never, or very seldom, caught. Who knows the number? Certainly, there are more criminals in our society than the number of incarcerated individuals might suggest.

When the uncounted alcoholics and drug addicts are added to the above populations, the total number of socially maladjusted or mentally disordered individuals

in society looms larger and more significant than most of us at first imagine.

Much of the anti-social activity occurring in society is carried out by a very small number of individuals. As mentioned above, there is general agreement that media violence may perhaps affect a small handful of disturbed people in society. That is hardly reason to disregard these people, as they are responsible for most of the day-to-day criminal and otherwise offensive acts that disrupt society.

Small Numbers, Large Impact

Perhaps there is a tendency to think of occurrences like urban riots as demonstrating the violence that lies just beneath the surface of every civilized individual. However, the data do not substantiate such perceptions. As two researchers have pointed out,

One of the outstanding features of the widespread urban riots which have recently swept through the United States is the relatively small amount of personal violence committed compared to the large number of people taking part in the riot. In the Watts Community of 330,000 there were only about 10,000; 37 people were killed and 118 were wounded by gun fire. . . . the riot atmosphere represents a powerful environmental influence on all those people taking part in the riot. The fact that so few people were killed or injured in these riots makes us believe that unusually strong control mechanisms were operating, both in the individual rioters and in the police and National Guard troops who sought to keep the riot under control.⁴

In short, a few people caused most of the trouble. But to hold that media violence has its effects only on those few people who show signs of maladjustment is a presumption with some very weighty implications.

Research Evidence

The actual research evidence to support the conclusions of researchers and reviewers about the impact of the media on the maladjusted is very weak indeed. Most research data collected on mentally disordered individuals has been done in conjunction with larger studies examining normal populations. In such studies, researchers would notice that the clearly undesirable responses to media violence could be attributed to a very small handful of their respondents. Upon further examination, some researchers noted that these respondents had showed signs of obvious mental disorder or social maladjustment. The number of studies where such relationships have emerged is very small. Furthermore, the number of such respondents involved in this type of analysis has usually consisted of only a few individuals within the larger population being studied.

Juvenile Extrapolations

Another problem in drawing conclusions from studies such as those mentioned above is that they disproportionately reflect the response patterns of juvenile subjects. Under the best of conditions, a generalization

from the responses and attitudes of juveniles to those of adults can be made only at great peril. When researchers attempt to extrapolate from the unusual responses noted in the sample of two or three juveniles exhibiting symptoms of emotional disturbance to the entire adult population, the bounds of credibility are being stretched beyond reason.

Weight of Opinion

Some opinions have, in the past, carried a weight out of all proportion to the quality of evidence they actually represent. The reference here is to those individuals who have noted that prisoners and juvenile delinquents show a stronger than average preference for media presentations dealing with crime and/or violence.⁵

In years past, many prison systems exercised strong censorship over the types of movies shown to inmates. Researchers in the 1930s and 1940s held that violent movies not only taught prisoners additional useful criminal techniques, but also contributed to making these individuals more violent than they already were.⁶ At the time, there was no useful data base to indicate how much media violence an average person – let alone a criminal – preferred. Certainly, aside from considerable conjecture about the matter, there is still no specific evidence to demonstrate that violence observed by inmates is any more likely to encourage them to be more violent, in the long run, than anyone else.

To date, then, there is widespread acceptance of the position that mentally disordered and/or socially maladjusted people are more susceptible than average to the violence portrayed in the media, although the position is little supported by firm evidence. The specific impact about which observers and researchers are concerned has to do with the role media violence plays in inciting violent action by these fringe groups of the population.

Other Effects

Of course, media violence has been implicated in effecting other changes in viewers apart from simply increasing their level of violent behaviour. For example, it is known that, among a normal population of viewers, portrayals of violence on television may bring about increased feelings of anxiety. If this happens to individuals in the general population, what might the effects be on someone who is already so pathologically anxious that he/she is in a mental institution?

The violence portrayed in the media often seems as calculated as any carefully constructed advertisement to make the viewer tense and anxious, to thrill the viewer by offering an opportunity for vicarious participation in acts of hostility and vengeance. In short, violence in the media excites and affects the average person.⁷ What does it do to those who are so mentally disordered or socially maladjusted that they have been institutionalized?

Purpose

It is the purpose of this study to examine selected institutionalized populations with respect to their attitudes and beliefs about violence in society. Of particular interest will be the relationships between these measures and the amount and types of media content preferred by the research subjects.

A companion study, "Violence, Media, and Mental Disorder", immediately preceding this study, examined a special sample of individuals drawn from the general population. This group also represents a form of fringe population – that is, approximately 50 per cent of the respondents in that study were selected because they exhibit significant symptoms of mental disorder.

This is a descriptive/comparative study; the project design will not enable anyone to draw firm inferences about causes and effects. The intent is not to demonstrate that exposure to a considerable amount of media violence *causes* the development of socially undesirable attitudes or beliefs. Rather, the purpose is to establish whether or not relationships between media use and certain hypothesized effects exist at all. A working assumption is that exposure to a high level of media violence causes people to be more violent than they otherwise would be. As a first step to examining that cause-effect relationship, this initial descriptive project is being conducted. The hypothesis to be tested is that individuals in the sample who act in a violent manner will report higher exposure levels of media violence than those individuals who exhibit less violent behaviours or inclinations.

Needless to say, the fact that high levels of exposure to the media tend to be associated with high levels of exposure to the portrayal of violence does not demonstrate that the media cause the violence. Indeed, a history of violence could cause the preference for certain types of media products. Alternatively, both high levels of violence and preference for media violence could be the result of yet another factor, such as a vitamin or hormone deficiency.

None the less, to demonstrate that the predicted relationships exist, whatever their cause, is an efficient and helpful step along the path toward determining causal factors.

Dynamics

Another point, while it cannot be addressed in this study, should be noted for its explanatory value. That is, why should institutionalized populations be more susceptible to influence by the media than any other population?

A number of aspects of institutional living need to be considered. First, it would appear, from discussions with the directors and staff of mental institutions, that the media are very important in the patients' or inmates' everyday lives. For most institutionalized persons, time drags. Individuals in institutions often like to work because it gives them something to do. To fill their

leisure time is often a problem. Also, the media are their "life line", their main contact with the world outside the institution.

It is probably reasonable to suggest that there would be considerable disruption in most institutions if, for example, no further access to television sets were allowed and no more weekly movies were to be booked. The strong reaction that undoubtedly would erupt would reflect the importance of the media in the lives of the institutionalized populations.

From a psychological point of view, it seems reasonable to expect that if the media are highly valued as both time fillers and means of contact with the outside world, then close attention will be paid to the content. Furthermore, one might suspect that, since it would be difficult for most inmates to judge the relative truth or falsity of media presentations against the "real world", there might emerge a dramatically false perception of the world outside the institution.

When the news is full of commentary on the robberies and attacks in the Toronto area, it is easy for people who live and work in downtown Toronto to put such media information into perspective. As most would attest, very few of them experience either robberies or attacks. Most individuals are aware of the parts of town and times of day in which it might be prudent to be wary. By arranging their lives accordingly, urban dwellers perceive their environment as being much safer than those who live outside of the city might think.

For individuals who have been institutionalized for some time, the violence in the world outside of their institution may begin to acquire more fear-arousing aspects than are actually justified.

Alternatively, in so far as media programming relies heavily on one form or another of violence, institutionalized individuals may feel that people have to be aggressive to get along in life outside of the institution.

A number of different effects that might be attributed to exposure to media violence have been postulated by various researchers and writers. Some of the most common effects mentioned in the literature are:

- aggressive attitudes and actions
- tolerance or apathetic attitudes toward violence
- anxiety or fearfulness about violence
- defensive or "victim-like" actions to cope with violence
- distorted beliefs or perceptions of the realities or facts about violence-related issues

These effects and various measurements of mental disorder are examined in greater detail in "Violence, the Media, and Mental Disorder," which precedes this study.

Institutional Groups Studied

The socially maladjusted and mentally disordered individuals in society are found in a wide variety of institutions. Furthermore, from institution to institution, and indeed within an institution itself, there are many different types or “levels” of individuals. For example, because of location, history and attitudes of the professional staff, certain psychiatric facilities tend to treat patients of a much higher socio-economic class than do other facilities. Also, some facilities maintain a very high proportion of seriously disturbed patients, and a very small outpatient department; in other facilities, the reverse is true.

To identify and study a sample of individuals who are representative of institutionalized mental patients would require a very extensive and expensive sample procedure – particularly if an effort is made to take into account differences within and between hospitals. The same problem exists with regard to the criminal population. Not only are there great differences between various training schools, jails, provincial correctional institutions, and federal correctional institutions, but there are many levels or classifications of criminals within each institution.

Institutions Sampled

For the purposes of this study, emphasis was placed upon the collection of data from a diverse population. That is, it was felt that nothing would be gained by directing all of the available resources to a study of just the mental-hospital population, or just the criminal population.

The second decision taken was that there must be some arbitrary selection of sub-groups within the population to be studied. Thus, while prisoners from two federal penitentiaries were included in the sample, only those incarcerated for committing a violent crime were interviewed. Details of the sampling procedure for each group will be discussed in this chapter.

Inmates from federal correctional institutions were drawn from the Millhaven and the Collins Bay Penitentiaries. Inmates from provincial correctional institutions were drawn from the Quinte Regional Detention Centre and from the Niagara Regional Detention Centre.

Adult patients were drawn from two sections of the Mental Health Centre – Penetanguishene, the Oakridges Division and the Mental Health Centre itself. A juvenile sample was drawn from the Hincks Treatment Centre in downtown Toronto and the Hincks Farm, near Collingwood.

Interviewing Federal Prisoners

A total of 91 individuals incarcerated in the federal correctional institutions at Collins Bay and Millhaven were interviewed. The directors of these institutions produced lists of inmates who had been convicted of crimes of violence – murder, attempted murder, assault with a weapon, and so on.

At each institution, a correctional officer brought five or six inmates at one time to the researcher. The project was explained to them and they were told that they could leave the room if they were not interested in participating. They were assured that their names need not be put on the questionnaires and that the questionnaires would not be shown to the institutional staff.

During both the explanation and the actual administration of the questionnaire, the correctional officers always waited outside of the research room.

Cooperation and Administration

Most of the inmates were very cooperative. Approximately 15 per cent refused to participate after listening to the researcher’s presentation. Many of the prisoners were either away from the prison for court appearances on the day the interviewer appeared, or were doing jobs that they could not leave at the time. About 30 per cent of those whose names were on the list prepared by the directors did not, for the above reasons, meet at all with the researcher.

Of course, all of the inmates knew, after the first one or two research meetings, what the project was about and why it was being done. Undoubtedly, some of those who did not meet with the researcher chose not to do so and gave excuses such as the above. The correctional officers also said that some of the inmates on the list did not come to listen to the explanation because they were

unable to read or write and did not want to admit that in public.

On the whole, the responses of both the correctional staff and the inmates who did participate suggest that the researcher was receiving a very high level of cooperation and acceptance, and that cases of genuine obstinacy or disinterest were relatively infrequent.

Each interviewee was asked to complete his own questionnaire. A few individuals had some difficulties in reading, but the group was always small enough that the researcher could go from desk to desk and give help when necessary.

A number of the inmates on the directors' lists were held in segregation cells. That is, they did not mix with the general prison population, and could not be brought to the research room in groups. Because of time constraints, the researcher could not carry out individual interviews with all of these persons. However, 12 such interviews, representing about 50 per cent of those in segregation, were completed. All those approached were very cooperative.

The total number of inmates interviewed in federal correctional institutions was 91.

Interviewing Provincial Prisoners

The directors of the Regional Detention Centres at Quinte and Niagara were also most cooperative in permitting the researchers to have access to the inmate population.

All the inmates in provincial institutions, are sentenced for a period of less than two years. On the average, the crimes for which they have been incarcerated are notably less serious than those committed by the population in federal penitentiaries.

Of course, the provincial prisons are only temporary homes for some of the inmates. Some, after the completion of various legal processes, are eventually shifted to federal penitentiaries. For this project, any inmates who were probably bound for the federal penitentiary system were not included in the sample.

Cooperation and Administration

Once again, the inmates took considerable interest in the project. They were extremely cooperative, and only a very small number of individuals refused to participate. Discussions with the correctional officers indicated that the primary reasons for refusals had to do more with the problem of literacy than disinterest.

The administration procedure was identical to that carried out in the federal penitentiaries. Again, the interviewer worked individually with anyone who had reading or writing difficulties.

The total number of individuals interviewed in both the Regional Detention Centres was 100.

Interviewing Adult Mental Patients

At the Penetang Mental Hospital, two wards were surveyed – an active treatment ward and an admitting

ward. The staff gathered the patients, after supper, into the lounge areas. Coffee and doughnuts were provided as an incentive to listen. The researcher explained the project and the reasons why there was a strong interest in gaining the participation and cooperation of the patients in mental hospitals.

On each ward, approximately 60 per cent of the available patients completed a questionnaire. Some of the apparently "able" patients refused to participate. However, most of those who failed to participate were either too disturbed to understand or too sensitive about their inability to read to allow the interviewer or the staff to assist them. The number of individuals who completed the questionnaires in Penetang was 40.

At the Oakridges facility, the same contact and explanation process was used. The four wards from which the sample was drawn included one admitting ward and three wards housing individuals who were most difficult to work with and probably least likely to be released in the near future. Many of these individuals were mentally retarded, and most of them had some reading difficulties.

The patients at Oakridges, in addition to being mentally ill, have been assigned to this facility either because they have been convicted of crimes or because they have proven to be too assaultive for other mental-health facilities to handle safely. The number of individuals interviewed at Oakridges facility was 39.

Interviewing Disturbed Juveniles

The Hincks Treatment Centre provides treatment for juveniles who exhibit behavioural and/or emotional problems. There are two locations where treatment and schooling are carried out – one in downtown Toronto and one on a farm some distance north of Toronto.

The Hincks Treatment Centre emphasizes very close and frequent contact between patients and the staff. Most of the patients attend school within the facility. Treatment and activity programs engage the patients almost full time. Unlike those in other institutions, there is little chance of "having nothing to do".

Cooperation and Administration

The staff of the Hincks chose to administer the questionnaire themselves at both the farm and the downtown location. The researchers briefed the staff with respect to some of the problems and difficulties they might encounter in administering the questionnaire.

There were a few extremely disturbed clients to whom the questionnaire was not given. However, cooperation was generally excellent. A total of 33 questionnaires were completed at these locations.

Chapter Three

Describing the Institutionalized Population

The purpose of this chapter is to present the researched findings that describe the personal characteristics of the respondents from the various populations studied.

The data for the various groups are juxtaposed purely for illustrative purposes. No attempt has been made to carry out analyses to determine the statistical significance of the observed differences. Given the nature of the populations and the way the respective samples were drawn, such analyses would be difficult to justify both conceptually and statistically.

Included in this presentation of data will be data collected in the companion study, using a similar questionnaire on a non-institutionalized population. (See preceding report in this volume.) This non-institutionalized population forms a comparison group of interest because it was selected in such a way as to represent what might be referred to as a fringe subgroup of the general population. Approximately 50 per cent of the respondents in this group exhibited symptoms of significant mental disorder. Furthermore, the comparison population contains an above-average number of individuals who have been arrested or who have friends who have been arrested. In short, the criminality and mental disorder that are characteristic of the institutionalized groups are present, in a subdued form, in the non-institutionalized population against which they are compared.

Age

The percentage of individuals falling into each category for the total sample studied appears in Exhibit 1.

Note that, as a group, the prisoners tend to be younger than the other two adult groups. This is to be expected, since researchers have long known that most of crimes are committed by individuals under the age of 35. The distribution of age among the mental patients is very similar to that of the comparison group.

Sex

Exhibit 2 indicates that the proportion of female prisoners interviewed was extremely small. In fact, the interviewers made no special efforts to collect data on female prisoners, since an adequate sample of this sub-

population would have involved visiting several other institutions. Moreover, only a small proportion of prisoners in Canada are female.

This over-representation of males in the prisoner group should be kept in mind while examining other differences among the groups. For example, such factors as employment rate, type of occupation, income levels, and so on are factors very much influenced by the sex factor.

Males are also over-represented in the mental-patient group. This is not characteristic of a typical mental hospital population; however, 39 of the total sample of 79 mental patients were drawn from a facility that treats only male patients.

Marital Status

The data on marital status (Exhibit 3), indicate that a relatively low percentage of the prisoners were married. However, the percentage of those who maintained a common-law relationship was much higher than that for the other two groups. This is a common situation among the prison population.

Education

Exhibit 4 shows that, among both prisoners and mental patients, a high proportion of respondents had not graduated from grade school. This is a common situation among prisoners – in fact, the figure for prisoners is probably somewhat unrepresentative. During the course of administering the questionnaire, one of the primary reasons for refusal to cooperate had to do with evidence of illiteracy on the part of inmates rather than hostility or disinterest.

Among mental patients, the high proportion of individuals who had not completed grade school is not representative of the general mental-hospital population. It reflects the limitations on the sampling procedure in one hospital. At this location, the interviewers were permitted only to select respondents from those four of the eight wards housing patients who exhibited the lowest levels of social competency. These are usually the less intelligent individuals with either more serious forms of mental disturbance or with a

Exhibit 1*Age*

Age levels	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
15 years or less	—	—	—	18.5%
16–17 years	—	—	—	74.1
18–24 years	32.6%	51.9%	32.4%	7.4
25–34 years	29.9	30.7	36.5	—
35–44 years	10.4	10.6	12.2	—
45–54 years	16.2	4.8	8.1	—
55–64 years	8.3	1.1	6.8	—
65 years and over	2.6	1.1	4.0	—
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 2*Sex*

Sex	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Female	59.8%	2.6%	21.5%	33.3%
Male	40.2	97.4	78.5	66.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 3*Marital Status*

Marital Status	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients
Married	38.1%	17.5%	18.0%
Common-law marriage	3.8	15.3	5.1
Widowed	4.4	3.7	5.1
Separation	2.8	2.6	5.1
Legal separation	5.1	3.2	2.6
Divorced	4.9	5.3	6.4
Single	40.9	52.4	57.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 4*Education*

Educational levels	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Grade school	9.4%	20.9%	35.3%	48.1%
Some high school	24.0	49.2	34.2	51.9
High school	19.1	11.0	16.5	—
Some college	22.9	11.0	3.8	—
Post high school	4.7	6.3	5.1	—
Community college	3.8	1.6	2.5	—
University	8.1	—	—	—
Some post graduate	4.0	—	1.3	—
Post graduate	4.0	—	1.3	—
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

cultural or social-class background that manifests itself in both grossly inappropriate social behaviour and an unwillingness or inability to show significant improvement with treatment or training.

The questions asked of respondents required a high enough level of understanding and judgment that no seriously retarded individuals could complete the interview, even with significant assistance from the interviewer. Thus, the sampling procedure dictated that the 39 individuals from this institution represented the best of the worst wards. Nevertheless, a high proportion were illiterate. This will be reflected in subsequent data to be discussed concerning the use of print media.

Race

The data on racial origin shown in Exhibit 5 indicates some minor differences among the groups. Note that the category of "mixed, or refused" appears frequently in the prisoners' group and the juveniles' group. Those in the prisoners' population were characteristically open in discussing the question. In most cases, the racial mixture was such that the individual could not be reasonably placed in any of the four major categories. As for the juvenile group, however, the questionnaires were administered by the staff of the institution. The racial issue, being a sensitive one in Canadian society, was apparently regarded by many of the students as being either private or irrelevant information. Thus, many of the questionnaires were returned with no response to the question.

Exhibit 5*Race*

Racial category	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Asiatic	2.3%	2.1%	2.5%	9.1%
Negro	4.4	7.9	—	3.0
Caucasian	90.3	79.4	96.2	69.7
East Indian	1.1	1.1	—	—
Mixed or refused	1.9	9.5	1.3	18.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Income

For the data in income, the question asked of the comparison group was slightly different from that asked of the institutionalized groups. The latter groups were asked to state their income for the year just preceding

their entry into the institution. This can be a highly complex question for many individuals in a institutionalized population. Many of them have been in and out of institutions all their lives, and have never really worked for a full year. Many of them are very young —

particularly the prisoners – and this would naturally limit the type of occupation or career that they could have initiated before being incarcerated. Of course, the percentage figures that appear in Exhibit 6 are based only upon those individuals who were able to respond to this question.

The mental patients obviously report the lowest levels of income. This finding replicates previous research that demonstrates that, among non-institutionalized individuals who exhibit symptoms of mental disorder, income levels are significantly lower than for those individuals who exhibit no symptomology.¹

The prisoners report earning a distinctly higher level of income than the other groups. This is largely due to the fact that virtually the entire population is male. In the comparison group, it will be recalled, over 50 per cent are female. Employment level among females is not only generally lower than for males, but the levels of income earned by females is typically lower than that earned by males.

Exhibit 6

Personal Income

Income level	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients
Up to \$4,000	42.3%	22.3%	55.1%
\$4,001–\$8,000	24.9	28.0	23.3
\$8,001–\$14,000	20.7	21.7	13.3
Over \$14,000	12.1	28.0	8.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Employment Status

The data on employment status presented in Exhibit 7, also arise from questions that are somewhat differently phrased for those in the institutionalized populations.

For the comparison group, these figures represent the employment status at the time of the interview. For the prisoners and the mental patients, the figures reflect their employment status shortly before being institutionalized. For these latter groups, it was explained that this referred to the period before they had committed the crime for which they were incarcerated, or before they had to “see someone” about coming to the mental hospital.

In our society, the ability to find and hold a job is a basic criterion used by mental-health professionals to determine an individual’s ability to cope with the demands of his/her environment. Among a group of individuals, the level of employment could reasonably be expected to be a measure of the social adjustment of that group.

As might be expected, more individuals in the

prisoners’ and mental patients’ group than in the comparison group were unemployed and looking for full-time work. While the actual employment rate was highest among the prisoners, it should be kept in mind that these were almost all males, whereas the comparison group had a slight majority of females.

Of particular interest in the prisoners’ group is the figure indicating that a very high proportion of these males were neither working nor looking for work. In Canada, the average level of unemployment among the labour force usually runs between 6 and 9 per cent. Even though perhaps 10 per cent of the prison population may have been too young or in school, just prior to their prison sentence, this still leaves a very significant proportion who had not been working. Since only a very small proportion of those in prison are generally considered to be career criminals, it can only be assumed that prisoners differ significantly from the general population in being either not interested in or unable to find employment. This leaves considerable opportunity – and perhaps creates the inclination – to engage in illegitimate activities.

Exhibit 7

Employment Status

Employment status	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients
Employed full-time	39.6%	45.5%	31.5%
Employed part-time	17.2	6.3	19.2
Unemployed, looking for full-time work	10.4	20.6	15.1
Unemployed, looking for part-time work	5.0	3.7	8.2
Not working and not looking for work	27.8	23.9	26.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Occupation

In the comparison group, the occupations of the respondents at the time of the interview were recorded into one of the categories appearing in Exhibit 8. Those prisoners and mental patients who were employed before being institutionalized were asked what their last job had been and this information was translated into the eight occupational categories. In keeping with the lower educational levels noted in both the institutionalized groups (Exhibit 4), the proportion of individuals in the category of “labourer” was much higher than for the comparison group population.

Note that the percentage of individuals falling into the professional/technical category is significantly higher for the comparison group than for the other two

Exhibit 8

Occupation

Occupational category	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients
Professional/Technical	22.9%	3.0%	5.1%
Managers	7.9	11.7	2.6
Secretarial (senior)	7.1	—	—
Secretarial (clerical)	15.4	1.0	—
Sales	12.0	2.0	—
Craftsmen	6.4	12.9	15.4
Operatives	5.6	19.8	5.1
Service Workers	11.3	2.0	23.1
Labourers	8.7	44.6	43.6
Household workers	2.7	3.0	4.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

groups. This reflects the higher educational level of the comparison group, but it is also a function of the sampling procedure. Of those individuals approached to submit to the interview, many more in the professional/technical group than at lower educational levels showed a strong interest in the project.

Health

All respondents were asked if, during the last year or so, they had consulted someone about their physical health, mental health, or family problems.

Physical Health

Exhibit 9 shows that relatively high proportions of individuals in the institutionalized populations felt that they should have sought assistance from a medical doctor, but did not. None of the institutionalized groups actually did see a medical doctor about their physical health as frequently as those in the comparison group. Many of the institutionalized individuals simply indicated that they felt no need to see a doctor.

Exhibit 9

Assistance Needed For Physical Health

Sought help in past year from medical doctor	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Yes, I should have	7.6%	18.5%	19.5%	21.9%
Yes, I actually did	66.9	36.6	42.9	34.4
No	25.5	44.9	37.6	43.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Mental Health

Respondents were also asked if, during the last year, they had seen a psychologist or a psychiatrist for reasons of mental health.

Exhibit 10 demonstrates the familiar reluctance of individuals in our society to admit that they need assistance for their mental problems. In one of the mental hospitals from which the sample was drawn, there were no voluntary commitments whatever. All patients were there either because they had been convicted of criminal acts or because they had proven to be violent or unmanageable in other mental hospitals. In the other hospital, a sample was drawn from two wards; one was an active treatment ward, but the other was an admitting ward. A significant proportion of patients are brought by police to admitting wards for observation – usually against their will.

There is a certain reluctance on the part of mental patients, committed against their wishes, to agree to

their own need for treatment for psychological problems. This attitude explains the 23.1 per cent who have seen no need for professional assistance during the past year. Another common complaint among mental patients is that they simply do not get to see a psychologist or psychiatrist as frequently as they feel they need to. Thus, some will always report that they should be receiving more treatment, but have not been able to convince either their doctors or the staff of this fact.

All of the juveniles are in attendance – mostly as in-patients – in a centre for emotionally disturbed children. Of the total number, 43.3 per cent reported that they felt no need to seek the assistance of a psychologist or psychiatrist during the past year. Perhaps this is because many of them perceive their difficulties as behaviour problems, problems involving bad habits, or problems that reside in their family structure rather than in themselves personally.

Exhibit 10

Assistance Needed For Mental Health Problems

Sought help in past year for family problems	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Yes, I should have	9.6%	11.9%	21.8%	13.3%
Yes, I actually did	13.6	19.8	55.1	43.4
No	76.8	68.3	23.1	43.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As already explained, the comparison group was selected from the general population in such a way as to ensure that approximately 50 per cent of the sample would be considered to be "cases" of mental disorder. That is, if actually interviewed by a clinical psychologist or psychiatrist, these individuals would be considered to exhibit a level of symptomology that would normally justify professional assistance.

The questionnaire used to discriminate between those with and without significant levels of symptomology,

was designed for use among a non-institutionalized population. It was not designed to identify individuals who exhibit bizarre and extreme psychotic behaviours. Nor was it designed to identify those who, for their own ends, choose to respond to the questions in such a way as to demonstrate that they are perfectly healthy. As Exhibit 11 indicates, approximately 50 per cent of each of the groups studied exhibits a significant level of symptomology.

Exhibit 11

Incidence of Mental Disorder

Cases of disorder	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
No significant symptomology	53.7%	55.0%	43.0%	48.5%
Mental disorder	46.3	45.0	57.0	51.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In itself, the division of each population into "cases", and "non-cases" provides only partial information. Within any group of mentally disordered individuals, there are obviously varying levels of severity of disorder.

Researchers have noted that the Goldberg questionnaire, used for this project to identify mentally disordered respondents, can also be used to give some measure of severity of disorder.² That is to say, the more symptoms the respondent indicates that he/she has, the more severe the level of disorder is usually judged to be by a clinical psychiatrist or psychologist.

The range of scores on the Goldberg scale is zero to 30. Considerable research had demonstrated that scores of four or less on this questionnaire indicate that the respondent does not exhibit any significant symptoms of mental disorder. A score of five or more places the individual in the mentally disordered category. This distinction is useful, from a medical standpoint, for indicating who does or does not need treatment. There is less agreement among clinicians as to what precise score on the Goldberg questionnaire discriminates between the severely disordered and those who are

merely moderately disordered. The data produced by previous researchers, however, suggest that, as a rough guideline, scores of 13 and above constitute severe levels of disorder.

At the other end of the scale, it is possible to examine a population in terms of those who have almost a total absence of any symptoms whatever and those who exhibit a few symptoms, but obviously not enough to constitute a significant state of mental disorder. Exhibit 12 indicates the number of individuals in each group who fall into the extreme categories. The distribution of responses for the prisoners and comparison group are very similar: between 16 and 17 per cent exhibit a severe level of symptomology. However, among the mental patients, fully twice as many individuals exhibit severe levels of symptomology and almost one-third fewer in this population than in the other adult populations fall into the lowest levels of symptomology.

Most of the juvenile population cluster in the two middle categories. Since the questionnaire was designed and validated on an adult population, the significance of these scores as they actually reflect levels of disorder among juveniles is of interest, but of questionable value.

Exhibit 12*Severity of Mental Disorder*

Levels of severity	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
No disorder (1 or fewer symptoms)	31.8%	35.3%	24.0%	18.1%
Clinically insignificant disorder (2-4 symptoms)	21.9	22.7	19.0	30.3
Moderate disorder (5-12 symptoms)	30.1	24.9	26.6	45.5
Severe disorder (13 or more symptoms)	16.2	17.1	30.4	6.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Family Problems

In Exhibit 13, the differences among groups are quite marked as to the degree to which they feel they need assistance for family problems. Note particularly the juvenile group, of which only 19.3 per cent felt no need to seek assistance for their family problems. At the other extreme, less than 20 per cent of those in the

comparison group felt that they needed assistance for this type of difficulty.

The majority of the mental patients (55.3 per cent) report that they either sought or should have sought, assistance in dealing with family problems. This reflects the principle that family difficulties are either a precipitating cause, or an outcome of mental disorder.

Exhibit 13*Assistance Needed For Family Problems*

Sought help in past year for family problems	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Yes, I should have	6.4%	16.5%	23.7%	32.3%
Yes, I actually did	12.1	17.0	31.6	48.4
No	81.5	66.5	44.7	19.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chapter Four

Media Use

All respondents were asked questions about how much time, or how frequently, they exposed themselves to television, movies, newspapers, magazines, and radio. They were also asked the types of presentations or programs they most preferred in these media.

Among the institutionalized populations, the access to certain media may be limited by institutional regulations or activities. For example, approximately half of the juvenile sample was located at a residential unit in which television viewing was not permitted. This group was asked how much television they viewed before institutionalization.

Television

All respondents were asked to indicate how many hours a day they watched television and to identify the programs they watched regularly during the past six months.

The data in Exhibit 14 suggest that there are large differences in the viewing patterns of the various populations. The juveniles are the heaviest users of television, followed by the prisoners and the mental patients; the comparison group were the lightest viewers.

There is an interesting bi-modal distribution of viewing times for the mental patients. The high percentage of non-viewers possibly reflects the fact that

some forms of serious psychiatric disturbance are manifested in the individual's withdrawal from many forms of external stimuli, obviously including television. The heavy viewing among mental patients is not particularly surprising. The results of the comparison study demonstrated that mental disorder is associated with heavy television viewing among non-institutionalized populations.

Types of Viewers

The previous research also associated television viewing habits with various personal characteristics of viewers – such as level of mental disorder, educational level, and so on.

A number of analyses were carried out in an attempt to identify personal characteristics of the prison and mental-patient populations that would discriminate between the heavy and light viewers of television. No significant relationships emerged in any of the analyses.

Media use within institutions is probably a function of certain factors that do not operate in non-institutionalized settings. A common complaint in institutions, for example, is that there is “nothing to do”. Thus, it should not be surprising that some individuals who are heavy viewers would not likely fall into that category outside the institution.

Exhibit 14

Hours of Television Watched Per Day

Hours per day	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Never	13.0%	15.7%	31.2%	6.4%
1–2 hours	50.7	33.0	18.8	39.7
3–4 hours	21.7	19.5	15.6	26.9
4–5 hours	7.6	9.1	9.4	12.8
6 or more hours	7.0	22.7	25.0	14.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Programs Viewed

All respondents were asked the names of the television programs they had viewed regularly during the past six months. No lists of suggested programs, were shown to the respondents, nor did the interviewers suggest either categories or names of popular programs. The types of programs that respondents reported viewing regularly were coded into 12 different categories, as listed in Exhibit 15.

For purposes of analysis, the actual number of crime dramas, comedies, and soap operas was recorded for each respondent. Exhibit 16 presents the percentage of individuals in each group reporting one or more of these types of programs. The popularity of crime and comedy programs among all groups reflects the fact that these are among the most popular types of presentations on television today.

The differences in preferences between the groups are interesting, but any sustained commentary elaborating on the probable reasons for such differences would be highly speculative and not particularly productive.

It should be emphasized that these data are not necessarily representative of the popularity or frequency with which the various categories of programs are watched among the general population. The nature of the questionnaire was such that everyone was aware that the study was concerned with the relationship between media use and violence. This may well have influenced respondents' answers, both as to the amount of television they watch and as to the type of programs they watch regularly.

Attempts were made to relate demographic characteristics or other patterns of media use to such factors as quantity of crime or comedy programs viewed by the various institutionalized populations. However, none of the analyses generated any significant findings.

Movies

Respondents were asked how often they went to movies and what sort of movies they liked to see the most. The institutionalized individuals were asked to report on

Exhibit 15

Type of Television Programs Mentioned

Type of Program	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Crime (<i>Kojak</i>)	18.6%	23.7%	19.7%	33.3%
Comedy (<i>Mary Tyler Moore</i>)	22.0	19.4	27.3	18.3
Soap operas (<i>Edge of Night</i>)	10.2	2.5	6.1	8.3
News	10.3	5.9	5.3	0.0
Sports	5.8	8.5	9.1	5.0
Movies/Entertainment specials	8.2	11.6	6.8	8.3
Talk shows (<i>Johnny Carson</i>)	4.0	1.7	3.0	0.0
Game shows	3.6	3.9	3.0	1.7
Historical/Drama (<i>The Waltons</i>)	7.6	12.4	6.0	11.7
Educational (<i>Wild Kingdom</i>)	5.6	1.4	3.8	3.4
Musical/Variety (<i>Sonny and Cher</i>)	4.0	9.0	9.9	10.0
Continuous dramas (<i>Saga</i>)	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 16

Per Cent Mentioning Crime/Comedy/Soap Operas

Type of Program	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Crime	37.5%	44.5%	32.9%	60.6%
Comedy	44.2	36.1	45.6	33.3
Soap operas	20.4	10.1	10.1	15.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

their movie attendance before they came to the institution.

Within the institutions, movies were usually available once or twice a week. For the most part, they were attended not so much out of choice but simply because they represented "the only show in town".

The data presented in Exhibit 17 indicate that most adults attend movies five or fewer times a year. Mental patients tend to be the heaviest users of this medium among the adult population, but are far out-stripped by the attendance record of the juveniles.

While the sample involved is too small to suggest that the findings have any major level of significance, it is interesting to recall that preference for crime programs on television is no higher for mental patients than for the comparison group. For the most part, mental patients were reporting on the programs they had watched since coming to the institution. Reports on movies, and types of movies preferred, however, reflected what the institutionalized person had done and preferred *before* coming to the institution. While it must be emphasized again that the data are too scanty to

Exhibit 17

Frequency of Movie Attendance

Frequency of attendance	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Never	18.3%	13.8%	15.8%	6.3%
1-5 per year	43.7	44.4	51.3	18.8
6-12 per year	20.8	15.3	3.9	9.4
2-5 per month	13.6	19.6	23.7	43.8
6 per month or more	3.6	6.9	5.3	21.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Movie Preferences

Respondents were asked what sort of movies they preferred. Their preferences were coded into the six categories listed in Exhibit 18. Among the adult populations, the non-institutionalized group reports preferring a much higher percentage of comedies and a much lower percentage of movies with violence than the other groups. Of course, the interest exhibited by prisoners for films of a violent nature have been noted by other researchers.¹ Among mental patients, the preference for violent themes in the media has been noted anecdotally in discussions the researcher has had with hospital staff but has not previously been documented in research.

justify more than the most speculative hypothesis, a possible subject for further research might be the impact of drug treatment, psychotherapy, or simply removal to another environment on the mental patients' media preferences.

Types of Violence

As well as being asked to cite the types of movie they preferred, respondents were asked to give the names of one or two movies they had enjoyed. These were analyzed as to the type of violence, if any, they contained.

For example, violence was considered to be a major

Exhibit 18

Type of Movie Mentioned

Type of movie	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Comedy	29.6%	10.8%	12.9%	35.0%
Musical/Disney	11.3	10.1	14.1	0.0
Biographies/Documentaries	7.7	5.1	3.5	0.0
Romance/Drama	23.2	15.2	16.5	5.0
Violence	23.2	53.7	52.9	60.0
Other/Foreign	5.0	5.1	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 19*Type of Violent Theme in Movies Cited*

Type of violent theme	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Crime (<i>The Godfather</i>)	18.5%	22.8%	14.0%	27.3%
Adventure (westerns)	18.8	20.0	20.0	9.1
Historical (<i>Barry Lyndon</i> , <i>Battle of Midway</i>)	8.1	2.3	14.0	0.0
Humorous (<i>Murder by Death</i> , <i>The Sting</i>)	14.4	8.8	2.0	18.2
Fantasy/Horror (<i>The Exorcist</i> , <i>Frenzy</i>)	17.0	14.4	22.0	27.3
Vigilante (<i>Straw Dogs</i> , <i>Billy Jack</i>)	3.3	11.2	2.0	0.0
Disaster/Nature (<i>Earthquake</i> , <i>Jaws</i>)	7.4	8.8	22.0	18.1
Other (psychological issues, or mixed)	12.5	11.7	4.0	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

theme in the movie *The Godfather*. The actual type of violence involved was categorized as being "crime violence". Violence was also considered to be a major theme in the movie *The Exorcist*, but the type of violence here was categorized as "fantasy violence". Exhibit 19 lists the various types of violence represented in the movies cited by respondents.

Note that the most frequent types of violence cited by mental patients involve fantasy/horror and disastrous natural events. Among prisoners, the most frequently cited type of violence is – perhaps appropriately enough – crime violence. Juveniles lean toward fantasy/horror violence and crime violence.

Newspapers

Respondents were asked how frequently they read a newspaper. The differences among the groups are quite striking. Among the comparison group, only 14.4 per

cent read a newspaper less frequently than once or twice a week. The figure jumps to 31 per cent among prisoners and 46.1 per cent among mental patients. While there is naturally some disinterest among institutionalized patients on matters concerning current affairs outside their environment, it should be recalled that a significant proportion of prisoners, and an even greater proportion of the mental patients, are illiterate or at least find it highly troublesome to read. If the functionally illiterate were excluded from these institutionalized populations, it is very likely that the distribution of reading habits would not be all that different from the comparison group.

Juveniles, of course, tend to be light newspaper readers, whether they are institutionalized or not. Thus, the figures presented in Exhibit 20 are accurate for the juveniles, since virtually no one in this group would be considered functionally illiterate.

Exhibit 20*Frequency of Newspaper Reading*

Frequency of reading	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Less than 1 per month	4.9%	12.3%	25.0%	18.2%
1–3 per month	9.5	18.7	21.1	21.2
1–2 per week	18.4	12.8	17.1	18.2
3–5 per week	19.1	22.5	21.1	18.2
6 or more per week	48.1	33.7	15.8	24.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Number of Newspapers Read

Many individuals, when asked to name the paper they usually read, named more than one.

Among the prison population, virtually everyone reported a "favourite" paper, even though many individuals did not read a newspaper regularly. In institutions, everyone has free and ready access to a wide

variety of papers. As Exhibit 21 indicates, the prisoner group and the comparison group are remarkably similar with respect to the number of newspapers named.

Mental patients name fewer newspapers than the other groups – again reflecting the very real problem with a level of functional illiteracy among this sample.

Exhibit 21

Number of Different Newspapers Read

Numbers	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
None	6.1%	–	20.3%	21.2%
1 newspaper	59.4	56.9%	58.2	39.4
2 newspapers	27.4	24.6	19.0	24.2
3 newspapers	5.9	12.0	–	9.1
4 or more newspapers	1.2	6.5	2.5	6.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In Exhibit 22 the names of the newspapers cited are listed. It must be emphasized that these data are in no way representative of the actual readership, on a city- or province-wide basis, of the newspapers cited. The prisoner and mental-patient populations have a high level of readership among "other Canadian" newspapers. This is simply due to the fact that the comparison

group sample was drawn from the Toronto area, while the correctional institutions and hospital facilities from which the other groups were drawn are located outside Toronto. As would be expected, then, many of these individuals probably read the local newspaper as well as the large Toronto dailies.

Exhibit 22

Name of Newspaper(s) Read

Name of newspaper	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
<i>The Toronto Star</i>	48.4%	18.0%	56.8%	51.4%
<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	22.0	6.2	8.6	22.9
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	15.0	7.3	7.4	2.9
<i>The New York Times</i>	8.1	8.4	2.5	14.3
Other Canadian	3.8	56.7	23.5	8.5
Other non-Canadian	2.7	3.4	1.2	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Preferred Sections

Respondents were also asked to identify any particular section or sections of the newspaper they preferred to read. Approximately 20 per cent of the respondents who read newspapers indicated that there was no particular section or sections that they preferred. Of those who did

have preferences, it is clear, from Exhibit 23, that the news and family sections are both frequently cited. Among the prisoners' group – which is virtually all male – there is a strong preference for the sports section. The family section is, nevertheless, still one of the favourite sections, even among the prisoners.

Exhibit 23*Preferred Section(s) of the Newspaper*

Preferred sections	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Family/Women/Health	23.1%	13.6%	15.7%	9.4%
Comics/Horoscope/Crossword	8.8	18.2	14.3	12.5
Entertainment/Culture	15.3	3.2	11.4	25.0
Advertisements	5.0	8.4	10.0	6.3
Sports	11.1	27.9	17.0	28.1
Travel	1.7	0.0	2.9	0.0
Business/Financial	3.1	3.3	0.0	0.0
News/Editorials	31.9	25.4	28.7	18.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Magazines

The data about the frequency with which magazines are read is presented in Exhibit 24. Even with the problem of functional illiteracy, the proportion of those who indicate they "never read magazines" is very much the

same across all groups. Interviewees who were unable to read, or who found reading an arduous task, usually commented that they regularly went through magazines to look at the pictures and to either "puzzle out" the writing or to ask a friend to read it to them.

Exhibit 24*Frequency of Magazine Reading*

Frequency	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Never read magazines	17.1%	15.6%	17.1%	12.1%
1 magazine per month	27.5	17.2	37.1	18.2
2-3 magazines per month	25.7	26.3	18.6	33.3
4-5 magazines per month	15.6	10.3	17.1	9.1
6 or more magazines per month	14.1	30.6	10.1	27.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Number of Magazines Mentioned

The respondents were also asked to name the magazines they usually read. The number of magazines read were counted and this data for the different groups appears in Exhibit 25.

Note that a significant proportion of individuals in all groups did not mention the name of any magazines. Typically, such individuals would respond that they never regularly read or purchased any particular magazine but rather would just read anything at hand – usually while they were waiting for someone or for something else to happen. There is considerable similarity across all groups as to the number of magazines read, although it is clear that the mental patients tend to be the lightest users of this medium.

Types of Magazines

The types of magazines that individuals read was coded into the seven categories listed in Exhibit 26.

As might be expected of incarcerated, predominantly male populations, the romance/sex category is a favourite among prisoners and, to a lesser degree, among mental patients. Note that the prisoners show little interest for the escapist or fantasy fare that is representative of popular fiction. On the other hand, they are more interested than the other groups in special topic magazines. These represent a different type of fantasy, dealing with the world of things or activities, rather than story-lines about people.

Exhibit 25*Number of "Usually Read" Magazines Mentioned*

Numbers	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Named no magazine	19.6%	20.4%	29.1%	27.3%
1 magazine	18.5	13.6	21.5	24.2
2 magazines	22.1	15.7	19.0	15.2
3 magazines	18.1	21.5	16.5	6.1
4 magazines	10.5	13.1	10.1	12.1
5 magazines or more	11.2	15.7	3.8	15.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 26*Types of Magazines Mentioned*

Types of magazines	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Home/Fashion (<i>McCall's</i> , <i>Cosmopolitan</i>)	22.9%	0.4%	10.8%	12.2%
Special topic (<i>Modern Photography</i> , <i>Road & Track</i>)	15.9	31.1	20.4	26.8
Business (<i>Time</i> , <i>Fortune</i>)	22.9	24.6	17.2	19.5
Romance/Sex (<i>Playboy</i> , <i>True Romance</i>)	8.4	31.1	21.5	12.2
Popular Fiction (<i>Redbook</i> , <i>Reader's Digest</i>)	17.9	4.8	23.7	17.1
Intellectual/Educational (<i>Scientific American</i> , <i>Canadian Forum</i>)	10.4	7.6	3.2	12.2
Non-English, non-French	1.6	0.4	3.2	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Radio

The data in Exhibit 27 indicate that prisoners are among the heaviest users of radio. This is purely coincidental, however, since in some areas the radio is turned on and piped over a sound system. In institutions in general, the radio is not really a medium that reflects much in the way of personal choice on the part of the

listener. Rooms and/or cells are often shared with others and are often in such close proximity to the quarters of other individuals that the notion of preference is likely to reflect the program the respondent hates least of those to which he must generally listen.

Exhibit 27*Frequency of Radio Listening*

Frequency	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Never listen to radio	6.3%	1.6%	8.9%	3.0%
Under 1 hour per day	23.2	13.3	27.8	15.2
1-2 hours per day	31.6	19.7	25.3	36.4
3-4 hours per day	18.6	23.9	20.3	21.2
5 hours or more per day	20.3	41.5	17.7	24.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The Heavy Media User

The data presented in the preceding pages clearly indicates that the institutionalized populations often use the media more heavily than the comparison group of non-institutionalized individuals.

Television

For example, let us assume that anyone who watches television for more than four hours a day is a heavy user of that medium. The percentages of individuals from each group in the "heavy use" category are as follows:

- 14.6 per cent of the comparison group
- 31.8 per cent of the prisoners
- 34.4 per cent of the mental patients
- 27.0 per cent of the juveniles

Movies

Consider that heavy users of movies attend movies at the rate of two per month or more. The data for the various groups can be summarized as follows:

- 27.2 per cent of the comparison group
- 26.5 per cent of the prisoners
- 29.0 per cent of the mental patients
- 65.7 per cent of the juveniles

Note that for the prisoners and mental patients, the figures cited are for the period before they entered the institution. All other media-use figures refer to the current (in-institution) situation.

Newspapers

Newspapers are an exception. They are obviously of less concern and interest to institutionalized populations. Furthermore, functional illiteracy is the problem within these groups. If reading a newspaper six times or more per week is considered to constitute heavy use of this medium, the data are as follows:

- 48.1 per cent of the comparison group
- 33.7 per cent of the prisoners
- 15.8 per cent of the mental patients
- 24.2 per cent of the juveniles

Magazines

Those who read six or more magazines per month would be considered heavy users of this medium. The percentages of heavy users for the various groups are as follows:

- 14.1 per cent of the comparison group
- 30.6 per cent of the prisoners
- 10.1 per cent of the mental patients
- 27.3 per cent of the juveniles

Radio

Anyone who listens to the radio for three hours a day or more may be considered a heavy user of the medium. The data for this group are as follows:

- 38.9 per cent of the comparison group
- 65.4 per cent of the prisoners
- 38.0 per cent of the mental patients
- 46.4 per cent of the juveniles

With the exception of movies, the two institutionalized adult groups have ready access to the same media as those in the comparison population. They also have more "time on their hands" than those in the comparison population. Major differences lie in television viewing – there being twice as many heavy viewers among the institutionalized adult populations as in the comparison group. A second major difference lies in the higher frequency of heavy magazine readers and radio listeners among the prisoner population than among the comparison group.

It is difficult to compare the juvenile group to the adult groups because any differences observed are probably more likely due to the impact of age differences on media use than on differences in institutions and reasons for being institutionalized.

Aggression and Assault

For years, many people have felt that exposure to media violence can lead individuals to act in a more violent manner than they otherwise would. The question has been subjected to many research studies, but the answers are still far from clear.

There is no question that, under some circumstances, exposure to violent films can induce individuals to act more aggressively than they normally would.¹ However, there is still considerable controversy surrounding the validity as well as the practical implications of these findings.

One issue of some importance that has been overlooked is the impact of media violence on an individual's attitudes. Outright aggressiveness occurs very seldom in our society. Therefore, to study this phenomenon it is often necessary to create somewhat sterile and unrealistic definitions of violence that can be studied under closely controlled laboratory situations.

However, it is just as important to assess an individual's attitudes toward aggression. Of course, this is not to suggest that there is a close relationship between attitudes and behaviours with respect to the dimension of aggressiveness.² Nonetheless, it is reasonable to suggest that an individual's perceptions of, and acceptance of, violence in the environment – not to mention the manner in which he/she might actually act under pressure – is not only a reflection of attitudes, but also has certain obvious implications for social harmony.

What is Measured

Researchers have noted that there are no existing measurement techniques which can be used on the general population to accurately assess the future probability of an individual acting in a violent manner.³ The best predictor of future violent behaviour is a record of past violent behaviour.⁴

In this study, several different approaches were taken to the assessment of the respondent's aggressiveness or aggressive attitudes. The measurement techniques included the following:

- A series of opinion and "probable behaviour" questions were designed to discriminate between

individuals holding aggressive and those holding non-aggressive attitudes;

- A question asked about the respondent's recent involvement in a physical fight;
- A question asked about the respondent's arrest record;
- The degree of violence involved in the crime for which the respondent reportedly was arrested was assessed.
- A question asked about the arrest record of the respondent's friends.
- This record was assessed as to the degree of violence involved in the crime for which the friends were arrested.

Measurement Validity

In the companion research project, these techniques were used to assess varying levels of aggressive attitudes among the group that, herein, is designated as the "comparison group".

A number of relationships were found to exist between media-use patterns, aggressive attitudes, and experiences. In so far as there are no standardized measures of aggressive attitudes, it was felt that the data collected for this project could add some validity to the measurement techniques used. That is, there is every reason to believe that individuals in prison exhibit more aggressive attitudes than those in the general population. This assumption bore some relationship to actual circumstances in that approximately one-half of the prison population – those drawn from the federal correctional institutions – had been incarcerated for committing acts of violence such as murder or attempted murder.

Furthermore, approximately one-half of the individuals selected from mental institutions were there because they had committed acts of violence.

Thus, if the measures used to assess the level of aggressive attitudes among the general population have any validity at all, this should be reflected in the more extreme scores on the various measurement devices

used for those individuals in these institutionalized populations.

Attitudes

The items used to assess aggressive attitudes are presented in Exhibit 28. Respondents were asked to give one of the following responses to each question:

- strongly disagree
- disagree
- agree
- strongly agree

The questions were worded in such a way that, for a respondent to express attitudes that are consistently in the direction of aggressiveness, he/she had to give a disagreement response to some questions and an agreement response to others. This form of questionnaire construction is a necessary precaution to force the respondent to think about each question before answering it. Otherwise, there is a tendency for respondents to settle into the use of one choice and then proceed to use it throughout the questionnaire. Of course, the question reversal technique is also a standard procedure used to eliminate the so-called agreement – set response pattern.⁵

Each question was scored on a scale of one to four; the responses were summed to create a scale score representing a measure of each individual's aggressive attitudes.

Exhibit 28

Aggressive Attitudes Items

You should not kill someone, if you have the chance, just because they try to rob you of the \$20 you have in your wallet.

If you were a policeman or policewoman, you would solve more crimes by being tough with your suspects and informers, than by being nice.

People usually have to be pushy, aggressive, and tough to be successful in society today.

If someone insults you or cheats you, you should be able to “get back at them” if the police do not do anything.

If someone teases or insults you without reason, you never hit them or threaten to hit them.

You do *not* lose your temper very easily.

Even if you had the chance, you would probably not try to kill someone who was trying to kill you.

If you had the chance, you would kill someone who was attempting to rob you.

There are a few crooked people in your neighbourhood or at work, who you would like to see get “beat up” to teach them a lesson.

Even if they don't have the evidence, the police usually know who the criminals in a neighbourhood are.

You cannot imagine yourself hurting or killing someone “just for the heck of it”.

Every now and then, you get so frustrated that you just feel like “smashing someone”.

You have quite a few arguments with people.

You are easy-going until pushed too far, then you explode.

Inter-Group Comparisons

The mean (average) score, along with the other basic statistical information, was calculated for each of the groups. On this scale, the lower the score, the stronger or more intense the aggressive attitudes. The means and the standard deviations for each of the groups (in parentheses) are as follows:

- 31.901 (5.779) for the comparison group
- 25.243 (6.050) for the prisoners
- 24.310 (5.779) for the mental patients
- 25.424 (6.215) for the juveniles

It has already been noted that, among the comparison group, there is a significant relationship between mental disorder and scores on the aggressiveness scale. That is, those who exhibited significant symptoms of mental disorder also tended to have the stronger aggressive attitudes. This relationship between mental disorder and attitudes did not hold for the institutional groups.

Fighting/Criminality

Exhibit 29, indicates that there are differences between various groups with respect to their reporting involvement in a physical fight during the month preceding the interview. There is little doubt that all of the institutionalized groups actually exhibit more physical aggression than the comparison group. The level of aggression among the juvenile group seems to be exceptionally, and perhaps unrealistically, high. It will be recalled that there was very little control over the administration of the questionnaires to the juvenile group. It is extremely likely that the fact that the questionnaire was administered by institutional staff led the respondents to take the matter somewhat less seriously than they would have if it had been administered by a stranger.

The arrest record of the respondents in the various groups is presented in Exhibit 30. The implication here is that aggression is an anti-social act. Being arrested does not necessarily demonstrate that the individual has

Exhibit 29

Recent Fighting Experience

Have you had a physical fight in the past month?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Yes, with a stranger	2.7%	14.8%	6.4%	3.0%
Yes, with a friend	1.5	7.1	9.0	30.3
Yes, with a spouse	1.3	4.4	1.3	–
No	94.5	73.7	83.3	66.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

committed a violent act, but it can generally be assumed that people are arrested for performing some sort of anti-social activities. There is evidence that willingness to commit one form of anti-social activity is probably an excellent predictor of a willingness to engage in other anti-social activities, such as aggression.⁶

Needless to say, an arrest record certainly does not provide a complete picture of an individual's anti-social inclinations. For example, a significant number of the mental patients interviewed had been transferred from a minimum-security to a maximum-security mental hospital because they had violently attacked staff or other patients. They would have no criminal record, but many of them were aware that they had performed criminal activities.

Violent Crime

The charges on which individuals in the comparison and juvenile groups were convicted were categorized as either violent or non-violent. Among the prisoners and mental patients, many individuals had been arrested numerous times. Therefore, individuals in these groups were asked specifically if they had ever been convicted of a violent crime, and if so what the specific nature of the crime had been. The percentages reporting violent crimes appears in Exhibit 31.

Because of the way the question was presented to prisoners and mental patients, the percentages of violent crimes reported are not at all representative of

the percentages of all crimes that are violent. Recall that a significant proportion of both the prisoner and the mental-patient samples were selected precisely because they had committed violent crimes.

These data demonstrate that, as anticipated, the institutionalized populations against which the attitude scores of the comparison group were compared were truly representative of an aggressive/assaultive population.

Detailed studies of the comparison group indicated that there were significant relationships between certain types of media use and actual aggressiveness. Specifically, it was demonstrated in the companion study that there is a significant relationship between the number of hours of television watched and the likelihood that the viewer had been involved in a physical fight during the past month. Heavy viewers of television, – those who watched more than four hours a day – engaged in more fights than light viewers – those who watched for two hours a day or less.

A variety of analyses were carried out with the other groups in an attempt to establish some relationship between personal characteristics and media-use patterns. There were very few findings. However, the same finding about the relationship between television viewing and physical fighting did emerge. Among the 85 prisoners who watched television for two hours a day or less, 15.3 per cent had been involved in a physical fight during the month preceding the interview. Of those 58 prisoners categorized as heavy viewers, 48.3 per cent

Exhibit 30

Arrest Record

Have you ever been arrested?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Yes	14.6%	100.0%	35.4%	48.4%
No	85.4		64.6	51.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

had been involved in a fight during the preceding month. In short, heavy viewers were more than three times likely to report being involved in a fight than were light viewers.

Although the size of the sample of mental patients (n = 79) is considerably smaller than the sample of

prisoners (n = 191), the data were remarkably similar. That is, of the 35 patients categorized as light viewers, 8.6 per cent had been in a fight, but of the 21 heavy viewers, 24.8 per cent had been in a fight. Again, chances of having been in a fight were roughly three times as great for heavy viewers as for light viewers.

Exhibit 31

*Criminal Experience with Violent Crime**

Type of crime	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Violent	30.8%	77.6%	84.6%	42.9%
Nonviolent	69.2	22.4	15.4	57.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Of those who reported being arrested.

Chapter Six

Anxiety/Concern

If people perceive the violence in society as getting “out of hand”, and do not feel personally able to cope with it, then some expression of concern or anxiety is to be expected. It is important to distinguish between general feelings of anxiety, which can arise from varied sources, and anxiety stemming specifically from the issues of interest to this project – societal violence and personal safety.

No particular differences were expected to be observed between the comparison group and the other groups on these measures. However, there was an assumption that if anxiety/concern was an effect of media use, it would be reflected among the heavy media users in institutions.

The specific items used in this scale are presented in Exhibit 32. As in the aggressiveness scale (discussed in the preceding chapter), the questions were constructed in such a way that for some items an agreement response indicates anxiety, while for other items the reverse is true.

The companion study showed that mentally disordered individuals in the comparison group are more likely to exhibit strong attitudes and perceptions of anxiety and concern about violence in society than those who exhibit no significant symptomology. This relationship between mental disorder and responses on the anxiety/concern scale was not duplicated among the institutionalized populations.

Exhibit 32

Anxiety/Concern Items

The news reports and the police do not tell us about all the crimes that are really happening on the streets of Toronto.

It would be a good idea to just cut back on the money given to the police because we have more protection now than the average person really needs.

The police and the laws in Canada are too tough on offenders.

The police should be given more power.

The way society is going, almost anyone's neighbour nowadays could turn out to be the sort of person the police arrest for a mass killing.

There are a few people around who may try to actually do some of the violent things shown in movies.

People who don't avoid dark streets or disreputable bars, deserve to be robbed or attacked.

Apartment buildings should have well-trained guards by the door who can demand everyone's identification who enters.

Waiting for a subway or a bus late at night is more dangerous than most people think.

Inter-Group Comparisons

The average (mean) scores on the anxiety/concern scale, along with the standard deviations (in parentheses), were calculated for each of the groups. The scale is constructed in such a way that the lower the score the stronger or more intense the expression of attitudes of anxiety/concern. The scores and the standard deviations are as follows:

- 11.740 (3.837) for the comparison group
- 15.175 (4.037) for the prisoners
- 12.392 (4.776) for the mental patients
- 12.742 (4.127) for the juveniles.

Since a number of the items on this scale assess the respondents' fear of criminal activities, it is not surprising that the prisoners show somewhat less concern and anxiety about the state of society than do the other groups.

It is interesting to note in passing, however, that criminals are subject to criminal activities as much as or more than those in the other groups. For example, Exhibit 33 indicates that those in the prisoner group have been victims of housebreaking as frequently as those in the comparison group. Exhibit 34 shows that

the prisoners have been victims of muggers rather more frequently than those in any other group.

Thus, just because prisoners are, or have been, among the basic sources of concern and anxiety on the part of the general population, they are also the victims of the conditions they have helped create.

Media Effects

It has previously been demonstrated that heavy viewers of television in the comparison group were significantly more likely than light viewers to express attitudes indicating higher levels of anxiety and concern. As Exhibit 35 indicates, this finding was replicated for the

prisoners' group. No relationships between this scale and other media-use habits, for either the prisoners' group or for the other groups, were noted.

The anxiety/concern scores for the prisoners were also subjected to an analysis of variance. The two independent variables were mental disorder and television viewing. As Exhibit 36 indicates, there is a significant effect due to television viewing – which supports the finding mentioned in the preceding paragraph – but no significant effect due to either mental disorder or to the interaction between mental disorder and television viewing.

Exhibit 33

Housebreaking Victims

Reports of housebreaking	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Yes, my home	19.9%	21.5%	31.6%	27.3%
Yes, other's home	49.9	22.6	12.7	36.4
Yes, my home and other's home	2.7	2.7	1.3	3.0
No	27.5	53.2	54.4	33.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 34

Mugging Victims

Have you ever been mugged?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Yes, me	12.7%	24.5%	19.0%	6.9%
Yes, other person	36.5	34.4	21.5	27.6
No	48.3	39.1	58.2	58.6
Me and other	2.5	2.0	1.3	6.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 35

Prisoners: Television Viewing and Anxiety/Concern

Level of anxiety	Never	1–2 Hours	3–4 Hours	4–5 Hours	6 or More
Low	3.4%	6.6%	22.2%	11.8%	16.7%
Medium	10.3	14.8	27.8	17.6	23.8
High	86.2	78.7	50.0	70.6	59.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Exhibit 36*Analysis of Variance: Prisoners' Anxiety and Television Viewing*

Source of variation	df	Mean square	F	Significance level
A (mental disorder)	1	37.006	2.785	0.093
B (television viewing)	1	105.773	7.961	0.005
A x B	1	2.700	0.203	0.999
Residual	145	1,926.593		

Victimization/Defensiveness

An individual can express anxiety without indicating a clear interest or involvement in taking either corrective or defensive action. That is to say, a person may feel that it is dangerous to ride the subways at night but may go ahead and do it anyway. Or, he/she may feel that the crime rate is too high to justify cutting back on police protection, without this belief leading to vigorous lobbying for more police or other actions to improve or strengthen police protection.

The scale to measure anxiety or concern did not include any indication of the response the respondent felt he/she might take. That is, the items concentrated on identifying whether or not the respondent was worried, not on what he/she did about these worries.

The items for the victimization/defensiveness scale are presented in Exhibit 37. All of the items ask, essentially, if the respondent is frequently inconvenienced by his/her attempts to avoid being a victim of criminality or violence.

The scale is constructed in the same manner as other scales previously described with respect to reversal of items and to the choices of responses available.

Exhibit 37

Victimization/Defensiveness Items

When you were not in the institution, did you think about having a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself at the place where you lived?

If you had a car, did you usually lock the doors when you parked?

In Toronto, you should be careful where you walk alone after dark, as some areas of town are quite dangerous.

People should learn techniques of self-defence.

There would be a lot less crime if the average citizen, who could prove he or she could use a gun, were allowed to carry a gun anywhere they wanted.

Walking alone around the main downtown shopping area after midnight is an activity you would recommend as "reasonable and safe" to out-of-town visitors.

You would try to stop, with physical force if needed, a person of your own size and sex from assaulting an elderly, helpless woman.

You do not worry about being robbed when you are carrying a large amount of cash.

You sometimes leave a party or a friend's house early because you worry about being attacked on the street late at night.

A lot of people are afraid to take the subways in Toronto late at night.

In most places you have lived, you would not leave any cash around if you were going out.

Inter-Group Comparisons

Respondents were asked if they had seriously considered having a weapon in their homes for purposes of protection. For the institutionalized populations, the question was phrased in such a way as to refer to their situation outside of the institution. Prisoners, as demonstrated in Exhibit 38, are much more likely than any of the other groups to report that they already own a weapon. Even the mental patients are twice as likely as those in the comparison group to report that they already own a weapon. These data, once again, suggest that these institutionalized adult groups are significantly more inclined toward aggression than those of the comparison group.

Exhibit 38*Owning a Weapon for Protection*

Have you seriously considered having a weapon for protection?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Have one	6.1%	28.5%	13.0%	9.4%
Yes	16.2	17.2	13.0	25.0
No	74.8	52.2	72.7	65.6
Other	2.9	2.1	1.3	–
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Another question asked if the respondents regularly locked the doors of their automobile when parking. Exhibit 39 indicates that the prisoners lock their car doors very selectively – mostly when they have valuables to protect. It should be recalled that both the prisoners and the mental patients do not necessarily come from the Toronto area. Since car locking is a much more prevalent habit in large urban areas than in the smaller towns, this would perhaps explain much of the differences between the groups. Many of the juveniles are too young to drive or do not drive regularly; their responses probably reflect more what they believe they would do if they owned cars.

While the previous research with the comparison group demonstrated that heavy viewers of television tend to exhibit significantly higher levels of victimization/defensiveness than light viewers, this finding did not emerge for the institutionalized groups. Similarly, in the comparison group, those who frequently attend movies show significantly less indication of victimization/defensiveness than those who seldom or never attend the movies. Once again, these relationships were not replicated for the institutionalized groups.

Exhibit 39*Defensive Action: Car Locking*

Do you lock car doors?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Always	73.9%	25.7%	53.8%	82.6%
Valuables inside	12.8	36.6	17.9	8.7
At night only	3.6	8.6	7.7	8.7
Never	9.7	29.1	20.6	–
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Tolerance

Frequent exposure to the media usually means frequent exposure to depictions of violence. As other researchers have suggested, an arousing or attention-getting stimulus can lose its impact with continued exposure. This may mean that continued exposure to violent content in the media can lead to apathy, inattention, or tolerance toward both media depictions of violence and the real-life violence with which one might come into contact.

The primary measure of this dimension was a scale of opinion statements about the acceptability or importance that respondents attached to violence. Additional questions dealt with how a respondent felt that he/she might act in the face of real violence.

The specific items used in this scale are presented in Exhibit 40. As in the other scales (discussed in preceding chapters), the questions were constructed in such a way that, for some items, an agreement response indicates tolerance, while in other cases, the reverse is true.

Exhibit 40

Tolerance Scale Items

You have seen so much violence on television, in shows and on news reports, that you find yourself getting bored with it all.

We might as well just get used to the fact that the robbery, the attacks, and other violence in our community is just here to stay.

You have your own troubles, so you do not pay much attention anymore to all the killings reported on the news.

Do you think that the government is making too much of a fuss about the violence in our society?

The spread of organized crime in Toronto will soon be controlled and eventually eliminated by police efforts.

Inter-Group Comparisons

The mean (average) scores on the tolerance scale, along with the standard deviations (in parentheses), were calculated for each group. The scores were scaled in such a way that the lower the score, the more tolerance or apathy the respondent expresses toward either media violence or real violence. These scores are as follows:

- 8.125 (2.286) for the comparison group
- 6.869 (2.802) for the prisoners
- 7.089 (2.735) for the mental patients
- 8.561 (2.738) for the juveniles.

The above data suggest that the prisoners are the most tolerant in their perceptions of violence. This might well be expected since, of all the groups studied, the prisoners live in an atmosphere characterized by overt and covert violence. Indeed, developing a certain level of tolerance for violence is probably a rather common adaptation to prison life.

There were virtually no relationships of interest between the scores on the tolerance scale and either mental disorder or media use. This may mean that the scale for measuring tolerance was simply not very sensitive. On the other hand, it could mean that tolerance toward violence is influenced by a myriad of factors – such as humanistic attitudes or a general level of emotional sensitivity – that cut across media-use habits, institutionalization, and state of mental health. While in laboratory settings there is little difficulty in demonstrating that continued exposure to a stimulus such as media violence will increase level of apathy or tolerance toward such depictions, it should be recalled that media use is largely discretionary. It is certainly true that some individuals who go to horror movies close their eyes during the most violent or suspenseful parts. People who read newspapers regularly may simply “tune out” violent content and concentrate on other sections of the papers. In other words, people may not learn to become tolerant of violence simply because they can use a mental mechanism well known to both clinical and research psychologists – that of selective perception.¹

Accuracy of Perceptions

It has been noted by other researchers that heavy viewers of television tend to exhibit perceptions that more accurately reflect the world as portrayed on television than the environment in which they actually live.

For example, the media often present or over-emphasize an upper-middle-class lifestyle that is unrepresentative of society as a whole. Also, there is an over-representation of individuals involved in law-enforcement work. And, finally, there is certainly an over-representation of both the amount of crime being committed and the proportion of crime that is violent.

Media-World Perceptions

It is possible to examine the beliefs of people about certain measurable aspects of society, to determine whether these beliefs represent the “media world” rather than the “real world”.

In Exhibit 41, the items and the response choices given to the respondents are presented. In all cases, the smaller numbers are representative of the actual or real-life figure, while the larger number is more representative of the “media world” picture.¹ In other words, those respondents who more consistently choose the smaller number are, on the average, more accurate in their perceptions than those who tend to select the larger number.

Exhibit 41

Accuracy of Perceptions Scale Items

During any given week in Canada, about how many people out of 100 are involved in some kind of violence? Would you say about one person in 100 or about 10 in 100?

In Canada, what per cent of all crimes are violent crimes – like murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault? Would you say it is 15% or 25%?

In Canada, about what per cent of all males who have jobs work in law enforcement and crime detection – like

policemen, detectives, etc. Would you say it is 1% or 5%?

About what per cent of Canadians who have jobs are professionals or managers – like doctors, lawyers, teachers, proprietors, or other executives? Would you say it is 20% or 25%?

Estimating Criminal Occurrences

A somewhat different technique was used to judge the individual's level of accuracy as to the actual frequency with which crimes are committed. Exhibit 42 presents the questions about types of crime. The two responses to each question were determined through police reports.² The respondent was asked to choose between two numbers – one half again as small as the true number and the other half again as large. For example, if a particular type of crime was actually reported 100 times, then the respondent was given two choices – 50 and 150.

Exhibit 42

Estimates of Crime Scale Items

A burglary is an illegal break and entry into a factory, a store, an apartment, or a house. In all of Metropolitan Toronto during 1975, do you think that the number of burglaries recorded by the police during 1975 was: 8,275 or 24,825?

A robbery is a crime which takes place in the presence of the victim and in which property or something of value is taken from that individual by use of force. Which of the following numbers most accurately represents the number of robberies recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 973 or 2,918?

In certain cases of assault, a weapon is used and the victim is wounded. Which of the following numbers do you think most accurately represents the number of

woundings recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 215 or 644?

Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of murders recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 24 or 72?

Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of rapes recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 102 or 306?

Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of simple assaults (these are attacks upon a victim which do not result in robbery, rape, wounding, or murder) upon individuals which were recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975: 3,969 or 11,906?

In scales of this nature, there is no particular interest in an item-by-item analysis, but the total response pattern can indicate habitual over-estimation or under-estimation of responses. This technique is useful

whenever respondents are likely to have widely varying perceptions of reality or to have no idea what a reasonable answer would be, without guidance from suggested choices.

Those unfamiliar with techniques of questionnaire design often feel that the true response should also be offered as a choice. The result of this inclusion, however, is usually that respondents over-use the middle number of a sequence of three-number choices when they are uncertain as to the correct answer. In this study, the inclusion of this middle number would reduce the variability in the response patterns. Also, because of the known response bias that would occur, a spurious level of accuracy would emerge.

Inter-Group Comparisons

On the question about the number of people who would be involved in violence each week across Canada, Exhibit 43 indicates that there were very few differences among the groups. The juveniles were the most likely to over-estimate the amount of violence occurring.

Exhibit 43

Estimating Involvement in Violence

How many people are involved in violence per week?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Accurate estimate	37.3%	37.0%	29.1%	15.2%
Can't say	0.6	-	2.5	3.0
Inaccurate estimate	62.1	63.0	68.4	81.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

With respect to estimations of the proportion of crimes that are violent, Exhibit 44 indicates that the results were similar. That is, mental patients and

juveniles estimate that a higher proportion of crimes are violent than respondents in the comparison and prisoner groups.

Exhibit 44

Estimating Proportion of Violent Crimes

What percent of crimes are violent?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Accurate estimate	51.2%	51.7%	34.2%	24.2%
Can't say	-	-	2.5	6.1
Inaccurate estimate	48.8	48.3	63.3	69.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

On the question about the proportion of individuals in our society engaged in law-enforcement work, it is interesting that those who have been most closely

involved with crime and the legal processes are the most likely to over-estimate the number of law-enforcement personnel in society (Exhibit 45).

Exhibit 45*Estimating Proportion of Law-Enforcement Personnel*

What percent of all males are in the law-enforcement field?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Accurate estimate	57.7%	40.9%	30.4%	33.4%
Can't say	0.6	—	5.0	3.0
Inaccurate estimate	41.7	59.1	64.6	63.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In the media, there is often an over-representation of executives, managers, and professionals in the society. It has been demonstrated that heavy viewers of television are more likely to over-estimate the

proportion of professionals and managers in society than are light viewers. The data in Exhibit 46 suggest that there are very minor differences between all groups with respect to their estimations.

Exhibit 46*Estimating Proportion of Managers in Society*

What percent of work force are professionals or managers?	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Accurate estimate	70.7%	69.3%	64.6%	63.6%
Can't say	0.5	—	1.3	6.1
Inaccurate estimate	28.8	30.7	34.1	30.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

These findings dealt with perceptions of television viewers on specific topics. The responses to the items displayed in Exhibit 41 were summed to provide an average measure of accuracy in perception. The distribution of these summed responses was then divided into thirds, so that individuals could be classified as being highly accurate, moderately accurate, or inaccurate in their perceptions. The same procedure was followed with items displayed in Exhibit 42.

It was demonstrated in the companion study that the heavy viewers of television in the comparison group are significantly more likely to fall into the inaccurate group

than are the light viewers. In this study, there were no significant relationships between responses on the individual items and viewing habits of any of the institutionalized groups. With respect to the summed responses, however, it was noted that, for the prisoners, there was a significant relationship between the hours of television watched and the scale scores. As Exhibit 47 indicates, of those who watch television for less than an hour per day, 44.8 per cent are highly accurate respondents. Of those who watch six hours a day or more, only 14.3 per cent fall into this category.

Exhibit 47*Prisoners: Estimates of Crime and Television Viewing*

Accuracy of estimations	Never watch television	1-2 hours per day	3-4 hours per day	4-5 hours per day	6 or more hours per day
High	44.9%	19.7%	33.3%	29.4%	14.3%
Medium	37.9	42.6	44.4	41.2	64.3
Low	17.2	37.7	22.3	29.4	21.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

On estimations of the frequency of criminal occurrences, the data suggest very few differences among the groups. Exhibit 48 summarizes the findings about accuracy in estimating criminal occurrences and accuracy in estimating general levels of violence and the proportion of individuals in various social roles. There are no major differences among the groups. The previous research demonstrated that, for the

comparison group, the accuracy of estimates decreases as the amount of television viewing increases. There is a higher proportion of heavy television viewers among the institutionalized groups than in the comparison group. However, the relationships between viewing patterns and perceptions were either much weaker – or altogether absent – among the institutionalized groups than among the comparison group.

Exhibit 48

Accuracy of Perceptions: Mean Scale Scores

	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Estimating criminal occurrences ¹	3.174 (1.604)*	3.353 (1.583)	3.228 (1.936)	2.879 (1.173)
Estimating media world ² facts	1.823 (1.140)	2.016 (0.086)	2.361 (1.248)	2.545 (1.114)

* Standard deviation

¹Scores closest to 3.0 are most accurate

²Lowest scores are most accurate

Overview on Attitudes

Exhibit 49 depicts the scale scores for attitudes on the various dimensions measured. These data have been presented individually in the preceding chapters. The summary table reveals that aggressive attitudes are

stronger among the institutionalized groups than in the comparison group. The major difference is on the victimization/defensiveness scale. Mental patients are much more likely to exhibit attitudes of victimization/defensiveness than are those in the comparison group.

Exhibit 49

*Attitudes: Mean Scale Scores**

	Comparison group	Prisoners	Mental patients	Juveniles
Aggressive attitudes	31.901 (5.779)**	25.243 (6.050)	24.310 (5.779)	25.424 (6.215)
Anxiety/Concern	11.740 (3.837)	15.175 (4.037)	12.392 (4.776)	12.742 (4.127)
Victimization/Defensiveness	25.055 (5.938)	20.408 (4.036)	16.500 (4.938)	20.561 (5.313)
Tolerance	8.125 (2.286)	6.869 (2.802)	7.089 (2.735)	8.561 (2.738)

* Lower scores signify more intense attitudes

** Standard deviation of the distribution

Overview and Conclusions

Does exposure to media violence facilitate the development of socially undesirable attitudes and behaviours? Evidence amassed over the last ten years would suggest that the answer to this question is either “probably yes” or “it all depends”.

In truth, a simple answer to a question about the effects of media violence is not likely to be forthcoming. Few people would deny that media violence is known to have had adverse effects on some people. Thus, there is a more precise question to be asked – that is, what are the characteristics of types of individuals who are affected adversely by exposure to media violence?

Many researchers have concentrated on the susceptibility of children to media violence. This has been an easy sub-population to identify. It is a large and, certainly, an important group of people. Also, the research and practical experience of parents and child-development experts have given reason to believe that the environment and the psychological stage of development of many children would make them more susceptible than the average adult to the adverse effects of media violence.

Other large and important sub-populations – in terms of their potential impact upon society – may also be selectively affected by exposure to media violence. Practical experience of law-enforcement professionals and the clinical and research experience of psychiatrists and psychologists suggest that criminals and/or patients in mental hospitals are two “at risk” sub-populations.

There has been a considerable amount of research into the impact of media violence upon children. However, very little research of this nature has ever been conducted on either criminals or mental patients.

Purpose

It was the purpose of this study to examine selected institutionalized populations with respect to their attitudes and beliefs about violence in society. Of particular interest were the relationships between these measures and the amount and type of media content preferred by the populations being studied.

Specifically, a sample of prisoners, adult mental patients, and children showing signs of serious

emotional and/or behavioural disturbance were studied to determine their respective media use patterns and the relationships – if any – between media use and predicted effects in attitudes and perceptions toward violence.

Data collected from a non-institutionalized sample drawn from the general population, but exhibiting a higher than average incidence of mental disorder and anti-social behaviour, was presented and discussed for comparative purposes. The details of the collection procedures for this latter group are presented in the preceding report in this volume, “Violence, the Media and Mental Disorder”.

Outcomes

Researchers and writers have suggested that excessive exposure to media violence may:

- increase aggressive attitudes and behaviour
- increase anxiety/concern about violence
- increase activities of a victim-like or defensive nature to cope with violence
- increase tolerance for, or apathy toward, aggression
- develop and encourage inaccurate perceptions about the amount of violence in society

In this project, it was noted that responses of all three institutionalized groups were similar to each other, and were also often similar to a comparison group of non-institutionalized individuals, on measures of the aforementioned attitudes and perceptions.

Some minor differences did emerge. For example, the prisoners tended to hold more aggressive attitudes than did those in the other groups. Also, the prisoners were more tolerant, or accepting, of violence in their environment than those in the other groups.

On the other hand, the non-institutionalized population exhibited slightly more anxiety about violence in society than did the other groups. Mental patients exhibited the strongest attitudes of victimization/defensiveness.

The point to be emphasized, however, is that none of these differences were extreme. The most striking

finding was that the groups – although from very different backgrounds and institutions – exhibited such similarity among their attitudes.

With respect to behaviours, though, it was clear that all the institutionalized populations exhibited more aggressive behaviours and involvement in violent acts than those in the non-institutionalized group.

Attitudes/Perceptions and Media Use

In previous research on non-institutionalized respondents, several significant relationships were noted between various measures of attitudes/perceptions and media use habits and preferences. These relationships between possible media effects and media use did not emerge for any of the institutionalized groups. That is to say, neither media preferences (e.g., expressed liking for crime dramas) nor media use (e.g., heavy television viewing versus light television viewing) showed any marked relationship to attitudes of aggression, anxiety, defensiveness, tolerance, or to patterns of inaccurate perceptions of the environment.

There were some exceptions that might have important implications for society. For example, among the prisoners, heavy television viewing was significantly related to attitudes of anxiety/concern about violence and to inaccurate perceptions (i.e., over-estimation) of the amount of crime occurring in society. The same impact was noted in the research of non-institutionalized groups.

The important difference is that, for an institutionalized population, there is little opportunity to test the accuracy of perceptions. Among non-institutionalized populations, there is really very little personal contact with violence, aside from exposure to such occurrences in the media. In a sense, the opportunity to develop a grossly distorted, or pathological, level of anxiety about the danger in society is more limited when one is actually living in society than when one is incarcerated and must acquire all knowledge of the “real world” through the media and through the perceptions of new inmates, many of whom have been incarcerated for committing violent acts.

The characteristics of the institutional setting reinforce and support the distorted perceptions of reality that the inmates may acquire through heavy use of the media. The results may very well be that the person who is incarcerated for committing a violent act is encouraged to develop the perception that the act was not really that serious, since his own perceptions, based upon media content, would suggest that “everybody’s doing it”.

Also, among both mental patients and prisoners, heavy television viewers were more likely than light viewers to report having recently been involved in a physical fight. Again, this finding is identical to that noted among the non-institutionalized population.

An examination of media preferences indicates that, at least among prisoners and emotionally disturbed

juveniles, there is a somewhat greater preference for crime programs on television than among the non-institutionalized population or the adult mental patients.

There was also a somewhat greater proportion of individuals in all of the institutionalized groups than in the non-institutionalized group who were heavy viewers of television.

It had been predicted that the level of mental disorder within the institutionalized populations might be related to either media preferences and use, or to the attitudes and perceptions being measured. Regardless of the nature of the institution, it was predicted that individuals exhibiting higher levels of mental disorder would be more susceptible to the effects of media violence, or would exhibit different media preferences than those with no symptoms of disorder.

A number of relationships between media use and mental disorder were noted among the non-institutionalized group. However, no relationships of note were observed among the institutionalized populations.

Conclusions

There is ample evidence in previous research to suggest that exposure to media violence does have an undesirable impact upon the attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours of certain individuals. Who are these individuals? Are they criminals? Are they psychologically disturbed?

The data collected for this study suggest that certain types of heavy media use – notably television consumption – may have a number of undesirable effects upon users. Mental patients and prisoners show somewhat the same effects as individuals who are not institutionalized. However, the fact that, in institutions, it is difficult for inmates to test their perceptions or attitudes about society can only make it all the more difficult to achieve positive steps toward rehabilitation.

The fact that fewer relationships were noted between media use and attitudes among the institutionalized populations than among the non-institutionalized populations can be interpreted in many ways. For example:

- Institutionalized populations are less susceptible to media impact than non-institutionalized populations.
- There are so many other aspects of the institutional environment that can influence the attitudes and perceptions being measured that the specific relationships to media use are difficult to single out.
- Since media exposure and preferences are often determined by institutional staff/group decision, heavy media users in institutions may be exposed to different content than they would personally select if not in the institution.
- The reasons for becoming a heavy media user in an institution may be dramatically different from the reasons one becomes a heavy media user outside of the

institution. In an institution, the television room is where one can seek social contact. Outside the institution, the situation is reversed – researchers have long known that the impact of communication upon an individual is very much dependent upon the reactions of the group the individual is in (when he or she receives the communication). In institutions, media fare is often discussed among all inmates and since the majority of inmates are not heavy users of media, extreme positions held by individual inmates are difficult to maintain without having to defend oneself constantly. In other words, the views of the moderate media users have a greater impact upon heavy media users than would be the case in non-institutionalized (non-group) settings.

The data did not enable us to select among the foregoing alternatives. It will be recalled that the purpose of the project was simply to determine whether or not media use patterns and preferences within selected institutionalized populations could effect certain attitudes and perceptions. No consistent patterns of relationships were identified.

It must be emphasized that this research project has concentrated on a study of group behaviour, since developing general principles or generalizations was the aim of the study. It may very well be that specific individuals within the institutionalized populations studied – and, indeed, within the non-institutionalized populations studied – are profoundly affected, in a socially undesirable manner, by depictions of media violence. Their media experiences may precipitate self-destructive or other forms of dangerous and undesirable behaviour. It happens. The problem is that even within institutional environments where inmates are closely observed – and where information on criminal, social, and psychological history is available – neither security staff nor mental-health professionals can predict who will be so affected.

In sum, researchers have demonstrated that media violence has observable, measurable, and short-term effects upon some individuals. “Real-life” experiences have demonstrated that such effects can have dire consequences for some individuals. It has been suggested that the mentally unstable or the criminal are, *on the average*, more susceptible to such media effects than the average person. The findings of this study do not support such a notion.

References

Chapter One

1. Television Research Committee, *Second Progress Report and Recommendations* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), pp. 38-43.
Spiegel, A., *Miami Herald*, January 3, 1973.
Shulman, M., *The Ravenous Eye* (London: Camelot Press, 1973), p. 36.
Williams, R., *Communications* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966), pp. 106-107.
Iglitzin, L., *Violent Conflict in American Society* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1972), p. 49.
Shaw, I., and Newell, D., *Violence on Television* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972), p. 172.
2. Based on data from Bureau of Broadcast Measurement and A.C.Nielsen.
U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence* (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
The Globe and Mail, "What You See Is What You'll Get", Saturday, August 14, 1976.
Jacobs, Lewis, *The Rise of the American Film* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1968), pp. 296-297.
Haskins, Jack B., "Stories of Violence Get High Readership," *Editor and Publisher*, Vol. 101, No. 42, 1968, p. 38.
3. Srole, L., Langner, T.S., Michael, S.T., Opler, M.K., and Rennie, T.A., *Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhattan Study* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962).
Langner, T., and Michael, S., *Life Stress and Mental Health* (London: Ress Press, 1968).
Leighton, D., Harding, J., Macklin, D., Macmillan, A., and Leighton, A., *The Character of Danger* (New York: Basic Books, 1963).
Llewellyn, Thomas E., "The Prevalence of Psychiatric Symptoms within an Island Fishing Village," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, Vol. 83, 1960, pp. 197-204.
Dohrenwend, B.P., and Dohrenwend, B.S., "The Problem of Validity in Field Studies of Psychological Disorder," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Vol. 70, February 1965, pp. 52-69.
4. Mark, V., and Irving, F., *Violence and the Brain* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 151.
5. Schur, E., *Our Criminal Society* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969).
6. Ibid.
7. Fraser, John, *Violence in the Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 9.
Wolfe, Morris, "Keep That Old Nervous System Jumping," *Saturday Night*, July/August 1976, p. 74-75.

Chapter Three

1. Hollingshead, A.B., and Redlich, F.C., *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: Wiley, 1958).

2. Goldberg, D.P., *The Detection of Psychiatric Illness by Questionnaire* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972).

Chapter Four

1. Schur, E., *Our Criminal Society* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

Chapter Five

1. Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M., and Davidson, E.S., *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth* (New York: Pergamon, 1973), pp. 1-3.
Bandura, A., *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973).
U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence* (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
2. McGuire, W., "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed. G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, eds., (Toronto: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 144, 218.
3. Megargee, M., "The Prediction of Violence with Psychological Tests", in *Current Topics in Clinical and Community Psychology*, C. Spielberger, ed., (New York: Academic Press, 1970), p. 98.
4. Rapoport, J., ed., *The Clinical Evaluation of the Dangerousness of the Mentally Ill* (Springfield: Thomas, 1967).
Kozol, E., "The Diagnosis and Treatment of Dangerousness", *Crime and Delinquency*, 1972, 18, pp. 371, 383.
5. Guilford, J.P., "Response biases and response sets," in *Attitude Theory and Measurement*, M. Fishbein, ed. (New York: Wiley, 1967), pp. 277-281.
6. Rapoport, J., op cit.

Chapter Eight

1. McGuire, W., "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change", in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed. G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, eds., (Toronto: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 144, 218.

Chapter Nine

1. Gerbner, G. and Gross, L., "The Scary World of T.V.'s Heavy Viewer", *Psychology Today*, Vol. 9, 1976, p. 41.
2. Staff Sergeant Jay Marks, Metropolitan Toronto Police, Figures provided for the year 1975.

Appendix A

Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry: How We Define Violence

How We Define Violence:

The Nature of Violence

Violence is action which intrudes painfully or harmfully into the physical, psychological or social well-being of persons or groups.

Violence or its effect may range from trivial to catastrophic.

Violence may be obvious or subtle.

It may arise naturally or by human design.

Violence may take place against persons or against property.

It may be justified or unjustified, or justified by some standards and not by others.

It may be real or symbolic.

Violence may be sudden or gradual.

The Nature of Media Violence

Violence depicted in film, television, sound, print or live performance, is not necessarily the same as violence in real life.

Things not violent in reality may be violent in their portrayal.

Violence presented in the media may reach large numbers of people, whereas real violence may not.

The media may use many artificial devices to lessen or to amplify its emotional and social effects.

Violence depicted may do harm the original violence may not have done – or it may have no impact at all.

Appendix B

Survey Questionnaire

CONFIDENTIAL

A Study of Media and Attitudes

Survey Data Collected By:

Renner & Associates

1027 Yonge St., Suite 103

Toronto, Canada, M4W 2K9

MEDIA STUDY

Experience: We want to study what you think about the things you see on television, at the movies, or in the newspaper.

Violent Events: In the last little while, did you see a show or a news report where something especially violent happened? For example, you may remember things like people fighting, or someone being kidnapped, or hurt. Or, you might remember the destruction of cities by earthquakes or fires.

What and Where: Write down, in a few words, the violent event that you remember. Say where you saw it—in the paper, television, movies, or radio. Was it something on the news? a television series? a special documentary? What exactly was the thing you remember—someone getting hurt, or what?

A1. Write Here:

A2. **Feelings and Actions:** Here are some words which describe feelings and actions. Circle the number next to those words that describe how you felt or acted while you were watching, or listening to, or reading about, the violent event.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) felt absolutely nothing | 1 |
| (b) mad | 1 |
| (c) close to tears | 1 |
| (d) calm | 1 |
| (e) frustrated | 1 |
| (f) amused | 1 |
| (g) excited | 1 |
| (h) felt like leaving the room | 1 |
| (i) "on-edge" | 1 |
| (j) bored | 1 |
| (k) ashamed | 1 |
| (l) kept looking away | 1 |
| (m) thrilled | 1 |
| (n) nervous | 1 |
| (o) could not take my eyes away from the picture | 1 |
| (p) upset | 1 |
| (q) disgusted | 1 |

A3. **Effects:** After seeing and hearing about the violent event, I

- (a) worried about the terrible things that could happen to me someday (circle the number by your choice on this, and the following questions).

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| more than usual | 1 |
| same as usual | 2 |
| less than usual | 3 |
| not at all | 4 |

- (b) worried that wherever I go to live when I get out of here, could be pretty dangerous.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| more than usual | 1 |
| same as usual | 2 |
| less than usual | 3 |
| not at all | 4 |

- (c) thought about the fact that nobody can really do anything about the most terrible things happening in the world.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| more than usual | 1 |
| same as usual | 2 |
| less than usual | 3 |
| not at all | 4 |

- (d) realized that those people who try to be heroes usually end up getting hurt.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| more than usual | 1 |
| same as usual | 2 |
| less than usual | 3 |
| not at all | 4 |

- (e) thought about things like buying better door locks, or getting a weapon, to protect myself, my family, or my property when I get out of this place.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| more than usual | 1 |
| same as usual | 2 |
| less than usual | 3 |
| not at all | 4 |

- (f) felt that I could get more enjoyment out of life if I pushed people around more and wasn't so easy-going.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| more than usual | 1 |
| same as usual | 2 |
| less than usual | 3 |
| not at all | 4 |

Media Use:

B1. **Television:** How many hours a day do you watch television?

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| never | 1 |
| 1-2 hours | 2 |
| 3-4 hours | 3 |
| 4-5 hours | 4 |
| 6 or more | 5 |

B2. During the past six months, what shows have you watched regularly on television? (List)

B3. **Movies:** How often did you go to movies when you were not in an institution?

never	1
1-5 per year	2
6-12 per year	3
2-5 per month	4
6 per month or more	5

B4. What sort of movies did you like to go to most? What were the names of some movies you really liked?

B5. **Newspapers:** How often do you read a newspaper?

never	1
1-3 per month	2
1-2 per week	3
3-5 per week	4
6 per week or more	5

B6. Do you prefer any special sections?

B7. Which newspaper do you usually read?

<i>The Toronto Star</i>	1
<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	2
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	3
Which other ones?	4

B8. **Magazines:** How often do you read magazines?

never	1
1 per month	2
2-3 per month	3
4-5 per month	4
6 per month or more	5

B9. Which magazines do you usually read?

B10. **Radio:** How many hours a day do you listen to the radio?

never	1
under 1 hour	2
1-2 hours	3
3-4 hours	4
5 hours or more	5

B11. What types of programs do you listen to most often?

rock music	1
middle of the road music, or country music	2
news programs	3
sports	4
other (specify)	5

Individual:

C1. **Employment:** Just before you last came to an institution, did you have a job?

employed full-time (35 hrs. wk. or more)	1
employed part-time	2
unemployed, and looking for full-time work	3
not employed, looking for part-time work	4
not employed, and not looking for work	5

C2. If you did have a job before coming to an institution, what kind of work did you do? What was the name, or the title, of the job?

C3. If you didn't have a job just before coming in to the institution, how long had you been unemployed?

less than 1 week	1
1 to 3 weeks	2
4 to 8 weeks	3
9 to 25 weeks	4
over 6 months	5
never worked full-time	6

C4. What kind of work did you do on your last full-time job? If you answered question 2C., leave this space blank.

C5. If you don't count weekends, or short vacations, how long has it been since you were last at home, or on the street?

_____ months

The following few questions refer to your *friends and activities in this institution*, not outside.

D1. **Social/Leisure:** Would you like to see your friends:

more than you do now	1
about the same as now	2
less than now	3

D2. Think for a moment about those people, including relatives, whom you consider to be really close friends—those whom you can talk to about serious or important things. How many of these friends would you say you have?

none	1
1	2
2	3
3 to 4	4
over 4	5

D3. During the past week, about how much time did you spend on each of these activities?

(a)/watching television	hours/
(b)/listening to radio	hours/
(c)/going to movies	hours/
(d)/indoor games (cards, checkers)	hours/
(e)/working in the institution	hours/
(f)/writing letters	hours/
(g)/going to class	hours/

(h)/participating in sports.....	hours/	_____	H2. Race: What is your race?	
(i)/reading.....	hours/	_____	Asiatic.....	1
(j)/studying.....	hours/	_____	Negro.....	2
(k)/just talking to friends (here).....	hours/	_____	Caucasian.....	3
(l)/hobbies (please say what).....	hours/	_____	East Indian.....	4
(m)/seeing visitors.....	hours/	_____	Other (specify).....	5
(n)/listening to record player or stereo.....	hours/	_____		
(o)/other.....	hours/	_____		
E1. Family: What is your marital status?			I1. Sex:	
married.....	1		Female.....	1
common-law marriage.....	2		Male.....	2
widowed.....	3			
temporary/casual separation.....	4		L1. When you were not in the institution, did you think about having a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself at the place where you lived?	
legal separation.....	5		had one already.....	1
divorced.....	6		yes.....	2
single.....	7		no.....	3
			other (specify).....	4
E2. (Unmarried) Before coming to the hospital, did you go out on dates?			L2. If you had a car, did you usually lock the doors when you parked?	
yes, usually with the same person.....	1		always.....	1
yes, with several different people.....	2		if it had something inside.....	2
yes, but very seldom.....	3		at night only.....	3
no, not really interested.....	4		never.....	4
other (specify).....	5		have not had a car.....	5
F1. Age: What age were you on your last birthday?			Events: In each of the following questions, always circle just one of the two possible choices offered.	
18 to 24 years.....	1		L3. During any given week in Canada, about how many people out of 100 are involved in some kind of violence? Would you say about one person in 100 or about 10 in 100?	
25 to 34 years.....	2		1 in a 100.....	1
35 to 44 years.....	3		10 in a 100.....	2
45 to 54 years.....	4			
55 to 64 years.....	5		L4. In Canada, what per cent of all crimes are violent crimes—like murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault? Would you say it is 15% or 25%?	
65 and over.....	6		15%.....	1
16 to 17 years.....	7		25%.....	2
under 16 years of age.....	8			
G1. School: How much formal schooling have you had?			L5. In Canada, about what per cent of all males who have jobs work in law enforcement and crime detection—like policemen, detectives, etc.? Would you say it is 1% or 5%?	
Grade school or less.....	1		1%.....	1
Some high school.....	2		5%.....	2
Completed high school.....	3			
Some college or university.....	4		L6. About what per cent of Canadians who have jobs are professionals or managers—like doctors, lawyers, teachers, proprietors, or other executives? Would you say it is 20% or 25%?	
Other post high school training (trade school).....	5		20%.....	1
Completed community college.....	6		25%.....	2
Completed university.....	7			
Some post graduate work.....	8		L7. A burglary is an illegal break and entry into a factory, a store, an apartment, or a house. In all of Metropolitan Toronto during 1975, do you think that the number of burglaries recorded by the police during 1975 was:	
Completed post graduate degree.....	9		8,275.....	1
			24,825.....	2
H1. Income: When you were not in an institution, about how much money did you make in a year (include welfare cheques, gambling wins, self-employment, and jobs)				
Up to \$4,000.....	1			
\$ 4,001 to \$ 6,000.....	2			
\$ 6,001 to \$ 8,000.....	3			
\$ 8,001 to \$10,000.....	4			
\$10,001 to \$14,000.....	5			
\$14,001 to \$18,000.....	6			
\$18,001 to \$22,000.....	7			
\$22,001 to \$26,000.....	8			
\$26,001 or over.....	9			

- L8. A robbery is a crime which takes place in the presence of the victim and in which property or something of value is taken from that individual by use of force. Which of the following numbers most accurately represents the number of robberies recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:

973..... 1 2,918..... 2

- L9. In certain cases of assault, a weapon is used and the victim is wounded. Which of the following numbers do you think most accurately represents the number of woundings recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:

215..... 1 644..... 2

- L10. Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of murders recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:

24..... 1 72..... 2

- L11. Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of rapes recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:

102..... 1 306..... 2

- L12. Which of the following two numbers most accurately represents the number of simple assaults (these are attacks upon a victim which do not result in robbery, rape, wounding, or murder) upon individuals which were recorded by the police in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975:

3,969..... 1 11,906..... 2

- M1. **Involvement:** Have you, or anyone you know, ever been mugged, robbed, or attacked on the street?

(1) yes, me..... 1
(2) yes, other person..... 2
(3) no 3

- M2. Has the place where you lived ever been broken into?

(1) yes, my place..... 1
(2) yes, the place of someone I know 2
(3) no 3

- M3. Have you had a physical fight either in here or on the street, during the past month with any of these people?

(1) yes, stranger 1
(2) yes, friend 2
(3) yes, spouse..... 3
(4) no fights in past month 4

- M4. Have you ever been arrested for hurting someone, or for attempting to hurt them?

Yes 1
No 2

- M5. If you answered the above question with a "Yes", what were you charged with?

Do not wish to say.....

Write here _____

- M6. If you were ever arrested for anything else, would you write down here what you were charged with.

Write here _____

- M7. How many times have you been arrested (whether convicted or not)

Write here _____

Opinions: Different people seem to have very different opinions on how dangerous, or how safe, our community is. We have heard people say things like you will read below. If you agree very strongly with the statement, circle the "SA" under the statement. If you agree, but not too strongly, circle the "A". If your opinion is one of mild disagreement, circle the "D". If you strongly disagree, circle the "SD".

For example, suppose one of the statements were: "The instructions for this questionnaire are hard to understand"

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

I hope that you would circle the SD to show that you strongly disagree.

Remember then:

Strongly agree = SA
Somewhat agree = A
Somewhat disagree = D
Strongly disagree = SD

- N1. **Opinion Statements:** The news reports and the police do not tell us about all the crimes that are really happening on the streets of Toronto.

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N2. You have seen so much violence on television, in shows and on news reports, that you find yourself getting bored with it all.

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N3. We might as well just get used to the fact that the robbery, the attacks, and other violence in our community is just here to stay.

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N4. You should not kill someone, if you have the chance, just because they try to rob you of the \$20 you have in your wallet.

(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA

- N5. In Toronto, you should be careful where you walk alone after dark, as some areas of town are quite dangerous.

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N6. You have your own troubles, so you do not pay much attention anymore to all the killings reported on the news.

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N7. If you were a policeman or policewoman, you would solve more crimes by being tough with your suspects and informers, than by being nice.

(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N8. People should learn techniques of self-defence.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N9. Do you think that the government is making too much of a fuss about the violence in our society?
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N10. There would be a lot less crime if the average citizen, who could prove he or she could use a gun, were allowed to carry a gun anywhere they wanted.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N11. It would be a good idea to just cut back on the money given to the police because we have more protection now than the average person really needs.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N12. The police and the laws in Canada are too tough on offenders.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N13. People usually have to be pushy, aggressive, and tough to be successful in society today.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N14. The police should be given more power.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N15. If someone insults you or cheats you, you should be able to "get back at them" if the police do not do anything.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N16. Waiting for a subway or a bus late at night is more dangerous than most people think.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N17. Walking alone around the main downtown shopping area after midnight is an activity you would recommend as "reasonable and safe" to out-of-town visitors.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N18. The people in here are not much different from most people on the outside.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N19. The spread of organized crime in Toronto will soon be controlled and eventually eliminated by police efforts.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- N20. The way society is going, almost anyone's neighbour nowadays could turn out to be the sort of person the police arrest for a mass killing.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- N21. There are a few people around who may try to actually do some of the violent things shown in movies.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N22. The murders and fights and other violence seen on television and movies probably cause people to be more violent than they otherwise would be.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA

- N23. People who don't avoid dark streets or disreputable bars, deserve to be robbed or attacked.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- N24. Apartment buildings should have well-trained guards by the door who can demand everyone's identification who enters.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

Actions: The following statements refer to actions some people do, or believe they may do. Using the same system of circling letters as before, show if you agree or disagree that you act in the way described in each statement. Remember:

Strongly agree	= SA
Somewhat agree	= A
Somewhat disagree	= D
Strongly disagree	= SD

- O1. **Action Statements:** You would try to stop, with physical force if needed, a person of your own size and sex from assaulting an elderly, helpless woman.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O2. If someone teases or insults you without reason, you never hit them or threaten to hit them.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O3. You do not worry about being robbed when you are carrying a large amount of cash.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O4. You usually avoid going out at night alone because there is a chance you may be attacked.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O5. You sometimes leave a party or a friend's house early because you worry about being attacked on the street late at night.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O6. A lot of people are afraid to take the subways in Toronto late at night.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O7. In most places you have lived, you would not leave any cash around if you were going out.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O8. You do not want to carry a gun or some other weapon to protect yourself.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O9. You have learned a few good self-defense tricks by watching television or movies.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

- O10. You do *not* lose your temper very easily.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O11. Even if you had the chance, you would probably not try to kill someone who was trying to kill you.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O12. If you had the chance, you would kill someone who was attempting to rob you.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O13. There are a few crooked people in your neighbourhood, or at work, who you would like to see get “beat up” to teach them a lesson.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O14. Wealthy people probably don’t worry as much as poor people about getting robbed.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O15. Even if they don’t have the evidence, the police usually know who the criminals in a neighbourhood are.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O16. You cannot imagine yourself hurting or killing someone “just for the heck of it”.
(1) SD (2) D (3) A (4) SA
- O17. Every now and then, you get so frustrated that you just feel like “smashing someone”.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O18. You have quite a few arguments with people.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O19. You are easy-going until pushed too far, then you explode.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD
- O20. You have more trouble with your “nerves” than most people.
(1) SA (2) A (3) D (4) SD

Health Attitudes: During the last year or so, do you feel that you *should have* consulted someone about your:

Q1. Physical Health (M.D., surgeon)

Yes, should have.....	1
Yes, actually did.....	2
No.....	3

Q2. Mental Health (psychiatrist, psychologist)

Yes, should have.....	1
Yes, actually did.....	2
No.....	3

Q3. Family Problem (social worker, minister)

Yes, should have.....	1
Yes, actually did.....	2
No.....	3

Viewer Perceptions of Selected Television Programs

Eugene D. Tate
St. Thomas More College
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

With the assistance of
J. Andrew Smith
Linda Achter
Brian Fisher

Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction	Page 290
	Concept of Meaning	290
	Empirical Studies of Viewer and Critic Reactions	292
	Historical Conceptions of the Audience	293
	A. The Audience as Passive Recipient of Media Content	293
	B. The Audience Actively Selecting from Available Messages	294
	C. The Audience Seeking Need Gratification from the Media	297
2	The Design of the Study	299
	The Questionnaire	299
	Activation Theory and Television Viewing	300
	The Sample	301
	The Interview	302
3	Characteristics of the Respondents	304
4	Respondents' Perceptions of Television	308
	A. Program Preferences	308
	1. <i>The Non-respondents</i>	308
	2. <i>The Respondents</i>	311
	3. <i>The Institutional Sample</i>	314
	B. Programs Respondents Make a Point to Avoid	314
	C. Favourite Characters	314
	D. Most Disliked Television Characters	316
	E. Most Violent Programs	317
	F. Percentage of Violent Programming	318
	G. Perceptions of Cities that are Violent	319
	H. Perceptions of Minorities with Respect to Violence	320
	I. Perceptions of Portrayal of the Elderly on Television	321
	J. Attitudes to Canadian Television	321
5	Reasons for Watching Television	324
	A. Reasons Given for Watching Particular Programs	324
	B. Factor Analysis	329
	C. Analysis of Reasons by Comparison with Viewing Preference	331
	1. <i>The Regular Viewer of Crime Programs</i>	331
	2. <i>The Regular Viewer of Soap Operas</i>	333
	3. <i>The Regular Viewer of Adult Situation Comedies</i>	333
	4. <i>The Regular Viewer of Situation Comedies</i>	334
	5. <i>The Regular Viewer of Public Affairs Programming and Documentaries</i>	334
6	Correlates of Hours Spent Watching Television	336
7	A Typology of Viewers	339
	The Alienated Viewer	339
	The Authoritarian Viewer	341
	The Pollyanna Viewer	343
	Summary	345
8	The Institutional Sample	346
9	The Television Programs	349
	A. <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	349
	B. <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	354
	C. <i>Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman</i>	359

D. <i>Sidestreet</i>	Page 363
10 The Comparison Study of <i>S.W.A.T.</i> and <i>Sidestreet</i>	368
11 Comparison of Survey Data with the Content Analysis	373
12 Conclusion	374
A. Reaching the Viewing "Publics"	374
B. The Fortress Mentality	374
C. The Problem of Generalizing from Television Content to Canadian Society	376
D. Selective Perception of Media Messages	376
E. Preferences for Specific Media Content	377
F. Programming Suitable for Children	378
G. The Necessity of Media Education	378
H. The Uses-and-Gratifications Theory	379
I. Programming to Meet People's Preferences	379
References	380
Appendix A Letter Requesting Respondent's Cooperation	383
B The Questionnaire	384
C Short Questionnaire for Non-respondents	390
D Interview Conducted before Showing Program	392
E Non-verbal Checklist Completed during Program	394
F Semantic Differential Scales	395
Activation Scale before Viewing Program	395
Activation Scale after Viewing Program	396
Scales for Measuring Attitude toward Program	396
Women as Portrayed in the Program	396
Men as Portrayed in the Program	396
Teenagers as Portrayed in the Program	396
Old People as Portrayed in the Program	396
Ethnic Groups as Portrayed in the Program	397
Career People as Portrayed in the Program	397
The Main Character of the Program	397
G Interview Conducted after Showing Program	398
H Semantic Differential Scales for Comparison Study	401

List of Tables

Table 1 Sex of Respondents	Page 304
2 Age of Respondents	304
3 Hours Watching Television	305
4 Hours by Age, Occupation, Income, Education, and Sex	305
5 Time spent watching by Age, Occupation, Education, and Sex	305
6 Number of Television Sets in Home	306
7 Type of Television Set in Home	306
8 Education Level of Respondents	307
9 Marital Status	307
10 Income	307
11 With Whom Do You Watch Television?	308
12 Programs Watched by Non-repondents	310
13 Programs Watched by Non-respondents (LQ)	310
14 Types of Programs Watched by Respondents	311
15 Factor Analysis of Program Preferences	312
16 Comparison of Viewing Habits	313
17 Programs Watched by Institutional Respondents	314
18 Programs Avoided by Viewers	315
19 Favourite Characters	316
20 Type of Program and Favourite Character	316
21 Most Disliked Television Character	316
22 Program Type and Most Disliked Character	317
23 Most Violent Programs	318
24 Most Violent Program by Program Type	318
25 Percentage of Violent Programming	319
26 Cities Named as Most Violent	319
27 Reasons for Naming City	320
28 Groups Portrayed as Violent	320

29	List of Groups	Page 320
30	More Canadian Programming	321
31	Reasons Given for More Canadian Programs	321
32	Reasons for Less Canadian Content	322
33	Difference between U.S. and Canadian Television	322
34	List of Differences	323
35	Reasons for Watching Television	325
36	Reasons by Type of Program	327
37	Reasons without Program Type	329
38	Factor Analysis of Reasons	330
39	Factor-Item Means	331
40	Crime Drama Viewing by Type Program	331
41	Crime Drama Viewing by Reasons	331
42	Crime Drama Viewing by Fortress Mentality	332
43	Crime Drama Viewing by Reality	322
44	Reasons for Viewing Soap Operas	333
45	Reasons for Viewing Adult Situation Comedy	333
46	Reasons for Viewing Situation Comedy	334
47	Reasons for Viewing Documentaries	334
48	Hours by Personality Measures	336
49	Hours by Fortress Mentality	336
50	Hours by Reality	337
51	Partial Correlations/Hours	337
52	Hours by Reasons	337
53	Anomia by Demographic Variables	339
54	Anomia by Attitude Statement	340
55	Anomia by Fortress Mentality	340
56	Anomia by Reasons	341
57	Anomia by Reality	341

58	Anomia and Perceived Message	Page 341
59	Authoritarianism by Fortress Mentality	342
60	Authoritarianism by Reality	343
61	Authoritarianism and Message	343
62	Pollyanna and Attitudes	344
63	Pollyanna and Fortress Mentality	344
64	Pollyanna and Reality	345
65	Institutional/General Population	346
66	Comparison on Fortress Mentality	347
67	Comparison on Reality	348
68	Messages in <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	350
69	Type Interaction in <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	350
70	Type of Viewer and <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	353
71	Type of Viewer and Mr. Stevens	354
72	Messages in <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	355
73	Interaction in <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	355
74	Type of Viewer and <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	358
75	Type of Viewer and Laverne	358
76	Messages in <i>Mary Hartman</i>	360
77	Interaction in <i>Mary Hartman</i>	360
78	Type of Viewer and <i>Mary Hartman</i>	363
79	Type of Viewer and Mary Hartman	363
80	Messages in <i>Sidestreet</i>	364
81	Interaction in <i>Sidestreet</i>	365
82	Type of Viewer and <i>Sidestreet</i>	367
83	Type of Viewer and Bertha McKenzie	367

Exhibits

1	Activation Levels – <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	Page 349
2	The Program <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	351
3	Men/Women – <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	351
4	Teenagers/Career People – <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	352
5	Main Character – <i>S.W.A.T.</i>	352
6	Activation Levels – <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	356
7	The Program – <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	357
8	The Elderly/Career People – <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	357
9	Men/Women – <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	357
10	Men/Women, Content Analysis – <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	357
11	Main Character – <i>Laverne and Shirley</i>	358
12	Activation Levels – <i>Mary Hartman</i>	361
13	The Program – <i>Mary Hartman</i>	361
14	Men/Women – <i>Mary Hartman</i>	362
15	Career People – <i>Mary Hartman</i>	362
16	Main Character – <i>Mary Hartman</i>	362
17	Activation Levels – <i>Sidestreet</i>	365
18	The Program – <i>Sidestreet</i>	365
19	Men/Women – <i>Sidestreet</i>	366
20	Main Character – <i>Sidestreet</i>	366
21	Ethnic Groups/Career People – <i>Sidestreet</i>	367
22	<i>S.W.A.T.</i> and <i>Sidestreet</i> Comparison	368
23	Teenagers/Ethnic Groups Comparison	369
24	Men/Women Comparison	370
25	Police – <i>S.W.A.T.</i> and <i>Sidestreet</i>	370
26	Main Characters Comparison	371
27	Criminals – <i>S.W.A.T.</i> and <i>Sidestreet</i>	371

Introduction

Concept of Meaning

A central axiom of communication theory states that “meanings are in people and not in words”.¹ One of the major causes of failure to communicate lies with the source/receiver’s inability to grasp the central significance of this axiom.

Our meanings are a product of our culture, our social class, and our experience. No two people share the same background and experiences. When we attempt to communicate with other people, therefore, our concern in the selection of words (as well as nonverbal symbols) that we will use should be on what the word actually means to the *other person*, not on what we think it means. This decision is best made on the basis of our knowledge of that individual person. Of course, common meanings are shared for a lot of words by large groups of people. . . . But meanings, as ideas to be conveyed to another, are *not* in dictionaries; meanings are in people.²

This axiom can also – indeed, *must* also – be applied to mass communication. Meanings are not in the television programs for instance, but in the people associated with, and viewing, the program. If we are to understand what any single television program *means*, we must consider the kaleidoscope of meanings that exists in the minds of all people associated with the program.

The writer holds one meaning for the program, the producer another meaning, while a third meaning will exist in the mind of the director. Each actor will bring to his/her performance the meaning that develops from his/her own experience and background as they relate to that particular role. Network programming officials will also have a meaning for each program. The decision-making process that each of these individuals goes through, as well as the interaction between all those in the production and distribution system, will temper and change the meanings held by all. Aesthetic considerations, combined with the limitations of the medium, will also temper meanings.³

Other meanings are to be found in the minds of the television critics. Their meanings are founded upon values, beliefs, and perceptions of the critic’s role; these

are always unique to the individual serving as critic. Richard J. Stonesifer⁴ has discussed the beliefs about television that allow some critics to dismiss the medium as an important conveyer of ideas to people. He also indicates those personal values and role considerations that guide his criticism of television programming. His role as a teacher, and his preference for rhetorical analysis instead of empirical research govern his critique of television content.

Each member of the television audience will have a meaning for the program, linked in some way to his/her own life and experiences. Since no two viewers have the same life experiences, no two viewers will perceive the program in exactly the same way.

The majority of the audience members will not share their reactions to the television programs with anyone but their immediate families and close friends. Some will communicate their meanings to producers in the form of letters. The producers and network officials have constructed formal channels of feedback to judge viewers’ meanings for programming. Ratings of the programs, determined from data collected by independent rating organizations, such as the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement or the Nielsen Company, communicate to those involved in the production and distribution system a form of viewers’ meanings as “popularity”.

Mass communication researchers also have meanings for the content communicated through the media. Again, the type of research undertaken will largely depend on what is meaningful to the particular researcher. Some researchers will focus on media effects, seeking some pattern of audience behaviour that can be attributed to media content. Others will survey audience reactions to the program. Still other researchers will study why people choose the television programs they watch. The value system of the researcher⁵ will govern which academic perspective and methodology he/she will prefer to explain television effects.

Producers, actors, writers, network officials, viewers, critics, and researchers are all a part of the mass-media system. ⁶ Each possesses his/her own perspective of the

media content. Yet the meanings that each holds for the same program are not always communicated to one another.

Producers have an idea of audience preferences and meanings that guides their programming. However, as Cantor has shown, their immediate reference groups are more likely to be the network officials with whom they must work in order to get their product shown.⁷

Most producers when asked if they knew what kind of audience viewed their shows said they did. This information is made available to them by the networks' production companies and by advertisers who engage marketing-research organizations to do telephone surveys during or after the broadcast of the program. These surveys differ from the Nielsen ratings, although producers often confuse them in their conversations. . . . Much information about the audience obviously can be predicted from the nature of the show. . . . The producer's images of his television audience seem to have little relation to actual survey data about the geographic distribution and character of the audience for his show.⁸

Producers may be more aware of the opinions held by critics, since they have a chance to read or hear their comments in other media. Communication between researchers and producers is varied in content and regularity. Often the researcher is seen as someone who exists in an ivory tower, far removed from the real world of television production. Critics may be even more sceptical of research results. This scepticism arises from the type of descriptive data that research can provide, the critic's involvement in the journalism profession, and/or the critic's need to write a lively and saleable product.⁹

While television critics and researchers are often highly critical of program content, television viewers may hold contrary opinions. In 1964, the première showing of *Gilligan's Island* drew the wrath of the majority of television critics. Few programs have been as ferociously attacked as this one by critics.

Even several of the actors involved in the program didn't think it would survive. One of the principal characters said that she had accepted her part only because she thought the series "didn't have a prayer".¹⁰

Viewers, however, liked *Gilligan's Island*, and it was produced for the next four seasons. It can still be seen in reruns 13 years later. A cartoon version has also been shown in the United States as a Saturday morning series.

Network officials and producers also sometimes misjudge audience preferences for a television program. Cantor documents several instances where producers misjudged what types of viewers were watching a program.¹¹ She also gives two examples in which audience influence kept a series on the air after it had been cancelled by the network. Another case can be documented in recent attempts to sell a series to the networks.

The only evidence for direct audience control were two programs that had been canceled or not renewed and that, after receiving public support for continuation, were eventually

renewed. In one instance, a western, support came not only from letters to the network from the public but from legislators and other public officials as well. The protest was so heavy that station managers of the network affiliates threatened to boycott all of the network's offerings unless the program was renewed. The reaction astonished the show's producer who had thought his audience consisted of lower-class and unsophisticated persons; as a consequence, he had to re-evaluate his conception of his audience.¹²

The second example is *Star Trek*, which was cancelled by the network in 1968 because the ratings had not been high enough.

As the rumor of impending cancellation spread among the fans of the show, a ground swell of protest began to rise. During the months of January and February that ground swell assumed the proportions of a tidal wave. A highly articulate and passionately loyal viewing audience participated in what is probably the most massive anti-network programming campaign in television history.

NBC-TV (both New York and Burbank offices) was deluged with letters of protest. Most of these letters were personally addressed to Mort Werner. A sizable number were also addressed to Julian Goodman, president of NBC. All demanded, pleaded or urged that *Star Trek* be kept on the air.

The furor increased with each passing day. *Star Trek's* chances for renewal became a topic of discussion in newspaper columns across the country. Student protest movements were organized. Cal Tech students marched, along with other *Star Trek* supporters, against NBC's Burbank office, carrying a petition urging the renewal of the series. . . .¹³

The most recent case involves the attempt of a producer to sell a television program. It has set such a precedent that at least one mass-media scholar¹⁴ believes it may have a profound effect by changing the production-distribution system.

When producer Norman Lear was unable to sell his new show, *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, to the networks, he turned to syndication of the program to individual stations. Stations scheduled the program at many different times, with several backing it up against their competitors' late evening news. The public responded immediately to *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. Ratings in many areas have been larger than those for the competing programs, including evening news.

While the audience is sometimes successful in reaching producers and network officials, critics appear to receive different feedback from their audience. Cleveland Amory, critic for *TV Guide*, has given some indication of the type of feedback that critics receive from readers. He summarizes the letters he has received from viewers in the following paragraph.

The letter from Mrs. Moseley of Raleigh, North Carolina, says, "Could you please tell me what purpose is served by critics in general and by Cleveland Amory in particular?" A letter from Newport, Rhode Island, signed "One of the silent majority," says, "Journalists like you who distract the truth are the ones Mr. Agnew refers to" . . . "Dear Mr. Amory," this one says, "I'm writing to ask you why all the stars of the *Survivors* went off but you left George Hamilton on?" That was just an

oversight. "Dear Mr. Amory. Why can't critics mind their own business? Just because I don't like a program I don't go around telling people about it."¹⁵

Empirical Studies of Viewer and Critic Reactions

Two studies have focused upon comparisons between meanings that viewers and critics possess of television content. Greenberg and Gordon¹⁶ compared critic and viewer perceptions of television violence. They hypothesized that critics would perceive more violence in television programming than viewers. Since television programs vary in the degree of violence portrayed, they also hypothesized that the two groups would generally agree on which programs were violent. In other words, while critics will perceive generally more violence in television programming, there will be agreement of the two groups as to which programs contain the violence.

Critics did perceive more violence on television than viewers. Of the 20 programs that both viewers and critics agreed were violent, the television critics ranked 19 of them as more violent than the viewers. On only one program did critics and viewers agree as to the amount of violence portrayed.

Greenberg and Gordon tested several hypotheses about the relationship between age and sex to perception of television violence. They found that female viewers perceived more violence in television programming than male viewers. Female viewers saw more violence in the most violent programs, while male viewers perceived more violence in the less violent programs. Male viewers also watched more of the violent programs than the female viewers.

Contrary to their expectations, Greenberg and Gordon found that younger viewers perceived more violence on television than older viewers. Viewers under 40 consistently rated the violent television programs as more violent than viewers over 40. There were no differences in viewing patterns between age groups. Both groups watched violent programs on television.

Two further findings of Greenberg and Gordon are of importance to an understanding of television viewing patterns. First, they found that when respondents were presented with a definition of television violence, they reported seeing more violence in television programming. Persons not given a definition of violence saw less violence; the definition sensitized respondents to violent content.

This suggests that surveys concerning television violence should be carefully analyzed to discover what definition of violence was given to the respondents. If none is presented, the estimate of perceived violence will be more conservative than that reported when a definition is offered. It is also possible that the definition given will bias the respondents to answer in such a way as to give the researcher the result he desires.

Secondly, Greenberg and Gordon report that persons who consistently watch violent television programs perceive less violence in television programming than

those who are not regular viewers of these programs. This is evidence of a process known as "desensitization", which has also been documented in other studies. When one watches an inordinate amount of violent television content, one becomes desensitized to violence. It takes increasingly violent scenes to arouse such a viewer to any level of awareness of violent content.

Another interpretation of this phenomenon is that persons who do not watch violent television see more violence because of a perceptual set. They find it more visible because they are prepared to see it. They may also find it distasteful because of their sensitivity to violent content.

Felsenthal¹⁷ studied letters written by viewers to the producers of *All in the Family*. He then compared these letters with articles written about the series by television critics. During the third, fourth, and fifth seasons of *All in the Family*, Tandem Productions received 1,332 letters about the content of the 72 episodes broadcast. Eight episodes generated more than 50 letters each; three episodes accounted for 424 letters, mailed from all regions of the U.S. and several provinces of Canada.

Reviewing all columns written by television critics for the three years considered in the study, Felsenthal found that little had been written about those episodes that generated the most audience response. Only two articles pertained to any of the three *All in the Family* episodes that generated the most audience mail.

These two articles focused on the one episode that had produced the most negative audience mail – 146 negative and five positive letters. The program dealt with Mike's reactions to Gloria's sexual aggressiveness. One critic, Bob Lancaster of the Knight newspapers, speculated about parental reactions to the program while their children watched it.¹⁸ The other critic, Dwight Newton of the *San Francisco Examiner*, simply expressed surprise that 150 to 200 letters could be considered "an outpouring of viewer objection".¹⁹

A recent study by Lull and Hanson²⁰ illustrates the relationship between viewer perceptions of television content and the perceptions of mass-communication researchers. Lull and Hanson selected a series of commercials that they believed showed stereotypical portrayals of women. The commercials were shown to a panel of judges who also rated the commercials high in stereotypes.

Lull and Hanson then showed the commercials to two groups of women, a college group and a local community group. They hypothesized that women who scored high on a feminism scale, indicating identification with the women's liberation movement, would perceive more stereotypes in the commercials than women who scored low.

These hypotheses were supported. However, one of the major findings of Lull and Hanson's study was that viewers did not perceive as much sexism in the commercials as the researchers or the panel of judges. The

overall recognition of sexism in the commercials was less than half that expected by the researchers. It may be logical to argue that the researcher is predisposed to see more sexism, or violence, in media content merely as a consequence of undertaking the research.

The studies by Greenberg and Gordon and Felsenthal show that critics and audiences do indeed view the world of television differently. The study by Lull and Hanson also indicates that viewers tend to see television content differently than researchers. Audience perceptions of media content are important to an understanding of the possible effects of television on the adult population. It is equally important to understand the major historical perspectives that researchers and critics have taken towards the audience.

Historical Conceptions of the Audience

An understanding of the main theoretical conceptions of the media audience will help the reader to put this study in perspective. Basically, one's concept of the audience depends on how one answers the philosophical question of the nature of man. This question has troubled the philosopher and scientist for ages, but it is the basic question that must be answered in doing research in the behavioural sciences.

Psychologists have traditionally answered this question by taking one of three stances. 1) Man is plastic, completely moulded by his environment. This is the answer of the behaviourist. 2) Man is struggling between his biological drives and the constraining forces of culture. This is the answer of psychoanalytic theory. 3) Man is a thinking, creative person who takes the environmental and cultural inputs and moulds them to his own perspective. This is the answer of cognitive psychology.

Media students have not paid much attention to their answer to this question. Thus, the individual who takes time to read through the research will find conflicting hypotheses and conclusions. Historically, however, three different theoretical definitions of the media audience have been given by mass-communication scholars.

A. The Audience as Passive Recipient of Media Content

This is probably the oldest of the three theoretical positions. During the 1930s, media researchers focused on propaganda analysis.²¹ Intrigued by the work and philosophy of Goebbels in Germany, researchers analyzed the tricks, or mechanisms, that the propagandist used to influence a passive audience. These researchers studied the structure of the various media to show how "the means of exerting influence were coming progressively into the hands of a smaller and smaller clique of rich men who used them to maintain the existing social order".²²

In a recent survey of mass media theory, L. John Martin points out that there were many "hypodermic theories" based on Harold D. Lasswell's description of

the communication process: "Who says what to whom with what effect?" Lasswell's hypodermic model of the communication process "at least implicitly, suggests that communication is something someone does to someone else".²³

This model guided the research of Carl Hovland at Yale University. Hovland manipulated the variables affecting persuasion in an attempt to understand how the source of the message may affect attitude change in the mind of the receiver. Thus, variables related to the communicator (who) were varied in laboratory settings. Other variables concerning the types of messages (what) were manipulated to study the effects of different types of appeals upon attitude change. Receiver variables (whom) were also manipulated to maximize the amount of attitude change (with what effect).²⁴

Some researchers did attempt to investigate media effects in the 1930s. Blumer and Blumer and Houser²⁵ reported two attempts to link movie viewing with socially undesirable behaviour. Since it was assumed that movie viewing had an effect on behaviour, these researchers did not investigate the possibility that juveniles with certain behaviour patterns might seek out movies of a certain type.

George Gerbner has conducted an extensive analysis of U.S. television content. While his content analysis dates back to 1967-1968, his audience surveys concerning viewer attitudes did not begin until 1973. This extension of Gerbner's research came about as the conceptual framework of the research broadened to take into account policy decisions that might be made concerning television in light of social science investigations.

Underlying these policy and research decisions are a large number of assumptions that Gerbner has made about television and its audience. Gerbner sees television as the "central cultural arm of American society".²⁶ It serves a cultural function by socializing people into stable social patterns. Television serves to build resistance to change. It is a medium of socialization that gives people "standardized roles and behaviours".

Survey research indicates that television has found its way into virtually every American home.²⁷ The situation is similar in Canada. The 1970 report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media reported that 96 per cent of all Canadian homes have at least one television set.²⁸ Thus, television does cut across all social and cultural groups in society in so far as all, or almost all, have the means of viewing programming.

Gerbner asserts that television is used "non-selectively". People watch what is on without consideration of program type, content, or individual preferences.

With the exception of national events and some "specials", the total viewing audience is fairly stable regardless what is on. Individual tastes and program preferences are less important in determining viewing patterns than is the time a program is on.

The nearly universal, non-selective, and habitual use of television fits the ritualistic pattern in its programming. You watch television as you might attend a church service except that most people watch television more religiously.²⁹

It is difficult to interpret Gerbner's comment about "the ritualistic pattern" of television programming. Perhaps he means that there is little variance in types of programs shown on television. It is also true that television programming has followed the ritual of success. When one program format – for example, the situation comedy – attracts a large percentage of the audience, then that type of show is copied by other programmers.

Similarly, television programming has tended to follow certain formulas of content and design that have been successful in capturing viewer attention. Similar themes, plots, and program structure keep appearing and reappearing on television. These may appear over a long period of time and often in cycles.

However, is this the result of decisions carefully made by programmers and producers, or the result of changing attitudes of viewers? After two or three years of police series, audiences may grow tired of watching police series. Thus, when a medical series is introduced, the viewer turns to the new format because it is different. A combination of the two types into a *Police Surgeon or Emergency* will also get the attention of the audience.

Gerbner and Gross³⁰ report a direct relationship between the amount of time spent watching television and a "fortress mentality". Heavy viewers of television are more likely to over-estimate the proportion of the general population involved in police work. They are more likely to over-estimate the danger of their own neighbourhood. They are more likely to distrust other people. They are more likely to have a sense of fear about daily life. They are more likely to over-estimate the probability of being involved in a violent crime.

Fear is a universal emotion and easy to exploit. Symbolic violence may be the cheapest way to cultivate it effectively. Raw violence is, in comparison, risky and costly, resorted to when symbolic means fail. Ritualized displays of any violence (such as in crime and disaster news, as well as in mass-produced drama) may cultivate exaggerated assumptions about the extent of threat and danger in the world and lead to demands for protection. . . . As with violence, so with other aspects of social reality . . . TV appears to cultivate assumptions that fit its socially functional myths. Our chief instrument of enculturation and social control, television may function as the established religion of the industrial order, relating to governance as the church did to the state in earlier times.³¹

Gerbner also proposes that viewers perceive the television world as being realistic. Viewers "assume that [the events] take place against a backdrop of the real world". Nothing in television drama denies the basic reality of the television world. While many adults may be aware of the fictitiousness of television, it is hard for many people to distinguish between the real world in which they live and the television world.

Gerbner appears to be asserting that, while people are aware that the events portrayed on television are not "really" happening, they believe that television accurately indicates that such things happen, how they happen, when they happen, where they happen, and to and by what sort of people they happen. Thus they develop mental sets modelled on the television portrayal of reality. They develop a cognitive map of reality patterned on the fictional world of television. As this conception of reality is shared by their peer or reference group, it has real consequences in their lives.

It should be clear that the conception of the media audience as passive recipient of information carried through media channels is still pervasive. The most vocal researcher using this model is George Gerbner. The same view is found in the writings of Herbert Schiller³² and Jacques Ellul.³³

B. The Audience Actively Selecting from Available Messages

Paul Lazarsfeld is credited with pioneering a different use for survey research methodology. Survey methodology had been developed with the advent of radio to determine the size of the audience; Lazarsfeld was not interested in how many people listened to a given radio program, but in why people listened to it. He used survey research methodology to investigate how and why people listened to the radio.

In the 1940 U.S. presidential election, Katz and Lazarsfeld³⁴ studied how voters made use of the political information they received from radio broadcasts. They discovered that people were selective about what political messages they paid attention to during the campaign. People were more likely to read newspaper articles and listen to those political speeches over the radio that supported their own candidate. They found that members of the audience were very active in deciding what they wanted to pay attention to in the mass media. Similarly, different people reacted in different ways to the same radio message. Instead of one audience there are many audiences. People react to the media as members of social groups; their allegiance to these groups determines which messages will be received and which will be ignored.

Lazarsfeld and Merton³⁵ argue that the mass media can change attitudes and beliefs only when they have monopoly control over all information sources. With monopoly control, no other information will reach members of the audience. However, even when this is true, interpersonal influence must be used to reinforce the information contained in the media content if there is to be attitude change.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a series of studies focused on the media production system in the United States and other countries.³⁶ These studies found that newsmen had a picture in their minds of the type of people who would receive their story. The local editors received feedback from friends and acquaintances at

local clubs, service organizations, and social institutions. Thus, those who prepare a media product have some idea of the type of effect they wish to produce in the minds of the audience. They have some idea of what the audience is like, what the audience desires, and how members of the audience will react. Communication in the mass media is a *transaction* between message producers and message receivers.

In other words, the audience would have influenced what he said before the audience even heard or read what he had to say. If this logic is accepted, then in some sense the direction of “influence” is moot. It is just as proper to say that the audience influences the communicator as to say that the communicator influences the audience. The process works in both directions.³⁷

In 1964, Raymond Bauer introduced the concept of the “obstinate audience” – the audience that mediates the message through selective perception, selective attention, and selective recall.

The mass media environment is a highly noisy and competitive environment. As Wilbur Schramm has written:

Communication is a buyer's market. Far more stimuli come to us than we are able to attend to. . . . There is good reason to think that we scan our communication environment like an index, selecting cues and concentrating our attention on the signs associated with the cues that specifically attract us. . . . For example, we habitually listen to a newscast at a relatively low level of attention until a cue word or phrase awakens our attention and invites us to respond to a group of signs associated with the cue.³⁸

Since the environment is so busy, members of the media audience must select between competing stimuli. If they paid attention to everything, they would suffer from information overload. Selective perception does take place. Almost all perception is selective: past experiences, expectations, needs, stereotypes, and prejudices govern the perceptions of people.

Different people relate to the same stimuli in many different ways, depending on what they expect to see, are trained to see, or believe to be true about the world in which they live. Generally, the rule is that they pay attention to messages with which they agree, to those messages that may directly affect them, or to those for which they will have a use when talking with other people. During political campaigns they pay attention to articles and programs that support candidates they already support.³⁹

In 1947, Cooper and Jahoda⁴⁰ conducted a study that pioneered in the examination of selective perception of messages from the media. They showed *Mr. Bigot*, a cartoon attacking prejudice, to highly prejudiced persons. The cartoon demonstrated why one should not be prejudiced. Subjects were asked to describe the content of the cartoon as it went along. Cooper and Jahoda observed how the subjects in their study were able to follow the argument of the cartoon to a certain point. Then “it was as if the train of thought had been

derailed”. From that point on, subjects were unable to describe or explain what the film was trying to say.

For the past six years, Archie Bunker has demonstrated prejudice and bigotry to viewers of *All in the Family*. Supporters of the series have argued that once people see how foolish Archie's bigotry is, they will begin to examine their own prejudices. Through humour they will come to see that prejudice is wrong.⁴¹

The attitude of Norman Lear, producer of *All in the Family*, is indicative of the kinds of conceptions producers have in their minds about the audience of a program. Lear argues that opinionated persons should have a character on television with whom they can identify.

But, going back to the area of *mistrust* – take the question we hear most often regarding *All in the Family*.

“Is Archie Bunker really good for the American people? What American people? These are American people who are asking the question. If that's the case, then, who are the American people that American people are asking questions about? The answer is obvious – it is the *other* American people.

“We understand Archie Bunker,” says the white collar liberal, “but I worry about the blue collar conservative. To him Archie Bunker is a hero.”

Well, I have an answer for my fellow liberals. First, if a bigot is going to have a hero, thank heavens he is a fool like Archie Bunker! I would also like to remind the liberal that prejudice is not the private reserve of conservatives – or people with blue collars. We white collar liberals do a pretty good job of it too.

. . . By the way, when we *do* hear from bigots, I mean *declared* bigots, they invariably write to say, “Why is Archie always made to be a fool at the end?” “What are you trying to pull off there?” . . . The point is, however, that the message *gets* to the bigot. Archie Bunker's prejudice is harmful and foolish – the man that shares it with him is equally harmful and foolish – and that fact is not escaping the hard hat anymore than it escapes the liberal. But the mistrust continues nonetheless.

The feeling that “I” – I alone understand Archie – but not the fellow below me on the economic ladder – or the fellow below me on the educational ladder – or the fellow above me on *both* these ladders – it works both ways you see – the egghead and the liberal isn't trusted to understand Archie, either. Only “I” understand.⁴²

Lear's speech underlines several important points that have been made earlier. First, the producer of *All in the Family* obviously has a conception of the audience that will be attracted to the show. He bases this idea on his knowledge of audience measurements taken by professional organizations. He also gets information from the letters the company receives in response to the series. Communication is a transaction between producer and audience.

Secondly, he is aware of the type of people who will be attracted to Archie. He knows which people will also be repelled by an opinionated, blue-collar television character. He is speaking essentially to this latter group.

Thirdly, Lear warns against premature and simplistic understanding of media content and audience reactions. He especially warns against the egoism of the elitist

critic who argues that only he/she knows what is best for the average television viewer. This warning is directed towards researchers, as well as professional and non-professional critics.

Professional television critics have carried on a debate with Norman Lear. Several of them have argued that Archie Bunker is harmful to society, because he reinforces prejudice and bigotry in those viewers who agree with him.⁴³ Social scientists have investigated the claims of both sides. Vidmar and Rokeach⁴⁴ found that high ethnocentric viewers were more likely to agree with Archie Bunker than low ethnocentric viewers. Tate and Surlin⁴⁵ found that both Canadian and American viewers who are dogmatic agree significantly more with Archie than do viewers who are not dogmatic. While Canadian adults do not think the series is "true to life", those who are close-minded (dogmatic) agree more with Archie than those who are open-minded.

Tate and Surlin do report significant differences between adult viewers in Canada and the United States. First, Canadian viewers do not see as much humour in the show as American viewers. Humour is bound by culture and nationality. Since the series is set in a milieu unique to the U.S., Canadian viewers find it harder to understand, less true to life, and less humorous.

When Canadian viewers who do find the program humorous are compared with American viewers, another difference becomes apparent. People who "like Archie" in the United States also believe him to be humorous. In other words, they find his jokes funnier than people who do not like him. Canadian viewers are different. Among Canadian viewers only those who both like Archie and agree with him think his jokes are funny.

Canadian and American viewers of *All in the Family* also show slightly different patterns of agreement with Archie. Among Canadian viewers, education is the best predictor variable indicating agreement with Archie. Individuals with lower levels of education agree with Archie more than persons with a university or graduate education. People who are dogmatic or close-minded also agree with Archie more than people who are open-minded or low on the dogmatic scale. Men agree with Archie more than women.

Among U.S. viewers of the series, dogmatism is the best predictor variable for agreement with Archie, followed by education and social status. In both countries, then, the viewer who agrees with Archie is the viewer who is most like Archie. Canadian viewers are more apt to identify with Archie's lack of education before identifying with his close-mindedness, while U.S. viewers identify with his dogmatism before identifying with his lack of education and low social status.

Homophily is a concept used by communication theorists to explain the natural propensity of people to identify with other people like themselves. People always tend to make friends with other people who have similar beliefs, attitudes, social status, education, et

cetera. Very rarely will anyone be close friends with someone who is extremely different – or heterophilous – in his/her beliefs, attitudes, values, education, and social status. Like attracts like! Advertisers realize this and build their persuasive appeal around people who are most like the people in their target audience. Although some advertisements may use an emulation appeal, based on the receiver's identification with the source, these depend on the receiver's perception of how credible and reliable the source is. Homophily is a stronger link between source and receiver of a persuasive message. Producers and programmers may also use homophily to attract members of the viewing audience.

Selective perception works to cause the dogmatic viewer to perceive Archie Bunker as homophilous. This reinforces whatever prejudice the bigoted viewer may have. Selective perception also protects the opinionated viewer by screening out any messages that might attack these beliefs. Research by Leckenby and Surlin has shown that lower-class southern white television viewers in the U.S. perceive Fred Sanford, of *Sanford and Son*, as the typical black. Groups in society have their stereotyped perspectives of minority groups reinforced by such shows as *Sanford and Son*, *All in the Family*, and *Excuse my French*.

Another unfortunate aspect of this program content-viewer relationship is that defensive personality characteristics exhibited by the "marginal man" such as high authoritarianism, low internal locus of control of one's environment, high dogmatism, etc., works to keep the viewer from allowing himself a more well-rounded perception of his environment, thus keeping him from coping with the "real" society within which he exists.⁴⁶

Selective perception relates to those messages that are received by the viewer. Selective retention and selective recall relate to those portions of the received message that will be remembered. Advertising research has often concentrated on recall information.⁴⁷ Research on news broadcasts demonstrates that listeners remember the first and last news stories presented. Those stories in the middle are lost because of their placement and, many times, because of their brevity.⁴⁸ Shaw's research on small-group decision-making and research by Forston⁴⁹ on jury decision-making show that those who make the first and last suggestions have the best chance of having their suggestions adopted by the group. Suggestions made in the middle of a discussion are lost in the shuffle.

Selective retention affects whether or not a message will be recalled. Yet the majority of television surveys are based upon recall data. Analysis of surveys shows that there are differences between the answers given for the amount of time spent viewing television, depending on how the question is asked by the interviewer.

Lyle⁵⁰ compared three different methods of measuring time spent watching television. Viewers who were asked to tell how much time they spent viewing

television on the average day over-estimated the amount of time. Viewers who kept diaries of television viewing gave consistently lower answers than those who gave a figure from memory. In between these two extremes were the answers given by those who were asked the question, "How much television did you watch yesterday?" In other words, the evidence indicates that recall is better when respondents are asked questions about the most recent occurrences.

Psychological research on forgetting⁵¹ would support this evidence. The forgetting curve is quite stable, running from 80 per cent of details remembered within one hour to 20 per cent of the details recalled after three days. Once the curve is at 20 per cent, very little forgetting takes place.

The distinctions between *perception*, *retention*, and *recall* are rather hard to keep clear since both perception and retention ordinarily have to be measured in terms of what a person can recall at a later period. When recall (or retention) is recorded virtually immediately after exposure to a stimulus, we can usually assume that retention (memory) is not a factor. And if . . . we can assume that people are telling us what they actually think they are seeing rather than biasing their responses to influence us in some way or other, we can then assume we are dealing with perception.⁵²

C. The Audience Seeking Need Gratification from the Media

This perspective of the audience began with the 1948 work of Harold D. Lasswell, who hypothesized that the mass media fulfil three functions in society.

The communication process in society performs three functions: (a) *surveillance* of the environment, disclosing threats and opportunities affecting the value position of the community and of the component parts within it; (b) *correlation* of the components of society in making a response to the environment; (c) *transmission* of the social inheritance.⁵³

Lasswell did not include the function of entertainment. He apparently believed that this function did not fit into the macro-theoretical approach that his perspective of society is founded upon.

Recently, McQuail, Blumler, and Brown have developed an expanded functional theory based on a micro-theoretical perspective. They argue that the media fulfil the viewers' needs for

. . . diversion (including escape from the constraints of routine, the burdens of problems, and emotional release); personal relationships (including substitute companionship as well as social utility); personal identity (including personal reference, reality exploration, and value reinforcement); and surveillance.⁵⁴

The uses-and-gratifications literature is closely linked to Daniel Katz's functional theory of attitudes.⁵⁵ Katz argues that attitudes serve a definite purpose in people's lives, and he has delineated four such purposes or functions. The *instrumental function* serves to help the individual maximize rewards and minimize punishments. People hold some attitudes because they satisfy

needs for reward, while other attitudes protect one from punishment.

The *ego-defensive function* consists of those attitudes that are held to protect one's self-image and self-esteem. Research on authoritarianism and dogmatism indicates that many people use their attitude and belief systems to protect themselves from recognizing the truth about their weaknesses, shortcomings, and inferiority.

The *value-expressive function* is served by those attitudes that support a consistent value system. These attitudes relate to an individual's religious, social, and personal values. The final function fulfilled by attitudes is the *knowledge function*. These attitudes help people acquire information and structure their environment; they also help people fill the gaps in their knowledge and understand their environment.

Information coming to the individual through media channels can reinforce attitudes that fulfil any of these four functions in the cognitive structure of the viewer.

The new "uses and gratifications" or "information-seeking" theory requires that we distinguish between the informational and persuasive role of communication. The mass media are generally unsuccessful in persuading; however, they are not only eminently successful in informing, but on many topics and for most people they are also the sole source of information. This is the underlying principle of the agenda-setting model that is being used in much current research on the effects of mass communication. The mass media not only tell people what to think about, but they are a powerful determinant of the relative importance of the issues they choose to discuss. In this regard, newspapers appear to have an edge over television.⁵⁶

As Martin points out in the above quotation, uses-and-gratifications theorists have split the Lasswell "hypodermic model" into two parts; that is, they have separated the persuasive effect from the informational effect. They recognize the validity of the processes of selective perception, selective recall, and selective retention that limit the persuasive role of the media. The agenda-setting research does indicate that the mass media do fulfil an informational function in people's lives.

Researchers accepting the uses-and-gratifications theoretical approach to the audience understand that media users seek gratification from the media. Various types of media content, as well as different media, will fulfil different needs of the viewers. These researchers are concerned with why and how media users seek need fulfilment from the various media.

Lundberg and Hulten⁵⁷ have identified the five assumptions necessary to an understanding of the uses-and-gratifications model. First, these theorists conceive of the audience as actively seeking to fulfil goals through media usage. Media usage is purposeful activity and not simply "pastime", diversion, sport, or non-need-oriented activity. Contrary to the assumptions of theorists like Gerbner⁵⁸ and Bogart⁵⁹, who argue that media activity is essentially casual, so that people watch whatever is available simply because it is there, this

model recognizes that audience members have expectations of what different types of media and programs can offer them. The model does recognize that much media activity may originate as casual activity. However, if the media content that is present does not fulfil the need the audience member brings to the activity, other media will be sought. The viewing of any particular television program is purposeful in that it is expected to fulfil some need or provide some fulfilment.

Secondly, the uses-and-gratifications model holds that the audience takes the initiative in linking need gratification and media choice. As Schramm, Lyle, and Parker said:

In a sense the term "effect" is misleading because it suggests that television "does something" to children. . . . Nothing can be further from the fact. It is the children who are most active in this relationship. It is they who use television rather than television that uses them.⁶⁰

Each media choice is made for some specific need fulfilment.

Thirdly, all activities in which people take part compete with the media as sources of need satisfaction. There is a broad range of human needs and there is a broad range of sources of gratification. Similarly, some needs may not be fulfilled through media consumption.

Fourthly, data can be obtained from audience members about their goals of media usage.

People are sufficiently self-aware to be able to report their own interests and motives in particular cases, or at least to recognize them when confronted with them in an intelligible and familiar verbal formulation.⁶¹

Finally, these theorists argue that judgments about the social significance of the mass media and mass communication should be suspended until the data about audience orientations are collected and understood. Critics of the mass media are constantly making value judgments about the cultural and social effects of the media. Like the critics who attack "popular culture", these judgments are elitist, or tend to be elitist. They are based on specific value systems that are not shared by the members of the media audience. The study of uses and gratifications seeks to discover the value systems of those who use the media in order to ascertain which values the media usage fulfils. In this respect, those who uphold the uses-and-gratifications model believe that the social critic places the proverbial "cart before the horse".⁶²

In other words, our position is that media researchers ought to be studying human needs to discover how much the media do or do not contribute to their creation and satisfaction. Moreover, we believe that it is our job to clarify the extent to which certain kinds of media and content favor certain kinds of use – to thereby set boundaries on the over-generalization that any kind of content can be bent to any kind of need. We believe it is our job to explore the social and individual conditions under which audiences find need or use for program material aimed at changing their image of the status quo or "broadening their cultural horizons. . . ."

Though audience oriented, the uses and gratifications approach is not necessarily conservative. While taking account of what people look for from the media, it breaks away from a slavish dependence of content on audience propensities by bringing to light the great variety of needs and interests that are encompassed by the latter. . . . Instead of depicting the media as severely circumscribed by audience expectations, the uses and gratifications approach highlights the audience as a source of challenge to producers to cater more richly to the multiplicity of requirements and roles that it has disclosed.⁶³

The Design of the Study

The Questionnaire

Each researcher studying mass media usage brings to his/her work one of the three basic conceptions of the audience reviewed above. This conception will to some extent determine which questions are asked and what type of data is collected. In this study an attempt has been made to combine the three basic viewpoints. While each approaches the audience in a slightly different manner, they are complementary to one another.

Those who define the audience as a passive receiver of media messages take insufficient account of the purposeful selection activity of the media user in choosing the media content he will absorb. In this study, television viewers were asked how much television they watch and specifically what programs they watch.

Proponents of the first conception of the audience as passive recipient may argue that television offers a pretty limited menu to the selective television viewer. The scope of the diversity within television content is beyond the range of this study. Such an analysis is being conducted for The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, by Williams, Zabrack, and Joy. This study was purposefully constructed to gather data relating to that content analysis, and the questionnaire was carefully correlated to the content analysis category system.

Thus, the present study attempts to give some information about the relationship between the actual viewers' perceptions of a television program and the data of an objective content analysis of the same television program. It may be understood as a validity check on the content analysis, although the research reviewed above does suggest that viewers and researchers will see different things in the same television program.

All respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire about their television viewing habits. A portion of the questionnaire was based upon the uses-and-gratifications model. Respondents were asked to indicate why they watched television and also to name specific programs that they felt fulfilled this need. In other

words, if a respondent checked as reason for watching television, "because it excites me", he/she was asked to specify which television programs he/she watched for excitement. For the purpose of this study, it is assumed that different television content fulfils different needs of the viewers. An attempt has been made to measure the extent to which various types of content meet these various needs.

Two different measures were taken to assess the validity of the claim by Gerbner and Gross that viewers do not differentiate between the various types of television content. Respondents to this survey were asked to indicate what types of television content they watched and how frequently they chose to watch it. It was felt that this should give some assessment of the average viewer's discrimination in choosing television programs. Similarly, after viewing a television program that they had never seen before, respondents were asked to rate it and indicate whether they would watch further segments of that particular series. Again, the response to this question should show how discriminating the viewer is in selecting television content.

Respondents were asked to watch one of four television programs in the privacy of their own homes. At all times every effort was made to keep their viewing situations as close to normal as possible. As the respondents watched the program, their reactions were recorded unobtrusively by an interviewer. Both before and after watching the program, all respondents were interviewed about their attitudes towards television and the particular programs used in the study. A comparison of viewing patterns should thus give some measure of selective exposure.

Unlike other surveys of television viewing, this study does not report recall data. Data was collected prior to, during, and immediately following the viewing of an actual television program. The program was viewed by the respondents in their own actual, everyday television-viewing environments. Specific data on each program was collected while it was in progress and immediately afterward. Thus, assuming that the respondents were truthful in their answers, this study reports the perceptions of the viewers. Differences between

viewers, and groups of viewers, are analyzed in terms of selective perception.

Viewers of each program were also asked to describe messages in the episode they watched. Since several different personality measures were used in the questionnaire, a comparison can be made between the propensity to agree with an attitude statement and report that such a message was present in the program content. If the selective perception hypotheses is correct, viewers who believe that the world is dangerous should also perceive in the programs messages that show the danger present in the world. Similarly, individuals who have authoritarian personalities and agree with authoritarian belief statements should report authoritarian messages in program content.

If Gerbner and Gross are correct, there will be a direct relationship between the amount of time spent watching television and agreement with attitude statements reflecting the "fortress mentality". The following statements were used to measure this phenomena:

22. The world is a dangerous place to be.

28. Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society.

31. It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a large city at night. [Fortress mentality believers should disagree with this statement.]

35. It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family.

37. School age children are not safe outside their own neighbourhood.

38. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict.

45. If asked for a cigarette by a stranger on a downtown street, I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger.

Individuals who have a fortress mentality view the world as dangerous. They should disagree with the statements that measure a "Pollyanna" attitude towards the world. The Pollyanna scale was developed by Christie and Geis¹ to measure optimistic attitudes and beliefs that the world is basically a good place. The three attitude statements in the Pollyanna scale are:

30. Most people are basically good and kind.

32. Most people will go out of their way to help someone else.

33. Most people can be depended upon to come through in a pinch.

Gerbner and Gross also argue that television viewers do not perceive the fictitious quality of the television world. They argue that viewers believe that television drama is realistic and do not distinguish between the real world and the television world. Those who watch a

lot of television may believe that it does present life realistically. The statements in the questionnaire that measure television realism are:

17. Events depicted in television families such as the Bunkers or Jeffersons, are just like things which happen in real life families.

19. The fighting on television is just like fighting in real life.

21. The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society.

23. Violent actions portrayed on TV usually involve people who do not know each other.

25. Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life.

40. It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor.

The last three statements refer to the degree of reality between the television world of crime and actual crime statistics, which show that crimes of violence usually occur between relatives, and very rarely occur between strangers.

Activation Theory and Television Viewing

In this study, activation theory was used to examine the physiological and psychological effects of watching a television program. Activation theory is a psychological personality theory developed by Fiske and Maddi² to explain human behaviour. While most psychological theories of cognitive consistency posit some balance principle, Fiske and Maddi state that every individual lives at a level of activation unique to him/herself, that varies hourly in a predictable cycle.

Psychologically, activation refers to excitement or tension. Physiologically, it refers to the state of excitement in a postulated brain centre. Physically, it means an accustomed level of physical activity that is pleasant and desirable for the time of day. Variation in activation is necessary for life, health, and meaning.

The majority of cognitive consistency theories hypothesize that people seek to reduce inconsistencies between beliefs, attitudes, values, and the environment. Cognitive inconsistency is psychologically tension-producing and uncomfortable. Hence, the individual will act to reduce the inconsistency by attitude change, value change, perception change, or change in his/her situation and environment. Dissonance theory and, indeed, all balance theories argue that all people seek a consistent state of cognitive peace, free from tension.

Activation theory, on the other hand, states that instead of seeking to maintain a consistent state of tensionlessness, people will from time to time seek out novel, new, tension-producing experiences in order to raise physiological and psychological tension that has

fallen below the accustomed level. If the level of activation is too high, the individual will experience a negative effect and act to lower the level by withdrawing or differentiating between stimuli.

Fiske and Maddi distinguish three dimensions of stimulation – variation, intensity, and meaningfulness. Intensity is defined in terms of physical energy. Variation refers to the degree to which a stimulus differs from the one preceding it or departs from the pattern or regularity of the preceding sequence of stimuli. Meaningfulness refers to the significance or importance of a stimulus for the individual.

Every individual operates at a customary level of activation. This level fluctuates during the day on a curve of alertness to drowsiness. Each individual seeks to maintain the actual level of activation that has become customary through experience for any given time of day. If the actual activation level deviates from the customary level for that time period, then modifying behaviour will be instituted. The coincidence of the actual and customary levels of activation leads to a state of well-being.

Fiske and Maddi hold that the customary level is somewhere above the minimum level of activation for all people and somewhere below the maximum. Each individual, because of past experience, growth, and daily activity, has his/her own unique customary level of activation. Some people seek a great deal of variety because they find a high level of activation pleasing, while others do not seek variety at all.

Television viewing may well be used by people to raise or lower a level of activation to its customary level. When one is bored – that is, when the level of activation is lower than the individual is customarily used to – the television set is turned on to relieve boredom. Similarly, when one is over-stimulated – as immediately after a family quarrel, for instance – the level of activation is above the customary level and the television is turned on and used to calm the viewer. When the individual is too busy – that is, when the level of activation is above the customary level, television is used to relax and slow down the pace and to lower the activation to its customary level.

Given the variety of television content, one may posit that different television content will be used to raise or lower activation levels. Crime and action dramas may well be used for excitement to raise the level of activation. Situation comedies and musical and variety programs may be used to relax and lower one's level of activation. Some programs may be drive-reducing, allowing the viewer to use them to release tensions that have been building up within his/her psychological or physiological centres of activation. Other programs may well increase or reinforce the frustrations and tensions the viewer has before watching the program.

Previous theories linking television viewing with aggressive behaviour and aggression catharsis are, in the view of this author, too limited and one-sided. They are

essentially either/or theories. Either television viewing reduces aggressive tendencies or television viewing increases aggression! It is precisely this kind of oversimplification of human behaviour in media research that proponents of the uses-and-gratifications model object to.

Activation theory permits the hypothesis that people will use the media in differentiating ways. Sometimes they will come to television for relaxation, entertainment, diversion, et cetera, in order to lower a level of activation that is too far above the customary level. If they feel another medium would lower the level more effectively, they will seek out that medium. There may well be times when an individual has the choice of watching a detective story on television or reading a detective novel. The novel may provide tension release for a longer time period than the television show. The individual will make a choice, probably unconsciously, choosing the novel because it will relax him/her and lower the activation level more effectively than the television show.

At other times, the individual may be seeking information, thus fulfilling a need for variation in a meaningful activity. A documentary program on television may well fulfil the need of one individual, while another will seek a book that goes into detail about one aspect of the topic.

Activation theory would also suggest the hypotheses that individuals will habitually seek television daily or weekly to maintain a level of activation that has become customary. Some people do watch television because it is a habit. Activation theory helps one to understand the habit as the customary patterning of activation that experience has led the viewer to develop throughout his/her lifetime.

Activation levels can be measured. Maddi³ describes a program of research that involves projective measures of activation. This study made use of a semantic differential scale developed by Thayer,⁴ which measures levels of activation and de-activation by means of self-report data. Thayer reports several validating studies linking responses to the scale to general levels of activity and sleepiness. Those adjectives chosen from Thayer's scale were selected because of their relationship to one of the factors delineated by the theory. Respondents completed the scale immediately before viewing the television program and again immediately after watching it.

The Sample

In the general population survey, all respondents were residents of Saskatoon, a Prairie city of approximately 136,000 people located in south central Saskatchewan on the South Saskatchewan River. It is the home of the University of Saskatchewan. At the present time there is no cable television in the city. It is served by the CBC and CTV television networks.

Unlike most of the populated areas of Canada,

Saskatoon does not receive television from the United States. Saskatoon was chosen for this study because television viewers there have less of a chance to watch American programming. They should be able, therefore, to give a fresh response to American television programs that are not shown on the two Canadian networks. Viewing the programs for the first time, their responses will not be biased by other segments of the series. In this way, their responses may be closer to those of the researcher, who is doing a content analysis by focusing upon one segment of a series taken from a sample of all television programming.

A random sample of adult Saskatoon residents was drawn from the 1974 Saskatchewan provincial voters' list. A series of three random numbers was used to obtain the district, poll, address, and name of respondent. Due to the high mobility rate within the Saskatoon population, the sample was supplemented in August from the 1976 Saskatoon civic voters list. This brought the total sample size to 315 persons.

A random sample of 315 individuals in a community of 140,000 persons should give results that are within ± 5 per cent of the true proportion 95 per cent of the time. In other words, for every 100 surveys conducted in the same community under the exact same conditions, 95 will report results within ± 5 per cent.

Of the total sample, 124 respondents (40 per cent) completed the entire interview. Each respondent was asked to complete a 13-page questionnaire with over 100 questions, view a television program 30 to 60 minutes long, and complete a long interview with seven pages of semantic differential scales after viewing the program. This survey required approximately three hours of the respondents' time. All respondents were told prior to their participation that the survey was extensive and would take time. Given the length of the survey, a 40 per cent completion rate is quite satisfactory.

Another 35 individuals (11 per cent) completed the 13-page questionnaire but declined to view the television program. Finally, a random sample was made of those persons (191) who declined all participation. They were interviewed with a short questionnaire. From this group, 24 people (15 per cent of the refusals) were interviewed. Thus, 58 per cent of the sample completed some part of the survey.

Two other samples were drawn for comparison with the general population. These respondents were institutionalized members of the population. A sample of residents at Kilburn Hall was chosen and interviewed. Kilburn Hall is a provincial institution serving the Saskatoon area providing short-term residence for children and adolescents between the ages of nine and 16. Those who come to Kilburn Hall are those whom social workers feel it necessary to have removed from their home environment. Only adolescents 14 and 15 years of age were interviewed, since it was necessary to

work with adolescents as close in age to the random sample as possible.

Fifteen adolescents aged 14 and 15 were asked to participate in the survey; this was the entire number of residents within that age group. The sample was reduced to 12 when three of the group left the institution the evening before the television program was shown.

Through the cooperation of the Canadian Federal Penitentiary Service, inmates at the Prince Albert Federal Penitentiary were asked to participate in the survey. Classification officers at the prison made a random selection of 30 inmates, all of them first-time federal offenders. Of these, 27 agreed to participate, and arrangements were made to interview them as a group. Unfortunately, on the morning of the day for the interview, it was announced that a rock concert would be held at the Penitentiary that afternoon. Only 15 of the 27 inmates reported to the room in which the research was conducted; nine completed the survey, while six were unable to finish for various reasons.

The Interview

The first contact with each respondent was made by letter (Appendix A). The letter stated that the receiver had been chosen at random to participate in television research which was being conducted for an Ontario Royal Commission. The name of the commission was not given, so that respondents would not become sensitized to the subject matter and bias their answers.

The letter described the length and nature of the proposed interview, explained that it involved the showing of a television program in the respondent's home, and said that an interviewer would be calling within the next few days to schedule an appointment.

Interviewers called upon each prospective respondent within a week of his/her receipt of the letter. At least three attempts were made to reach each respondent. Late afternoon and early evening calls, as well as weekend calls, proved the most effective.

Once contact had been made and the respondent's cooperation obtained, an appointment was booked to show the television program. Appointments were made three to four days in advance of each showing. The interviewer then completed the long questionnaire with the respondent (Appendix B).

At the designated appointment time, two interviewers arrived at the respondent's residence. One interviewer waited in the car while the other went to the door to announce their arrival. If for some reason the time proved to be inopportune for the respondent, another appointment was made for a later date. It was found, for example, that several respondents received unexpected company just before the interview. At all times, every effort was made to be open and accommodating to the respondents.

If the prospective respondent could keep the appointment, the videotape equipment was carried into the

house. One interviewer reviewed the long questionnaire with the respondent. The other interviewer hooked up the videotape recorder and colour monitor. The interview was then begun, using the open-ended questions to be asked before the show was played (Appendix D).

A JVC CR 6300R $\frac{3}{4}$ inch videotape recorder/playback unit was used with a Sony KV-1203 Trinitron colour television set. During the months of September and October a second unit was used – a Panasonic NV-2110 playback unit connected to a CT-25V Panasonic monitor.

Immediately after finishing the short pre-program interview, respondents completed the first semantic differential scale, measuring psychological and physiological activation levels (Appendix F). Each respondent was then shown one of the four possible television programs. Interviewers unobtrusively observed the respondent during the program completing the nonverbal checklist (Appendix E). The checklist was designed to describe the nonverbal behaviour of the respondent during the television program.

Four television programs were used in this study. These were selected by the principal investigator from the content analysis sample chosen by Professors Williams and Zabrack at the University of British Columbia. The four programs were representational of a cross section of television programming.

Episodes of two police series were chosen: *S.W.A.T.*, a typical police series produced in the United States, and *Sidestreet*, a police series produced in Canada. *Laverne and Shirley* was chosen as a program representative of situational comedies. Finally, a two-segment edition of *Mary Hartman*, *Mary Hartman* was selected as an example of adult programming and soap operas in general. *S.W.A.T.*, *Laverne and Shirley*, and *Mary Hartman*, *Mary Hartman* were all chosen specifically because they were not available to Saskatoon viewers at the time of the survey. This was done so that respondents would give their candid responses to television series they had never seen and would not be biased by other segments of the series. Each program was shown exactly as taped from the air in Toronto, complete with commercials from Toronto and Buffalo.

Most respondents watched the television program in the same room as their own television set. In most cases, family members or friends were also present to watch the program. Every precaution was taken to make the situation as normal as possible. The videotape unit was placed unobtrusively in the room. The television monitor was placed on or near the respondents' own television set.

Each program was shown a minimum of 30 times. *S.W.A.T.* and *Laverne and Shirley* were shown before *Sidestreet* and *Mary Hartman*, *Mary Hartman*. Originally it had been planned to randomly alternate the taped programs during the study. However, technical difficulties made it impossible to obtain a duplicate of

the *Sidestreet* tape early in the study. A copy was finally obtained, but unfortunately it did not keep its colour for the 30 playbacks that were necessary. While the JVC machine controlled the colour during the last ten replays, the colour continued to fade in and out during the last replays.

The semantic differential scales (Appendix F) and the second part of the oral interview (Appendix G) were completed immediately at the end of the television program. A short debriefing session was held after the interview was complete. Each respondent was given a copy of the Interim Report of The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry before the interviewers left.

Characteristics of the Respondents

Table 1 gives the sex distribution for each portion of the sample. Slightly more than 60 per cent of the respondents in the sample were female. Responses to the short-form questionnaire (Appendix C) that was administered to a random sample of non-respondents would indicate that females were more cooperative in this study than males. The preponderance of males in the institutionalized sample is due to the fact that this study was conducted at Prince Albert Penitentiary.

Respondents range in age from 14 to over 80 (Table 2). Generally, those persons who refused outright to complete or participate in the study were older than those who participated. Only 12 per cent of those who refused were under 40, while 53 per cent of those who completed the study were in that age category. Of all the respondents who completed the entire study, 47 per cent were over 40 years of age. Persons who completed only the long questionnaire tended to be approximately evenly distributed among all age categories under 70 years of age.

Table 1

Sex of Respondents by Sample

Sample	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
General population	47	38%	77	62%	124	61%
Institutional	13	65%	7	35%	20	10%
Refusals						
Completed long questionnaire	13	37%	22	63%	35	17%
Short-form questionnaire	7	29%	17	71%	24	12%
Total	80	39%	123	61%	—	—

Table 2

Age of Respondents by Sample

Age	General population		Institutional		Long questionnaire		Short-form questionnaire		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 20	8	6%	12	60%	7	20%	—	—	27	13%
21-29	31	25%	6	30%	6	17%	1	4%	44	22%
30-39	27	22%	2	10%	5	14%	2	8%	36	18%
40-49	23	18%	—	—	9	26%	4	17%	36	18%
50-59	14	11%	—	—	4	11%	5	21%	23	11%
60-69	16	13%	—	—	4	11%	4	17%	24	12%
70-79	3	2%	—	—	—	—	8	33%	11	5%
80 +	2	2%	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1%

The non-respondents tended to be older than the respondents. The length of the questionnaire and the amount of effort required for completion of the study may well have accounted for this. The interviewers reported difficulty with elderly respondents who either had to rest between parts of the interview or took an inordinate amount of time to answer each question. In six cases, the interviewer making the initial contact reported that elderly subjects were incapable of completing the interview. All six were residents of nursing homes and were suffering from senility.

Table 3 indicates that individuals who refused to cooperate in any part of the survey – a random sample of whom were interviewed with the short-form questionnaire – watched less television than other respondents. Three of the non-respondents reported that they never watch television and do not own a television set. Males who did not participate in the study watched less television than the females in this category. The average number of hours of television viewing per day for male non-respondents is 1.43, while the average for females was 2.76.

Table 3

Numbers of Hours Spent Watching Television Daily

Sample	Daily average	Weekly average	Standard deviation
General population	3.39	23.73	13.19
Institutional	4.41	30.90	19.46
Refusals			
Long questionnaire	4.07	28.49	14.70
Short-form questionnaire	2.38	16.66	2.16

Institutionalized respondents report watching more television than the other groups – an average of 30.90 hours per week. Those in this sample tend to be younger and of lower social-economic status. They may also have more free time than the other viewers, which allows them to pass the time watching television.

Table 4 indicates that social-economic status and education are negatively related to the amount of time spent watching television. This means that individuals with a grade-school education watch more television than those with university or graduate degrees. Similarly, the lower the social-economic status of the respondent, the more time he/she spends watching television. The Pearson product moment correlation for age is not statistically significant. In this study there is also no relationship between sex and time spent viewing television.

Table 4

Correlation Coefficients between Hours Spent Watching Television and Age, Occupation, Income Education, and Sex

	Pearson product moment correlation
Age	.14
Occupation	— .36*
Income	— .18*
Education	— .38*
Sex	.14

* $p \leq .05$

(Methodological footnote: For those readers who do not understand the correlation coefficient, a brief explanation is given here. A correlation coefficient (r) is used to determine if there is a relationship between two variables which theoretically should be related. The correlation coefficient can range from + 1.00, which means that the two variables are perfectly positively related – as X increases, then Y increases at the exact amount – to 0.00, which means there is no relationship between the two variables, to -1.00, which means the two variables are negatively related – as X increases, Y decreases. Each correlation coefficient is regarded as being (1) indicative of a real relationship or (2) due to chance variation. A correlation coefficient denotes a relationship only and should not be interpreted as a cause-and-effect statement.)

As indicated in Table 5, individuals with low levels of education and social-economic status watch more television during the week. There are no significant relationships between any of these demographic variables and weekend television viewing. Age and sex are not correlated with weekend television viewing. As indicated in Table 5, women view more television

Table 5

Correlation Coefficients between Hours Spent Watching Television and Age, Occupation, Education and Sex

	Daytime television	Evening television	Weekend television
Age	.06	.05	— .17
Occupation	— .28*	— .30*	.07
Education	— .27*	— .29*	— .17
Sex	.18*	.06	— .02

* $p \leq .05$

during the daytime than men. There is also a slight tendency – the correlation coefficient only approaches significance – for television viewing by younger persons on the weekend.

The majority of those interviewed have at least one television set (Table 6). Only three persons (2 per cent) reported that they did not own a set. Two of these were among the non-respondents. As many as 112 respondents (57 per cent) own more than one television set; seven (4 per cent) have more than three sets in the home. Five members of the institutionalized sample, all inmates of the Prince Albert Penitentiary, did not answer this question.

Table 6

Number of Television Sets in the Home

Sample	Number of television sets					
	0	1	2	3	4	5
General population	1	56	45	17	5	—
Institutional	0	5	5	4	1	—
Refusals						
Completed long questionnaire	0	9	19	7	—	—
Short-form questionnaire	2	13	8	0	0	1
Total	3	83	77	28	6	1
Percentage of the total	2%	42%	39%	14%	3%	1%

As indicated in Table 7, only 23 per cent of the sample do not have a colour television set; 64 individuals (32 per cent) do not have a black-and-white set in their homes. One per cent of those in the sample have three colour television sets. The non-respondents have as many television sets as those who completed the survey.

Table 8 shows that non-respondents who refused to participate in any way with the survey generally had a lower educational level than the respondents. At least 50 per cent of those interviewed with the short form had only a Grade Nine education. Only 15 per cent of those completing the entire survey had that level of education. About one fourth (26 per cent) of all those in the sample had less than a Grade Nine education. University degrees were held by 44 persons (22 per cent of the total sample).

Table 9 gives the marital status of the respondents. Of those surveyed, 64 per cent were married. Married persons represent the majority of all sub-samples except among the institutionalized population. Nine per cent of the sample are widowed, three per cent are divorced, and 23 per cent are single.

Generally, non-respondents have a lower income than respondents (Table 10). Of the non-respondents, 68 per cent earn less than \$15,000 a year. Only 53 per cent of the respondents fall into this category. The respondents are fairly evenly distributed across all income levels.

The average non-respondent in this survey is older than those who completed the study, has less education, a lower income, and watches less television. Each of these variables interact logically with the interview situation. The interview and questionnaire were extensive. It is logical that persons with less education would hesitate before volunteering their cooperation. Elderly people may well have felt that the study required more

Table 7

Type of Television Sets in the Home

Sample	Black & White					Colour			
	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3
General population	46	59	17	2	—	23	87	12	2
Institutional	1	10	4	—	—	7	3	5	—
Refusals									
Long questionnaire	7	22	6	—	—	7	23	5	—
Short-form questionnaire	10	11	1	0	2	9	12	2	1
Total	64	109	28	2	2	46	125	23	3
Percentage of Total	32%	55%	14%	1%	1%	23%	63%	12%	1%

Table 8*Education Level of Respondents*

Level completed	Sample							
	General population		Institutional		Long questionnaire		Short form questionnaire	
Less than Grade 9	18	15%	13	65%	9	26%	12	50%
Grade 10 or 11	28	23%	4	20%	12	34%	3	13%
Grade 12 or 13	31	25%	2	10%	5	14%	4	17%
Technical school	12	10%	—	—	3	9%	—	—
University	27	22%	—	—	5	14%	4	17%
Postgraduate degree	7	6%	—	—	1	3%	—	—
No response	1	1%	1	5%	—	—	1	4%

Table 9*Marital Status of Respondents*

Sample	Single		Married		Divorced		Widowed	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
General population	21	17%	84	68%	6	5%	13	10%
Institutional	15	75%	2	10%	1	5%	—	—
Refusals								
Long questionnaire	8	23%	25	71%	—	—	2	6%
Short-form questionnaire	2	8%	19	79%	—	—	3	13%
Total	46		130		7	—	18	—
Percent of total sample		23%		64%		3%		9%
(No response—2; 1%)								

Table 10*Income of Respondents*

Income	General population		Institutional		Long questionnaire		Short-form questionnaire		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$ 5,999 or less	23	19%	8	40%	4	11%	8	33%	43	21%
6,000 to 9,999	17	14%	2	10%	6	17%	5	21%	30	15%
10,000 to 14,999	26	21%	1	5%	14	40%	6	25%	47	23%
15,000 to 19,999	20	16%	2	10%	3	9%	3	13%	28	14%
20,000 to 29,999	23	19%	1	5%	3	9%	—	—	27	13%
30,000 or more	5	4%	2	10%	2	6%	—	—	9	4%
No response	10	8%	4	20%	3	9%	2	8%	19	9%

Respondents' Perceptions of Television

As noted previously, respondents in this survey watch an average of 23.73 hours of television weekly. Members of the institutional sample and non-respondents who completed only the questionnaire watch slightly more television, while the non-respondents reported watching less television each week. The amount of television watched is related to education and social-economic status, but not to age and sex. Individuals with less education and low social status spend more time watching television than individuals with university education or high social status.

Television viewing is primarily a family and social activity. A large percentage of the respondents (76 per cent) report that they watch television with their children, family, or friends. Only 23 per cent of the general population sample watch television alone. Combining all sub-samples, 125 respondents (62 per cent) indicate that they watch television with children or family. Only 26 per cent report watching television alone; members of the non-respondent sample were more likely to be in this category (Table 11). Members of the institutional sample report watching television with their friends. Generally, television viewing is a social activity.

A. Program Preferences

1) *The Non-respondents*

Table 12 reports which programs the non-respondents who completed the short-form questionnaire prefer to watch. Table 13 reports the viewing habits of individuals who completed only the long questionnaire. One of the major differences between these two groups is in the viewing of crime dramas. Only 29 per cent of those who completed the short-form questionnaire report watching crime series. Among those who completed the long questionnaire, 22 persons (63 per cent) reported watching crime series regularly; another seven (20 per cent) reported watching crime programs occasionally. Only six (17 per cent) reported rarely or never watching such programs, while 71 per cent of the first group said they never view these programs.

This difference is probably due to overall difference in the amount of time these two groups spend watching television. It is apparent from the short interview data that watching crime programs is a function of watching more television generally than those who do not watch crime series. Viewers spending more time watching television watch more of what is to be found in

Table 11

With Whom Do You Watch Television?

Response	General population		Institutional		Sample Long questionnaire		Short-form questionnaire		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alone	28	23%	2	10%	13	37%	9	38%	52	26%
With friends	7	6%	8	40%	1	3%	2	8%	18	9%
With children	8	6%			1	3%	1	4%	10	5%
With family	79	64%	4	20%	20	57%	12	50%	115	57%
No response and other	2	2%	6	30%	—	—	—	—	8	4%

effort than they were able to give to it. Similarly, individuals who watch little television are more likely to believe that they have little they can offer as opinion for a survey of television-viewing habits.

The non-respondents who completed the long questionnaire share many characteristics with the respondents. More of them earn between \$10,000 and \$15,000 a year than the respondents. They also tend to have only a high-school education. They tend to have two television sets in the home, and they also watch slightly more television than the respondents. Those who completed only the long questionnaire watch an average of 28.49 hours of television a week, compared to the average of 23.73 hours for those who completed the entire interview schedule. This type of non-respondent seems to be slightly better educated than those who refused to participate in any portion of the survey. They also tend to come from the middle class, rather than the lower class like many of the other non-respondents.

Those in the institutional sample are younger than those in other sub-samples. They watch significantly more television. They are predominantly single, with only 10 per cent being married. Given the special characteristics of this sample – only first-time federal offenders were chosen at Prince Albert, only older adolescents were interviewed at a detention centre – this is to be expected.

The entire interview schedule and questionnaire were completed by 124 persons; 47 (38 per cent) were males and 77 (62 per cent) were females. A random, rather than a quota, sample was made of all adults on the Saskatoon voters' list. It may be that this method of drawing the sample is responsible for the preponderance of females. Since the sample of non-respondents also contains more females than males, this explanation appears most logical. In order to keep the sample random, no control was placed upon the sex distribution of the names drawn from the voters list.

A second possible explanation lies in the nature of the study. This survey required at least three hours of an individual's time. Men might well have been less willing to participate, since so much time was required. If this were the case, one would assume that the sample of non-respondents would show more men than women. But this is not the case. Hence, the first explanation would appear to be the best one. Since this was not a quota sample but a random sample, females are over-represented in this study.

Table 12

*Types of Programs Watched by Non-respondents
(Short-form questionnaire)*

Type of program	Watch		Do not watch					
	N	%	N	%				
Daytime soap operas	9	37%	15	62%	Public affairs and documentaries	6	25%	18 75%
Adult family series*	4	17%	20	83%	Talk shows	4	17%	20 83%
Family series*	5	21%	19	79%	Sports	4	17%	20 83%
Medical series	5	21%	19	79%	Religious programs	6	25%	18 75%
Children's programs	3	12%	21	87%	Instructional	—	—	24 100%
Drama	3	12%	21	87%	Animated programs	2	8%	22 92%
Adventure	3	12%	21	87%	Situation comedy repeats*	3	12%	21 87%
Musical and variety	8	33%	16	67%				
Crime dramas	7	29%	17	71%				
Game shows	3	12%	21	87%				
Panel shows	1	4%	23	96%				

*For the purpose of this study the category "situation comedy" has been divided into three groups: (1) adult family series that discuss adult topics—e.g., *All in the Family* and *Maude*; (2) family series that are situation comedies—e.g., *Mary Tyler Moore*, *Phyllis*; and (3) repeats—e.g., *Gilligan's Island*.

Table 13

Types of Programs Watched by Non-Respondents (Long questionnaire)

Type of program	Often		Occasionally		Rarely		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Daytime soap operas	13	37%	8	23%	5	14%	9	26%
Adult family series	17	49%	11	31%	4	11%	3	9%
Family series	13	37%	13	37%	6	17%	3	9%
Medical series	8	23%	10	29%	10	29%	7	20%
Children's programs	7	20%	12	34%	7	20%	9	26%
Drama	13	37%	14	40%	6	17%	2	6%
Adventure	7	20%	14	40%	10	29%	4	11%
Musical and variety	12	34%	10	29%	10	29%	3	9%
Crime dramas	22	63%	7	20%	4	11%	2	6%
Game shows	9	26%	7	20%	10	29%	7	20%
Panel shows	9	26%	7	20%	10	29%	9	26%
Public affairs and documentaries	5	14%	15	43%	9	26%	6	17%
Talk shows	3	9%	11	31%	10	29%	11	31%
Sports	13	37%	8	23%	6	17%	8	23%
Religious programs	1	3%	7	20%	4	11%	23	66%
Instructional	1	3%	8	23%	5	14%	21	60%
Animated programs	8	23%	6	17%	7	20%	14	40%
Situation comedy repeats	13	37%	10	29%	4	11%	8	23%

(See Appendix B, question 6, for examples of programs in each category.)

television content and crime programs make up a good percentage of this content. So it is inevitable that the more time a person spends watching television, the more likely it is that he/she will watch crime programs.

When the programs chosen by the largest percentage of respondents in each group are compared, different patterns of preference emerge. Those who completed only the short interview do not show an overwhelming preference except for not watching television. Daytime soap operas are viewed by 37 per cent of these respondents. The next largest group (33 per cent) watches musical and variety shows, such as *Carol Burnett*, *Sonny and Cher*, and *Tommy Hunter*. Seven of these respondents (29 per cent) reported that they regularly watch crime dramas, such as *Kojak* and *Streets of San Francisco*. One-fourth of them (25 per cent) regularly watch public affairs and documentaries and religious programs. These viewers appear to be quite discriminating in their television watching, since they prefer daytime television, musical shows, and documentaries or public affairs programming. Significantly more of them than the other group of non-respondents report watching religious programs.

More than half of those completing only the long questionnaire watch crime dramas (63 per cent) and adult situation comedies (49 per cent), such as *All in the Family*, *M*A*S*H*, *Maude*, et cetera. Significant numbers of them watch daytime soap operas; situation comedies with general appeal, such as *Mary Tyler Moore*, *Rhoda*, *Happy Days*; situation comedy repeats, such as *Gilligan's Island*, *Get Smart*, *The Partridge Family*; and sports. Just over one-fourth of these respondents (26 per cent) report watching game and panel shows regularly. These viewers do not watch talk shows, instructional programs, or religious programs. Only 14 per cent regularly watch public affairs and documentaries, while 43 per cent indicate that they occasionally watch such programs.

2) The Respondents

Those who completed the entire survey are also discriminating in their program preferences. None of the respondents report watching all types of programming. Given that television content is structured by network programmers, these respondents show clear preferences for various types of programs. Table 14 reports the

Table 14

Types of Programs Watched by Respondents (General population)

Type of program	Often		Occasionally		Rarely		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Daytime soap operas	28	23%	25	20%	19	15%	52	42%
Adult family series	38	31%	57	46%	18	14%	11	9%
Family series	35	28%	44	36%	28	23%	17	14%
Medical series	19	15%	43	35%	34	27%	28	23%
Children's programs	16	13%	39	32%	32	26%	37	30%
Drama	32	26%	54	44%	24	19%	14	11%
Adventure	32	26%	39	32%	30	24%	23	18%
Musical and variety	37	30%	42	34%	32	26%	13	10%
Crime dramas	44	36%	41	33%	25	20%	14	11%
Game shows	23	19%	34	27%	36	29%	31	25%
Panel shows	29	23%	50	40%	27	22%	18	14%
Public affairs and documentaries	33	27%	56	45%	24	19%	11	9%
Talk shows	17	14%	29	23%	36	29%	42	34%
Sports	42	34%	33	27%	21	17%	28	23%
Religious programs	11	9%	13	11%	30	24%	70	56%
Instructional	8	6%	16	13%	35	28%	65	52%
Animated programs	10	8%	31	25%	37	30%	46	37%
Situation comedy repeats	26	21%	42	34%	35	28%	21	17%

(See Appendix B, question 6, for examples of programs in each category.)

number of respondents choosing each type of program. No one type is watched by more than 40 per cent of the sample. Crime dramas (36 per cent), sports (34 per cent), and adult situation comedies (31 per cent) are favoured by the most respondents.

A factor analysis was conducted to discover which program preferences held together or were grouped together by these respondents. Factor analysis is a statistical technique for analyzing data by grouping variables that relate to one another. If Gerbner and Gross are correct – that people tend to watch anything that is on television without making choices between types of content – then there should only be one main factor. In other words, all types of programs should correlate together with Pearson product moment correlations approaching 1.00. However, if people do indeed make choices so that they watch some programs and not others, then the factor analysis should reveal groupings of types of programs, with some correlating strongly with one another and correlating negatively, or not at all, with all others.

Ordinarily, one accepts factor loadings higher than .30, preferably higher than .40. Any loading below .30 accounts for less than ten per cent of the explainable variance and does not differ significantly from zero.

Table 15 reports the factor loadings for each type of program. Six factors are present, accounting for 100 per cent of the variance. The first factor is the strongest, accounting for 48.8 per cent of the variance, with seven types of television programming loading on it. The second factor consists of three types of shows, accounting for 18.8 per cent of the variance. The third factor consists of two types of shows and accounts for 11 per cent of the variance. The last three factors account for less than 10 per cent of the variance each. The sixth factor has only one type of programming loading on it. However, this type of programming does not relate to, or load on, any other factor.

Factor one may be called a general entertainment factor. Included in this factor are situation comedies of all types, talk shows, soap operas, game shows, and musical and variety programs. Daytime soap operas also correlate with factor three, but have their strongest loading on factor one.

It should be noted that animated programs load weakly on three factors. When one notes the three programs included in this category – *The Flintstones*, *Spiderman*, and *The Pink Panther* – these loadings are understandable. Animated programs are correlated with general entertainment programs, children's programs, and crime and adventure programs. Each of the three examples of animation programming is related to one of these categories. Hence the almost equal loading of this category on three factors.

The second factor, consisting of panel shows, religious programs and public affairs and documentaries may be called a public affairs factor. Panel shows such as *Front Page Challenge*, *Headline Hunters*, and

Table 15

Factor Analysis of Program Preferences

Type of program	Factor loading					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Situation comedy repeats	.62	.02	.13	.29	.36	-.14
Adult family series	.55	.07	.08	.02	.16	.25
Talk shows	.49	.12	.01	.22	-.08	.23
Daytime soap operas	.49	.03	.36	.10	.09	-.29
Game shows	.46	.28	.30	.13	.05	-.11
Family series	.41	-.02	.12	-.06	.28	.10
Musical and variety	.37	.28	.05	.16	.18	-.05
Animated programs	.37	-.01	.16	.38	.37	-.15
Panel shows	.24	.84	.24	.03	-.07	-.04
Religious programs	.04	.52	.06	.38	.06	-.27
Public affairs and documentaries	-.02	.49	-.08	.07	.00	.26
Medical series	.16	.02	.81	.16	.21	.03
Drama	.20	.30	.47	.07	.26	.14
Instructional	.14	.39	.04	.63	-.12	.14
Children's programs	.15	.04	.18	.47	.08	.24
Adventure	.14	.05	.18	-.01	.71	-.15
Crime dramas	.18	-.06	.11	.04	.58	.31
Sports	.05	.03	.02	.10	.01	.52

This is the Law are related to public affairs and information programming. Instructional programs also load on this factor although weakly (.39).

The third factor may be named a drama factor. This factor consists of medical series dramas, and daytime soap operas. People choosing these types of programs appear to be seeking television content that is dramatic in format.

The fourth factor consists of instructional programs such as *Mr. Chips*, *Celebrity Cooks*, *Gardening with Stan*, children's programs such as *World of Disney*, *Sesame Street*, *Mr. Dressup*, and religious programs. It is hard to name this factor. Perhaps it is a children's programming factor, or a non-threatening programming factor, in that the programming is non-violent and non-threatening to the viewer.

The fifth factor does include violent programming. It consists of adventure programs such as *Space 1999*,

Bionic Woman, *Six Million Dollar Man*, *Forest Rangers*, and crime series such as *Kojak*, *Starsky and Hutch*, and *Sidestreet*. This factor may be named the adventure factor. Program content related to this factor is exciting and contains physical violence.

The sixth factor consists of one type of programming – sports. The only other type of viewing preference related to this factor is crime series, which loads weakly at .31 on the sixth factor. Watching sports programs does not relate to any other type of viewing. Several types are negatively correlated with viewing sports – watching daytime soap operas and religious programs. Women apparently do not watch sports. Respondents who watch sports apparently tend to watch only some crime series and some documentaries, apart from sports. Watching adult situation comedies, such as *All in the Family* is very weakly correlated with watching sports (.25). In this sample, the sports viewer appears to not relate strongly to any other type of programming except crime dramas.

It would appear reasonable to conclude that viewers do discriminate between the different types of television content. The factor analysis reveals different preferences for related types of programming. People do pick and choose from the content available to them on television. The data shows that viewers do not watch one type of programming significantly more than another type. Further evidence of this will be given in the section reporting which programs respondents said they made a point of not watching.

A question may be raised about the accuracy of the data. In order to ascertain how reliable this data is, comparison should be made with other television surveys for the Saskatoon area. Table 16 compares percentage of respondents in this survey watching a type of program with BBM Bureau of Measurement data for the Saskatoon market during the winter of 1975-1976. Most public opinion pollsters will accept a plus or minus 4 per cent margin of error as a satisfactory range of difference between survey data and actual population proportion. As stated earlier, this survey should be within a plus or minus 5 per cent of other surveys 95 per cent of the time. In most cases, the present survey figures are within a satisfactory (± 5 per cent) margin of difference with those reported by BBM.

It should be remembered that BBM data reports only the percentage of viewers who are watching at a particular time. It should also be remembered that respondents in this study were given three or four programs as examples of a type of programming, while only one program is used for each time slot in BBM measurement. In order to compensate for this, one program from each category has been chosen randomly for the comparison with BBM data.

The largest difference between this study and BBM percentages is with talk shows and sports. At the time of the BBM survey, *Merv Griffin* was shown at 1:00 a.m. four days a week and at 1:00 p.m. on Friday. On the evening of the BBM survey, the competition to *Hockey*

Table 16

Comparison of Viewing Habits with BBM Ratings

Category (BBM specific program)	Percentage viewing often this survey	Percentage in BBM survey 1975-76 (adults)	Difference between surveys
Daytime soap operas e.g. <i>Another World</i>	6%	6%	0
Situation comedy-adult e.g. <i>All in the Family</i>	31%	33%	-2
Situation comedy-family e.g. <i>Rhoda</i>	28%	28%	0
Medical series e.g. <i>Doctor's Hospital</i>	15%	15%	0
Children's programs e.g. <i>World of Disney</i>	13%	19%	-6
Drama e.g. <i>The Waltons</i>	26%	22%	+4
Adventure e.g. <i>Six Million Dollar Man</i>	26%	23%	+3
Musical and variety e.g. <i>Lawrence Welk</i>	30%	32%	-2
Crime e.g. <i>Kojak</i>	36%	38%	-2
Game shows e.g. <i>Definition</i>	19%	17%	+2
Panel shows e.g. <i>Front Page Challenge</i>	23%	19%	+4
Talk shows e.g. <i>Merv Griffin</i>	14%	4%	-10
Sports e.g. <i>Hockey Night in Canada</i>	34%	24%	-10
Religious e.g. <i>Hymn Sing</i>	9%	6%	+3
Instructional e.g. <i>Mr. Chips</i>	6%	6%	0
Animated programs e.g. <i>Flintstones</i>	8%	11%	-3
Situation comedy repeats e.g. <i>Gilligan's Island</i>	21%	28%	-7

(BBM data collected Winter 1975-1976.)

Night in Canada was the first showing of the movie *Dr. Zhivago*. Obviously, the majority of the audience was watching the first-run movie. There is also a seasonal difference between the two surveys. This survey especially mentions Canadian football. The BBM survey was taken during the winter when hockey, curling, and

figure skating were the sports programs available to the audience.

3) *The Institutional Sample*

Generally, those in the institutional sample watch more television than respondents in the other sub-samples. This group reports watching crime dramas (50 per cent), situation comedies (40 per cent), and adventure programs (40 per cent). They do not watch religious

programs or talk shows. Table 17 presents the responses of this sub-sample.

The respondents in the institutional sample differ very little from the respondents in the general population who completed only the long questionnaire. Generally, they are more definite in their homogeneity of preferred programs than people in the general population sample. In other words, there is less disagreement among the members of the institutional sample as to which programs they watch.

Table 17

Types of Programs Watched by Respondents (Institutional)

Type of Program	Often		Occasionally		Rarely		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Daytime soap operas	4	20%	5	25%	6	30%	5	25%
Adult family series	8	40%	9	45%	3	15%		
Family series	8	40%	10	50%	2	10%		
Medical series	3	15%	3	15%	11	55%	3	15%
Children's programs	2	10%	4	20%	10	50%	4	20%
Drama	3	15%	6	30%	8	40%	3	15%
Adventure	8	40%	4	20%	5	25%	3	15%
Musical and variety	6	30%	6	30%	5	25%	3	15%
Crime dramas	10	50%	5	25%	2	10%	3	15%
Game shows	3	15%	3	15%	8	40%	6	30%
Panel shows			3	15%	4	20%	13	56%
Public affairs and documentaries			4	20%	3	15%	13	65%
Talk shows			3	15%	3	15%	14	70%
Sports	3	15%	6	30%	5	25%	6	30%
Religious programs			1	5%	2	10%	17	85%
Instructional			1	5%	2	10%	17	85%
Animated programs	5	25%	5	25%	4	20%	6	30%
Situation comedy repeats			7	35%	7	35%	6	30%

B. Programs Respondents Make a Point to Avoid

The respondents in the general population sample were asked if there were any programs they made it a point not to watch. Table 18 lists all of the programs mentioned by respondents in this category. It should be noted that the group of programs that the largest number say they watch is also that category that the largest number of persons said they did not watch – that is, crime dramas. It may be that the large number of programs in this category available to the audience causes this effect. All programs mentioned were available to viewers in Saskatoon at the time of the survey or shortly before the survey. These are particular

programs the television viewers interviewed do not like and make an attempt to avoid watching.

C. Favourite Characters

All respondents were asked to name three favourite television characters. If each respondent had named three, 537 responses would have been recorded. Some people were unable to name three characters that they liked. Some mentioned only one or two, while others left this question blank. They informed the interviewers that they simply could not name any specific character. A total of 380 different responses were made by persons surveyed and only 157 times were they unable to name

Table 18*Programs Avoided by Viewers*

Program	Number of times mentioned		
Crime shows	40	<i>Lawrence Welk</i>	5
<i>Kojak</i>	10	<i>Funny Farm</i>	3
<i>Police Story</i>	6	<i>Carol Burnett</i>	2
<i>Starsky and Hutch</i>	6	<i>Diane Stapley</i>	1
<i>Hawaii Five-O</i>	5	<i>John Allan Cameron</i>	1
<i>Streets of San Francisco</i>	3	<i>Tommy Hunter</i>	1
<i>Baretta</i>	2	Sports	20
<i>Ironside</i>	2	Football	4
<i>Joe Forrester</i>	1	Hockey	2
<i>Serpico</i>	1	Wrestling	2
<i>Sidestreet</i>	1	Baseball	1
<i>Switch</i>	1	Boxing	1
Situation comedy	31	Instructional	8
<i>All in the family</i>	4	<i>Mr. Chips</i>	4
<i>Excuse my French</i>	3	<i>Celebrity Cooks</i>	2
<i>Get Smart</i>	3	<i>Ed Allen</i>	1
<i>Phyllis</i>	3	<i>Gardening with Stan</i>	1
<i>Doctor in the House</i>	2	Medical	8
<i>Maude</i>	2	<i>Medical Center</i>	3
<i>Rhoda</i>	2	Adventure	7
<i>Sanford and Son</i>	2	<i>Bionic Woman</i>	3
<i>Beverly Hillbillies</i>	2	<i>Six Million Dollar Man</i>	2
<i>Chico and the Man</i>	1	<i>Gemini Man</i>	1
<i>Hogan's Heroes</i>	1	<i>Space 1999</i>	1
<i>Jeffersons</i>	1	Children's	8
<i>King of Kensington</i>	1	<i>Mr. Dressup</i>	2
<i>Mary Tyler Moore</i>	1	<i>Batman</i>	1
<i>My Three Sons</i>	1	<i>Gilligan's Island</i>	1
<i>That's my Mama</i>	1	<i>Muppets</i>	1
Religious	12	<i>Sesame Street</i>	1
Game or Quiz Shows	10	<i>Uncle Bobby</i>	1
Soap Operas	15	Talk shows	5
<i>Edge of Night</i>	2	CBC talk shows	1
Panel Shows	10	<i>Merv Griffin</i>	2
<i>Front Page Challenge</i>	4	Public Affairs	5
<i>This is the Law</i>	3	<i>Maclear</i>	2
<i>Under Attack</i>	3	fifth estate	1
Drama	15	Political conventions	1
CBC drama	11	Other	22
<i>Beachcombers</i>	2	Violent programs	10
<i>The Waltons</i>	1	Police programs in general	1
Musical and variety	33	Horror programs	2
<i>Pig'n Whistle</i>	8	British comedy	1
<i>Cher</i>	7	Opera and ballet	2
		Westerns	1
		Frivolous programs	1
		War stories	1
		Pornographic programs	1
		Animal programs	1

a favourite character. Table 19 lists those characters who were named more than six times by respondents. Archie Bunker and Starsky and Hutch were each named by 35 viewers.

Table 19

Favourite Characters Named by more than Six Persons

Name of character	Program	Number of responses
1. Archie Bunker	<i>All In The Family</i>	35
2. Starsky and Hutch	<i>Starsky and Hutch</i>	35
3. Kojak	<i>Kojak</i>	25
4. Mary Tyler Moore	<i>Mary Tyler Moore</i>	13
5. Carol Burnett	<i>Carol Burnett</i>	10
6. Edith Bunker	<i>All in the Family</i>	9
7. Rhoda Morgenstern	<i>Rhoda</i>	9
8. Fonz	<i>Happy Days</i>	8
9. Lawrence Welk	<i>Lawrence Welk Show</i>	8
10. Merv Griffin	<i>Merv Griffin Show</i>	8
11. Hawkeye Pierce	<i>M*A*S*H</i>	7
12. The Waltons	<i>The Waltons</i>	7
13. Barney Miller	<i>Barney Miller</i>	6
14. Bobby Vinton	<i>Bobby Vinton Show</i>	6
15. Danny Thomas	<i>The Practice</i>	6
16. Fred Sanford	<i>Sanford and Son</i>	6
17. Jamie Summers	<i>Bionic Woman</i>	6
18. Marcus Welby	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>	6
19. Pete	<i>Switch</i>	6
20. Tommy Hunter	<i>Tommy Hunter Show</i>	6

The largest number of favourite characters come from situation comedies (Table 20). Crime dramas provided only four favourite characters among the top 20 characters, but crime drama characters accounted for 27 per cent of all characters mentioned by respondents. Together these two types of programs account for 65 per cent of all favourite characters. Adding musical and variety programs to this total accounts for 77 per cent of all favourite characters; the other ten categories account for only 23 per cent. Programs produced in the United States account for 19 of the top 20 favourite characters; Tommy Hunter is the only Canadian star to be named six or more times by respondents. Canadian television characters were only mentioned 39 times (10 per cent) by respondents.

D. Most Disliked Television Character

Respondents were also asked to name three television characters they disliked. Again, if all respondents

Table 20

Program Type from which Favourite Characters were Named

Type of program	Number of responses
Situation comedy	145
Crime drama	103
Musical and variety	45
Adventure	15
Drama	12
Medical	12
Soap operas	8
Talk shows	8
Children's programs	7
Public affairs and documentaries	7
Animated programs	6
Movie stars	4
Other	8

replied to this question, there would have been 537 responses. Only 291 responses were given. This means that 246 responses (46 per cent) were not given. Respondents seem to have had a harder time naming someone they did not like on television than naming a favourite character.

Table 21 lists those characters who were named by

Table 21

Most Disliked Television Character Named by more than Six Persons

Name of character	Program	Number of responses
1. Kojak	<i>Kojak</i>	29
2. Lawrence Welk	<i>Lawrence Welk Show</i>	21
3. Cher	<i>Sonny and Cher</i>	19
4. Sonny Bono	<i>Sonny and Cher</i>	16
5. Archie Bunker	<i>All in the Family</i>	13
6. Iris Carrington	<i>Another World</i>	10
7. Robert Ironside	<i>Ironside</i>	9
8. John Hewer	<i>Pig 'n Whistle</i>	9
9. Marcus Welby	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>	8
10. Merv Griffin	<i>Merv Griffin Show</i>	8
11. Maude	<i>Maude</i>	6
12. Maxwell Smart	<i>Get Smart</i>	6
13. Phyllis Lindstrom	<i>Phyllis</i>	6

respondents six times or more. The list is shorter than the favourite character list; it is also quite different in the type of character named. Kojak heads the list, having been mentioned by 29 respondents. Characters from musical and variety programs are featured in the disliked category, receiving 35 per cent of all responses to this question. Combined with crime drama characters, they make up more than half the responses. Almost 80 per cent of the responses are accounted for by the top four program categories; musical and variety programs, crime dramas, situation comedies, and soap operas.

Table 22

Program Type from which Most Disliked Television Characters were Named

Type of program	Number of responses
Musical and variety programs	101
Crime dramas	59
Situation comedies	56
Soap operas	15
Panel shows	10
Adventure	9
Medical series	8
Children's programs	7
Public affairs and documentaries	6
Sports	5
Talk shows	5
Animated programs	3
Instructional	1
News	1
Other	5

Soap operas provided only eight responses for favourite character, but 15 responses for most disliked character. Iris Carrington of *Another World* accounts for ten of the 15 references in this list. Willis Frame of *Another World* received two of the other five nominations for most disliked character. Soap-opera villains are easily recognized by regular viewers.

One show, *Sonny and Cher*, contributed two persons to the dislike list. Their combined total (35 responses) is larger than that of the single most disliked character – Kojak. Both Sonny and Cher seemed to arouse strong feelings in several respondents; neither appears on the favourite character list. The program was also mentioned as one not suitable for children to watch by five respondents. When respondents were asked what specific television content they believed was intellectually insulting, several persons named *Sonny and Cher*.

Five television characters appear prominently in both lists: Kojak, Archie Bunker, Marcus Welby, Lawrence Welk, and Merv Griffin. Four of the five are central characters in highly successful programs. Two of them, Archie Bunker and Merv Griffin, appeared daily on Saskatoon television at the time of this survey.

BBM statistics for the Saskatoon market show that at least one-third of the viewing audience watches *Kojak*, *All in the Family*, *Lawrence Welk*, and *Marcus Welby, M.D.* Archie Bunker is named more often as a favourite character (35 times) than as most disliked character (13 responses). Kojak is named only slightly more times as favourite character (35 responses) than most disliked character (29 responses). Marcus Welby received eight references as most disliked character and six references as favourite character. Merv Griffin was named by eight persons in both categories. Lawrence Welk received 21 responses as most disliked character and only eight persons listed him as their favourite character. The response pattern is different for each of the five characters.

The research concerning liking and agreeing with Archie Bunker has already been discussed. There are two different variables; that is, one may like Archie but not agree with him. Among American viewers, to like Archie is to agree with him. However, among Canadian viewers, liking Archie does not predict agreement. Saskatoon viewers may like Archie but still disagree with him and not find him funny.

The only generalization that can be made from this data is that the more popular the program, the more likely it is that the characters will be liked and disliked. Persons who like crime dramas and watch them regularly will like Kojak. Persons who dislike crime dramas and choose not to watch them dislike Kojak as a character. It also appears that people are more likely to dislike individual performers on musical and variety programs than fictitious characters in crime and comedy series. These patterns of dislike are based upon individual tastes in music and comedy. Included in this group are also those comedians, like Don Rickles, who have built their type of comedy upon insulting people and being unlikable.

E. Most Violent Programs

When asked to list the three most violent programs on television, respondents were in agreement about the five most violent. As Table 23 indicates, *Kojak* was seen as the most violent, followed by *Police Story*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Streets of San Francisco*, and the national news. Respondents did not distinguish between the two network news programs but simply referred to the national news programs in general.

It should be noted that not every respondent could name the most violent programs. Table 23 shows that only about one-half of the total number of responses possible were made. Some respondents indicated they simply did not watch violent programs and therefore

they could not pick the most violent. Many times they named one or two shows and could not name others.

The figures in parentheses in Table 23 indicate the order of that program within each rank. In other words, *Kojak* received the most responses as the first most violent program and the second most violent program, but *Starsky and Hutch* was ranked third most frequently. Respondents were asked to name the one program they thought most violent, followed by the name of the program they thought second most violent, et cetera. The table reflects these rankings of intensity or degree of violence.

Table 23

Most Violent Programs

Rank	<i>Kojak</i>	<i>Police Story</i>	<i>Starsky and Hutch</i>	<i>Streets of San Francisco</i>	News
1	32 (1)	16 (2)	11 (3)	7 (4)	6 (5)
2	23 (1)	17 (2)	13 (3)	5 (4)	2 (5)
3	10 (2)	8 (3)	12 (1)	8 (3)	4 (5)
Total	65 (1)	41 (2)	36 (3)	20 (4)	12 (5)

Table 24 breaks down the responses according to type of programming. Crime dramas received the overwhelming majority of references in this category. Within the type of programming it is interesting to note that four series account for 72 per cent of all responses. The other references are to programs that were named less than ten times each. So crime dramas account for 81 per cent of all responses, and four of them *Kojak*, *Police Story*, *Starsky and Hutch*, and *Streets of San Francisco* account for 72 per cent of the responses among crime dramas.

Table 24

Most Violent Programs by Program Type

Program	Number of responses
1. Crime Dramas	224
<i>Kojak</i>	65
<i>Police Story</i>	41
<i>Starsky and Hutch</i>	36
<i>Streets of San Francisco</i>	20
<i>Hawaii Five-O</i>	8
<i>The Rookies</i>	7
<i>Sidestreet</i>	7

<i>Baretta</i>	5
<i>Joe Forrester</i>	5
<i>McCloud</i>	4
<i>Cannon</i>	3
<i>Serpico</i>	3
<i>City of Angels</i>	2
<i>Delvecchio</i>	2
<i>Hanged Man</i>	2
<i>Harry O</i>	2
<i>Rockford Files</i>	2
<i>Sweeny</i>	2
<i>Switch</i>	2
<i>F.B.I.</i>	2
<i>Ironside</i>	1
Police shows in general	2

2. News, public affairs, and documentaries	17
News	12
Documentaries	3
<i>Maclear</i>	1
<i>W5</i>	1
3. Adventure	10
<i>Bionic Woman</i>	3
<i>Six Million Dollar Man</i>	3
<i>Space 1999</i>	3
<i>Beachcombers</i>	1
4. Sports	9
Hockey	6
Football	2
Wrestling	1
5. Animated Shows	5
<i>Spiderman</i>	3
<i>Bugs Bunny</i>	2
6. Movies	6
<i>Airport '75</i>	1
<i>Academy Performance</i>	1
Movie promotions	1
Mystery Movie	1
Late Movies	1
Horror Movies	1
7. Drama	2
<i>Upstairs, Downstairs</i>	1
<i>Emergency</i>	1
8. Other	5

F. Percentage of Violent Programming

Respondents were asked to estimate what percentage of programming for television produced in Canada used violent content. No specific programs were named for the respondents so this figure represents the individuals' perception of Canadian programming. Similarly, they

were asked to estimate how much, or what percentage, of the programs produced for television in the United States contained violent content.

Table 25 reports the responses to these questions. Of those responding, 40 per cent thought that less than 20 per cent of the programs produced in Canada contained violent content. On the other hand, 56 per cent believe that more than 40 per cent of the programs produced in the U.S. contain violent content.

Since these respondents do not receive any U.S. television channels, their estimate of the amount of U.S.-produced programming that is violent must be based upon programs shown over the Canadian networks. Obviously, the top four programs named by the respondents as most violent are produced in the U.S. Similarly, of all shows mentioned by the respondents as violent, two are produced in Canada, four are produced in Britain, and the rest come from the U.S. (This does not include sports programs.) Even though viewers believe programs produced in the U.S. to be more violent, they still prefer them, and their favourite characters come overwhelmingly from U.S.-produced programs.

Table 25

Percentage of Programming Produced in Canada and United States Perceived as Violent

Percentage of violent programming	Country			
	Canada	United States		
	N	%	N	%
under 20%	50	40%	17	24%
20% to 39%	41	33%	29	23%
40% to 59%	27	22%	45	36%
60% to 79%	1	1%	22	18%
80% to 100%	—	—	2	2%

(Note: Some respondents answered the question about Canadian television and said they could not answer the one about U.S.-produced television.)

G. Perceptions of Cities that are Violent

One general effect of the media can be found in the replies to the question about which cities in North America are the most violent. Respondents were given a list of 19 cities in Canada and the United States and asked to name which three they considered to be most violent. They were then asked to explain their answers. Table 26 lists the cities in order of the number of responses.

Table 26

Cities Named as Most Violent

City	Number of times chosen			
	First	Second	Third	Total
1. New York City	23	29	28	80
2. Chicago	40	13	15	68
3. Detroit	26	22	15	63
4. Montreal	9	16	20	45
5. Vancouver	5	17	13	35
6. San Francisco	8	10	12	30
7. Los Angeles	6	6	9	21
8. Regina	2	2	3	7
9. Ottawa	1	1	3	5
10. Toronto	1	1	2	4
11. Saskatoon	—	2	1	3
12. Philadelphia	—	1	2	3
13. Miami	—	2	—	2
14. Edmonton	—	1	—	1
15. Houston	—	1	—	1
16. Honolulu	—	—	1	1
17. Halifax	—	—	1	1
18. Winnipeg	—	—	—	0
19. Milwaukee	—	—	—	0

When asked to explain why they picked the cities, overwhelmingly the replies were linked to the news rather than the entertainment media. Television news was named by 77 persons. Other people named newspaper news, magazines, and radio news as sources of messages about the amount of violence in these cities. Obviously, the news media are linked to the third group of reasons, that is, crime reports and statistics. The news coverage of Mafia activity in New York City and Montreal, along with the coverage of the hearings into underworld activities in Montreal, were named by several people. News coverage of the narcotics trade in Vancouver was named by another individual.

Eleven respondents (9 per cent) stated that they picked Los Angeles, Montreal, New York City, or San Francisco because they were locales for police series on television. Two other respondents picked these cities because they were the locales for violent movies. Television programs in general were named by 35 individuals (28 per cent) as one of the reasons they picked a city.

Some people stated that they had lived in these cities and knew them to be violent. Others said that they had relatives living in these cities who had told them how

violent they were. Only three people mentioned Saskatoon as a violent city, but seven respondents named Regina as violent, giving news coverage or personal knowledge as the reason for their choice.

Table 27

Reasons Given for Choice of Cities

Reason	Number of responses
1. The news media	132
Television news coverage	77
Newspaper coverage	35
Magazine articles	11
Radio news coverage	8
General news coverage	1
2. Television	48
Locale of police shows, e.g., Los Angeles, Montreal, New York, San Francisco	11
Locale of violent movies	2
Television shows in general	35
3. From specific crime reports or statistics	32
Highest murder, mugging, or robbery rates	24
Detroit riots	3
Underworld activity in Montreal	3
Mafia in New York City and Montreal	1
Narcotics trade — San Francisco, Vancouver	1
4. From personal knowledge or friends	50
Personal knowledge having lived in city	26
Friends or relatives who live in city	24
5. Because of size of population	10
Has large population so will have most crime	5
Large American cities	2
Thus — more ethnic groups	1
— more people with nothing to do	1
— more slum areas	1
6. Racial conflict	7
Conflict between blacks and whites	6
“Lots of coloured people”	1
7. Other	6
They are port cities so will have more crime	3
Chicago's 1930s gangster image	1
Jokes	1
“Close to where I live”	1

H. Perceptions of Minorities with Respect to Violence

Television viewers in this survey are divided as to how television programs portray groups within society. As Table 28 shows, 41 per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement, while 45 per cent disagreed with it. Of those agreeing with the statement, 28 (48 per cent) named specific racial or ethnic groups, blacks, Indians, non-whites, or Arabs; these are the groups that they believed television programming depicts as being more violent than other groups. Fifteen viewers (26 per cent) listed low-income groups; ten (17 per cent) named the police. Table 29 reports which groups were named by respondents in this sample.

Table 28

“Television portrays certain groups or organizations in society as being more violent than others”

Response	Number of responses	Percent of total
Strongly agree	6	3%
Agree	52	38%
Undecided	15	12%
Disagree	47	42%
Strongly disagree	4	3%

Table 29

Groups Portrayed as Violent

Group	Number of responses
Low income or poor	13
Blacks	13
Police	10
Indians	6
Non-whites	4
Arabs	2
Ethnic groups	2
Rich	2
Mafia	2
All groups	1
Cowboys	1
Hippies	1
Klu Klux Klan	1
Mexicans	1
Young people	1
Society in general	1

Respondents in this survey were not given a list of groups to pick from for this question. They chose whichever groups came to mind. The content analysis conducted for the Commission by Williams, Zabrack, and Joy found that only 6.9 per cent of the aggressive interactions in the television programs coded were by black North Americans, while 73.3 per cent of the aggressive acts were committed by white North Americans. Williams, Zabrack, and Joy found that inter-group hostility was not emphasized on television. Thus, it would appear that the responses to this question represent prejudice and perceptions of groups in society, not group interaction on television.

I. Perceptions of Portrayal of the Elderly on Television

Slightly over one-half (53 per cent) of the respondents agreed with the attitude statement, "Television does not realistically depict the problems of the elderly." Sixty individuals (48 per cent) view this as a serious problem that should be corrected; 72 per cent of those who agreed with this statement indicated that television assumed an unrealistic attitude toward the elderly, in that it gives them so little exposure. Then, when elderly people are shown on television, they are portrayed unrealistically. Of those who agreed with the statement, 28 people (23 per cent) felt that television programming does not show enough of the loneliness and poverty of the elderly, while four persons (3 per cent) believed that television concentrates too much on the poor and lonely and does not spend enough time showing the self-sufficient elderly.

Those who felt that television should devote more time to the elderly and their problems argued that it would make people more aware of the problems of the elderly. It would help them to learn to cope for themselves. It would also help young people realize the difficulties the elderly face and help them more.

Of the six persons who do not view this as a problem, two stated that the elderly are not dramatic and very few would watch a program about them. One person thought such portrayals would be depressing, while another felt the elderly create their own problems.

Table 30

"There should be more Canadian content in television programming"

Response	Number of responses	Percent of total
Strongly agree	7	6%
Agree	58	47%
Undecided	14	11%
Disagree	43	35%
Strongly disagree	2	2%

J. Attitudes to Canadian Television

When asked if they thought there should be more Canadian content in television, just over half (53 per

Table 31

Reasons Given for More Canadian Content

Reason	Number of responses
1. To give the Canadian television industry a chance to grow	37
— because it's best for Canadian economy	12
— to give Canadian actors/actresses a chance to perform and become known	7
— so Canadians don't have to go to the U.S. to make a hit	5
— to develop Canadian industry	1
— because there is just as much talent here as in U.S.	1
2. For nationalistic, patriotic reasons	14
— it is best for us if programming is ours	8
— for Canadian nationalism	6
3. To develop and make Canadians aware of their identity	9
— need more Canadian influence, history, background — to make us more aware of ourselves	8
— need more French-Canadian television	1
4. Because there is too much American programming	10
— everything is oriented to the United States	4
— don't like to see so much U.S. stuff	5
— need to prevent American takeover of Canadian television	1
5. Because Canadian television is not as violent as United States television	2
6. Agree only if changes are made	22
— if the quality of Canadian television is improved	6
— if CBC material is improved	5
— too much sex and bad language on CBC	4
— if there is less CBC drama	2
— more documentary and W5 type programs	4
— if more variety and less "highbrow" material on CBC	1

cent) of the respondents indicated that they agreed with the need for more Canadian content.

Table 31 reports the reasons given by those who agreed with the need for more Canadian content. Thirty per cent of those agreeing gave reasons that can be classified as supporting the development of a Canadian television industry. The second most common reason is based upon Canadian nationalism. Closely related to these answers are those given by respondents who felt that Canadian content would make Canadians aware of their history, background, and Canadian influence. Eight per cent of the respondents objected to television content oriented to the United States. One 76-year-old woman commented, "We might not have as much crime if more Canadian shows were on television."

Of those agreeing, 22 people (18 per cent) modified their answers, stating that they agreed only if changes were made in the type of programming produced in Canada. They wanted the quality of Canadian programming improved; several objected to the bad

language and sexual content of CBC programming in particular. Others wanted less drama, more variety, and "less highbrow material on the CBC".

Those who disagreed with the need for more Canadian-produced content objected because they did not find Canadian television appealing. As shown in Table 32, 76 per cent of those disagreeing believed that Canadian television is not as exciting or good, has poor plots, is silly or stupid, and contains too much sex and drinking. Others felt that Canadian programs are too amateurish. Canadian actors and actresses lack popularity and are not professional. Three respondents were satisfied with the present balance. One individual said, "United States programming provides good entertainment and Canadian good news." Another said that "quality in programming is important and it really doesn't matter where it comes from."

Only one-fourth of the respondents see no distinct differences between television programs produced in the United States and those produced in Canada. Generally, those respondents noting a difference focused on the production sophistication and the quality of acting in United States productions, and particularly on the expensiveness of these productions. Over half the reasons given for the differences were related to program quality, production sophistication, and the quality of acting. The plots of Canadian programs were perceived as dull and less exciting. The language used in Canadian programs was perceived as being rougher than that used in U.S.-produced programs. Canadian writers were perceived to put more emphasis on sexual themes.

On the other hand, a small minority of viewers perceived that Canadian programs were "more true to life", "less phoney, plastic, or slick". They were quieter, having less noise in the soundtrack. The plots of Canadian shows have more depth. Canadian writers treat their characters with more sensitivity than U.S. writers, who give a "surface" treatment to things.

Table 32

Reasons Given for Less Canadian Content

Reasons	Number of responses
1. Because material on Canadian television is not appealing	34
— not as exciting, not as good	1
— story is not as good; no plot; no rhyme or reason to Canadian stories, especially in movies	8
— CBC drama terrible	6
— too much sex and drinking	3
— CBC not worth watching	2
— silly, stupid programs	2
— doesn't keep your attention	1
2. Because Canadian television lacks professional quality	23
— programs generally lack quality	10
— Canadian programs and actors amateurish	8
— Canadian actors/actresses lack popularity as compared to American	4
— not as refined	1
3. Because television programming is adequate now	3
— satisfied with present balance	2
— U.S. provides good entertainment and Canadian good news	1
4. Quality is important, it doesn't matter where the show comes from	1

Table 33

"There is a distinct difference between television shows produced in the United States and those produced in Canada"

Response	Number of responses	Percent of total
Strongly agree	20	16%
Agree	72	58%
Undecided	14	11%
Disagree	16	13%
Strongly disagree	2	2%

Table 34*Differences between U.S. and Canadian Programming*

U.S.-produced programs	Canadian-produced programs	Number of responses
More expensively produced	Less expensively produced	27
More sophisticated	More stilted; less natural sets	24
Better acting	Actors less confident	40
Generally more professional	Poorer quality	25
More action, sparkle	Duller, less exciting	15
More variety	Concentration on drama, documentaries	9
Better plots—plots appeal to audience	Poorer plots—dull	7
Language more refined	Rough language	6
More violent	Less violent	5
Programs give “surface” treatment to topics	More depth and sensitivity in programs	5
Less emphasis upon sex and drinking	More emphasis upon sex and drinking	4
Actors famous and well known	Actors less well known	3
Emphasis placed upon competitive values	Less emphasis upon competitive values	2
Phonier, plastic and slick	More true to life	2
	British influence visible	2
Greater variety in actors	Same faces all the time	1
More noise	Quieter	1
Concentration on actors	Concentration on story	1
More political	Noncontroversial	1
Enjoyable	Rougher emotionally to watch	1

Reasons for Watching Television

Included in the questionnaire that each respondent completed prior to viewing the survey program was a question that sought to measure motivation for watching television. Several researchers have already linked media use with need gratification. The uses-and-gratifications approach to the audience was discussed earlier in this report. Basic to this theory is the understanding that people can report their motives for using the media.

Researchers have begun to verify this position. Peled and Katz¹ asked Israelis which medium was most helpful in time of crisis for a) obtaining information about the situation, b) understanding the significance of what was happening, and c) relieving tension. They found that people used the radio to obtain information about the situation. Television was used for tension release and interpretation. Radio, newspapers, and interpersonal conversation were almost equal to television for interpretation and understanding what was happening. Peled and Katz did find social-class differences, with educated people using radio as the medium for information, while the less educated relied upon television. "Children" showed a primary need for tension release during the crisis period that Peled and Katz studied. Television was used to meet this need, with some viewing all the children's programs that were broadcast from 8:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. when their schools were closed during the crisis.

Greenberg and Dominick² found differences in motivation for television watching between lower-income white and black teenagers and middle-income teenagers. Middle-income teenagers were least dependent on television, while lower-income black teenagers were most dependent on it. Lower-income white teenagers fell between the two groups in their dependency on television. The more disadvantaged teenagers sought "school-of-life" gratifications from television as well as excitement and thrills fulfillment.

Greenberg³ also reports a study that measured viewing gratifications of "children" in Great Britain. He compared the differences between three age groups in the gratifications by fulfilled television viewing. Comparing television viewing preferences with

aggressive attitudes, it was found that "children" who watched television for excitement were more likely to watch violent television content and to have aggressive attitudes.

The present survey drew upon the five functions of television viewing delineated by Greenberg. The questionnaire developed was similar to the Greenberg questionnaire. It asked respondents to indicate if each motivation for viewing television was true for them. Reasons were drawn from Greenberg's research and other studies consulted while preparing the questionnaire. Respondents were also asked to indicate specific programs that they watched for specific reasons. In other words, if respondents checked that they watched television "because it relaxes me," they were asked to name a specific program or type of program they watched for relaxation.

The data was analyzed in three ways. First, an analysis was conducted, comparing program type given in response to the questionnaire with each type of reason. Secondly, a factor analysis was conducted to analyze the factor structure of motivations for watching television. Finally, a correlation analysis was conducted to compare the viewing preferences of respondents with their reasons for watching television.

A. Reasons Given for Watching Particular Programs

While every respondent completed this portion of the questionnaire, not every respondent took the time, or was able, to name specific programs for each reason for viewing television. The analysis of data reported in Table 35 reflects this inability to name specific programs that are watched with specific motivations in mind.

People were clearest about the motivation for watching news programs and public affairs and documentaries. These programs fulfil a surveillance function in that these respondents report watching them to learn what is going on in the world; 46 per cent of them specifically said news programs were watched "because I want to know what's going on in the world". When documentaries, public affairs, and sports programs are included in the analysis, these programs were linked with this reason for watching television by 88 per cent of the respondents.

Table 35
Reasons for Watching Television

Reason for watching	Type of program	Number of responses
1.	Because it relaxes me	69
	— situation comedy	22
	— musical and variety	13
	— soap operas	9
	— drama	7
	— sports	7
	— crime	4
	— religious	3
	— other	
	<i>The Nature of Things</i>	1
	<i>Merv Griffin</i>	1
	cartoons	1
	movies	1
2.	Because it is almost like a friend	24
	— public affairs and documentaries	7
	— situation comedy	5
	— instructional (<i>Mr. Chips</i>)	3
	— religious	2
	— other	
	<i>Marcus Welby M.D.</i>	2
	<i>Lawrence Welk</i>	1
	movies	1
	talk shows	1
	<i>The Waltons</i>	1
	soap operas	1
3.	Because I learn from watching it	78
	— public affairs and documentaries	50
	— news	7
	— instructional	8
	— panel shows	4
	— game shows	3
	— talk shows	2
	— other	
	<i>Another World</i>	1
	comedy	1
	commercials	1
	<i>The Waltons</i>	1
4.	Because it is a habit	15
	— soap operas	8
	— other	
	<i>The World of Disney</i>	1
	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>	1
	<i>Kojak</i>	1
	<i>Headline Hunters</i>	1
	news	1
	football	1
	<i>Jacques Cousteau</i>	1
5.	Because it helps me forget my problems	13
	— situation comedy	6
	— musical and variety	2
	— soap operas	2
	— other	
	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>	1
	<i>The World of Disney</i>	1
	news	1
	football	1
	<i>Barney Miller</i>	1
6.	Because I want to know what is going on in the world	109
	— news	57
	— public affairs and documentaries	47
	— sports	5
7.	Because it excites me	39
	— sports	21
	— crime	8
	— movies	2
	— drama	1
	— adventure	1
	— panel shows	1
	— sex	1
8.	Because it helps me forget I am alone	4
	— drama	1
	— movies	1
	— mysteries	1
	— <i>Pig 'n Whistle</i>	1
9.	Because I just like to watch it	51
	— situation comedy	13
	— sports	8
	— musical and variety	7
	— children's programming	5
	— crime	5
	— drama	5
	— soap operas	4
	— other	
	adventure	1
	<i>Jacques Cousteau</i>	1
	movies	1
	westerns	1
10.	When I am bored	9
	— anything	2
	— adventure	1
	— crime	1
	— situation comedy	1
	— medical	1
	— soap operas	1
	— variety	1
11.	Because it calms me down	2
	— adventure	1
	— drama	1

Table 35

Reasons for Watching Television

Reason for watching	Type of program	Number of responses
12.	When there is no one to talk to	10
	— soap operas	2
	— sports	2
	— anything	1
	— crime	1
	— situation comedy	1
	— medical	1
	— musicals	1
13.	Because it is thrilling	20
	— crime	6
	— sports	5
	— situation comedy	3
	— anything	2
	— drama	2
	— news specials	1
	— <i>Sonny and Cher</i>	1
14.	Because it passes the time away	9
	— soap operas	5
	— drama	1
	— <i>Get Smart</i>	1
	— <i>Rhoda</i>	1
	— <i>Switch</i>	1
15.	So I can get away from the rest of the family	0
16.	Because it gives me ideas	19
	— public affairs and documentaries	7
	— instructional	4
	— adventure	2
	— panel shows	2
	— situation comedy	1
	— musicals	1
	— religious	1
	— Channel 8 TV	1
17.	Because it gives me something to do	4
	— instructional	1
	— musicals	1
	— <i>Switch</i>	1
	— anything	1
18.	So I can learn to do things	8
	— instructional	5
	— educational	3
19.	Because I don't have to do anything when I watch television	3
	— situation comedy	1
	— musical	1
	— panel shows	1
20.	So I can be alone	0
21.	Because it stirs me up	2
	— hockey	1
	— <i>John Allan Cameron</i>	1
22.	Because it makes me feel less lonely	0
23.	Because I enjoy watching	48
	— situation comedy	17
	— crime	6
	— musical and variety	6
	— soap operas	6
	— drama	5
	— religious	2
	— sports	2
	— adventure	1
	— children's programming	1
	— panel shows	1
	— public affairs and documentaries	1
24.	So I can get away from what I am doing	4
	— soap operas	3
	— situation comedy	1
25.	Because it is nice to have another voice in the house	5
	— musical and variety	2
	— talk shows	2
	— drama	1
26.	Because it is so much fun	16
	— situation comedy	7
	— game shows	6
	— crime	1
	— drama	1
	— sports	1
27.	Because it is a pleasant rest	13
	— soap operas	4
	— musical and variety	3
	— children's programming	1
	— drama	1
	— situation comedy	1
	— panel shows	1
28.	Because it teaches me things I didn't learn in school	11
	— public affairs and documentaries	7
	— panel shows	2
	— drama	1
	— talk shows	1
29.	When I have nothing better to do	13
	— musical and variety	3
	— soap operas	3
	— crime	2
	— movies	2
	— adventure	1
	— situation comedy	1
	— anything	1

30. Because it helps me learn about myself	5
— public affairs and documentaries	3
— talk shows	1
— sports	1
31. Because it helps me to forget about my problems in my work	3
— drama	1
— hockey	1
— medical	1
32. So I can learn about what could happen to me	9
— public affairs and documentaries	5
— crime	4

The next most common reason for watching television was for relaxation. Several different types of programs are used to fulfil this function. Soap operas were mentioned most often by women. Apparently many of them relax in the afternoon while watching a soap opera. Musical and variety programs are also seen as fulfilling this function. Situation comedies were used both for relaxation and entertainment.

The third function that these viewers felt television met was their need for information. Again, public affairs and documentaries were seen to fulfil the learning or teaching function. Instructional programs were named as fulfilling this function. Several people also stated that they learned from watching panel and game shows. These programs – instructional and panel – help people to fill in the gaps in their knowledge. A few believe that they learn things from television that they could not learn, or did not learn, in school.

Finally, people watch television simply because they enjoy watching it. This is especially true of soap operas, situation comedies, adventure programs, and crime dramas. Men indicated that sports programs fulfilled the enjoyment function. Musical and variety programs were another type that people watched simply for enjoyment.

Table 36

Reasons for Watching Television by Type of Program

Type of Program	Reasons given for watching	Number of responses
1. News programs		
— because I learn from watching it		7
— because I want to know what's going on in the world		57
— because it is thrilling		1

2. Public affairs and documentaries	
— because it is almost like a friend	7
— because I learn from watching it	50
— because I want to know what is going on in the world	47
— because I just like to watch it (especially <i>Jacques Cousteau</i>)	1
— because it helps me learn about myself	3
— so I can learn about what could happen to me	5
3. Daytime soap operas	
— because it relaxes me	9
— because I learn from watching it (especially <i>Another World</i>)	1
— because it is a habit	8
— because I just like to watch it	4
— when I am bored	10
— when there is no one to talk to	2
— because it passes the time away	5
— because it is a pleasant rest	4
— when I have nothing better to do	3
— because I enjoy watching it	6
— so I can get away from what I am doing	3
— because it helps me forget my problems	2
4. Musical and variety	
— because it relaxes me	13
— because it is almost like a friend (especially <i>Lawrence Welk</i>)	1
— because it helps me forget my problems	2
— because I just like to watch it	7
— when I am bored	1
— when there is no one to talk to	1
5. Sports	
— because it relaxes me	7
— because it is a habit (especially football)	1
— because I want to know what is going on in the world	5
— because it excites me	21
— because I just like to watch it	8
— when there is no one to talk to	2
— because it is thrilling	5
— because it stirs me up (especially hockey)	1
— because it is so much fun	1
— because it helps me learn about myself	1
— because it helps me forget my problems in my work (especially hockey)	1
6. Situation comedies	
— because it relaxes me	22
— because it is almost like a friend	5
— because it helps me forget my problems	6
— because I like to watch it	13
— when I am bored	1

—when there is no one to talk to	1
—because it is thrilling	3
—because it passes the time away (especially <i>Rhoda</i>)	1
—because I enjoy watching	17
—so I can get away from what I am doing	1
—because it is so much fun	7
—when I have nothing better to do	1
—because it is a pleasant rest	1
7. Medical (especially <i>Marcus Welby M.D.</i>)	
—because it is almost like a friend (especially <i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>)	2
—because it helps me forget my problems	1
—when I am bored	1
—when there is no one to talk to	1
—because it helps me forget about my problems at work	1
8. Children's programs (<i>The World of Disney</i>)	
—because it is a habit	1
—because I just like to watch it	5
—because I enjoy watching it	1
—because it is a pleasant rest	1
9. Drama	
—because it relaxes me	7
—because it is almost like a friend (especially <i>The Waltons</i>)	1
—because it excites me	1
—because it helps me forget I am alone	1
—because I just like to watch it	5
—when I am bored	1
—because it calms me down when I am angry	1
—because it is thrilling	2
—because it passes the time	1
—because I enjoy watching it	5
—because it is nice to have another voice in the house	1
—because it is so much fun	1
—because it is a pleasant rest	1
—because it teaches me things	1
—because it helps me forget about my problems in my work	1
10. Adventure	
—because it excites me	1
—because I just like to watch it	1
—when I am bored	1
—because it calms me down when I am angry	1
—because it gives me ideas	1
—because I enjoy watching it	1
—when I have nothing better to do	1

11. Crime drama	
—because it relaxes me	4
—because it excites me	8
—because I just like to watch it	5
—when I am bored	1
—when there is no one to talk to	1
—because I enjoy watching it	6
—because it is so much fun	1
—when I have nothing better to do	1
—so I can learn about what could happen to me	1
12. Game shows	
—because I learn from watching it	1
—because it is so much fun	6
13. Panel shows	
—because I learn from watching it	4
—because it is a habit (especially <i>Headline Hunters</i> and <i>Front Page Challenge</i>)	2
—because it excites me	1
—because it gives me ideas	2
—because I don't have to do anything when I watch television	1
—because it teaches me things I didn't learn in school	2
14. Talk shows (<i>Merv Griffin</i>)	
—because it relaxes me	1
—because it is almost like a friend	1
—because I learn from watching it	2
—because it is nice to have another voice in the house	2
—because it teaches me things I didn't learn in school	1
15. Religious programs	
—because it relaxes me	3
—because it is almost like a friend	2
—because it gives me ideas	1
—because I enjoy watching it	2
16. Instructional	
—because it is almost like a friend	3
—because I learn from watching it	8
—because it gives me ideas	4
—because it gives me something to do	1
—so I can learn how to do things	5
17. Animated programs	No responses

Table 37*Reasons for which No Program Type was Given***Reason**

15. So I can get away from the rest of the family
 20. So I can be alone
 22. Because it makes me less lonely
-

B. The Factor; Analysis of the Reasons for Watching

A principle axis factor analysis was performed with varimax rotation, employing a Kiel-Wrigly criterion of two principal loadings per factor, as in the previous factor analysis. Only two of the variables loaded on more than one factor. None of them loaded on three factors. Nine factors contained more than two major principal loadings. Table 38 reports the major factor loadings for each reason for viewing television.

Factor one is the largest factor, accounting for 50 per cent of the explainable variance. Again, if one considers only factor loadings of .40 or better, six reasons load on this factor. Factor one may be named the loneliness factor. Each of the items relates to using the television to forget about being lonely and to have another human voice in the house.

Factor two consists of five items, accounting for 11 per cent of the explainable variance. This factor may be named the information-gathering, or learning, function. Each of the items relates to learning about what is going on in the world and getting new ideas. This factor also includes the item about learning from television things that were not learned in school.

Factor three consists of two items that relate to relaxation. Item 16, "because it gives me ideas," also loads on this factor. This factor accounts for 8 per cent of the explainable variance. It may be named the relaxation factor.

Factor four consists of three items and accounts for 7 per cent of the explainable variance. This is an escape factor. Here people are using television to get away from what they are doing. The last item, "because it stirs me up," would suggest that it is a change of pace. It could well be called an activation factor, focusing upon the individual's need to be alone with a new activity that raises the physical or emotional activation level.

Factor five also consists of two strong items and another that loads on this factor as well as on factor eight. These items are "because I enjoy watching it," "because I just like watching," and "because it is so much fun." It would appear proper to call this the enjoyment factor. Here people watch television simply for the enjoyment of watching it. It is fun for them and they like to watch it.

Factor six has two items that load strongly on it and two that load on it and one other factor. Factor six accounts for 5 per cent of the explainable variance. The items loading on this factor are "because it gives me something to do," "because it passes the time away," "because I don't have to do anything else when I am watching it," and "when I have nothing better to do." This factor can be called a passing-the-time-with-television factor. Here the individual indicates that he/she watches television because there is nothing else to do and it helps pass the time.

Factor seven, with two items loading on it, explains 4 per cent of the variance. It is an excitement factor, with the following items: "because it excites me," "because it is thrilling." This factor correlates with watching crime dramas for men and watching soap operas for women. This appears, therefore, to be a specialized factor relating to excitement gained from watching specific types of programs.

Factor eight has two variables loading on it, along with several others that also load on another factor. The items are "because it is a habit," "so I can learn about what could happen to me," "because it is so much fun," "because it helps me learn about myself," and "because it helps me forget about my problems at my work." This is the self-knowledge and self-expression factor. The individual is using television to learn about him/herself, but such learning appears to occur from habitual viewing that the person likes because it is fun.

Factor nine is the weakest of all. One item loads significantly on it and two others load on it with loading of another factor also. The items loading on this factor are "because it is almost like a friend," "helps me to forget my problems," and "because it helps me forget I am alone." This might be called the alienated-viewer factor. The social isolate who is alone uses the television as a human surrogate, thus forgetting about being alone and friendless.

The mean scores for each of these factors are much lower than those reported by Greenberg in similar research. The mean scores range from 3.00 to 1.30, when a score of 4.00 is given for indicating that the reason is the respondent's own reason and a score of 1.00 for a reason that is not true for the respondent at all. This may indicate that this particular format may not be the best one for studying adult motivations, although Greenberg's research indicates that there is a corresponding decrease in mean-factor value with increasing age. This data continues the trend with age discovered by Greenberg, indicating that as one grows older different motivations, or gratifications, decrease in importance. Table 39 gives the factor-item means for this group of respondents. If importance is indicated by strength of the factor-item mean, then factor five is the most important for these adult viewers. In other words, the data indicates that adults watch television first for enjoyment, secondly for relaxation, and thirdly for information. Other gratifications may be important,

Table 38

Factor Analysis of Reasons for Watching Television

Reasons	Factor loadings								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12 when there is no one to talk to	.70	.02	.04	.18	.24	.20	-.08	-.00	-.00
23 nice to have another human voice in house when alone	.59	.29	.10	.16	.09	.18	-.04	.14	.07
10 when I am bored	.56	.03	.14	.06	.10	.33	.29	.17	.12
22 it makes me feel less lonely	.49	.04	.07	.18	-.12	.17	.09	.24	.15
8 it helps me forget I am alone	.49	.01	.22	.26	-.04	-.03	.19	.17	.44
31 helps me forget my problems in my work	.41	.18	.16	.19	.13	.02	.17	.35	.28
28 teaches me things I didn't learn in school	.14	.71	.16	.11	-.03	.10	.14	.18	-.00
18 so I can learn to do things I haven't done before	.34	.65	.18	.00	.01	.04	.04	.22	-.01
6 want to know what is going on in world	-.14	.49	.04	.06	.26	.14	-.12	-.05	.17
31 helps me learn about myself	.26	.48	.08	.11	.04	-.05	.04	.41	.03
3 I learn from watching it	-.08	.50	-.06	.03	.22	-.11	-.02	-.06	.18
16 it gives me ideas	.10	.26	.51	.16	.07	-.01	.02	.07	-.03
27 it's a pleasant rest	.17	.18	.50	.06	.06	.35	.25	.14	.04
1 it relaxes me	.06	-.02	.44	.07	.20	.13	.08	.06	.11
20 so I can be alone	.37	.09	.13	.62	.08	.12	-.02	.07	.08
24 so I can get away from what I am doing	.02	.17	.05	.51	.11	.17	.19	.26	.02
21 it stirs me up	.04	.09	.26	.50	-.05	.06	.37	.19	.19
23 I enjoy watching it	.02	.15	.26	.06	.60	.21	.16	.03	-.04
9 I just like to watch	.16	.14	.07	.18	.59	.11	.03	.05	-.02
26 it's so much fun	.14	.06	.19	-.07	.45	.02	.15	.49	.12
17 gives me something to do	.21	.04	.21	.18	.26	.63	.14	.14	.14
14 passes the time away	.31	-.11	.30	.03	.20	.54	.10	.03	.05
19 I don't have to do anything when I watch it	.15	.05	.05	.44	.03	.50	-.06	.08	-.01
29 when I have nothing better to do	.30	.17	-.04	.14	.12	.48	.42	.02	.06
7 it excites me	.05	-.02	.07	.09	.04	.11	.53	.05	.17
13 it is thrilling	.14	.03	.22	.26	.29	.01	.53	.18	-.04
4 it is a habit	.13	.03	-.05	.25	.03	.26	.21	.56	.13
32 I can learn about what could happen to me	.16	.24	.28	.06	-.01	.05	-.02	.55	.06
2 almost like a friend	.15	.21	.00	.06	-.07	.06	.15	.08	.58
5 helps me forget my problems	.06	.03	.43	.05	.11	.13	.14	.14	.45

given the situation in which the adult finds him/herself and given the personality of the adult viewer.

Table 39

Factor-item Means for Adults

Factor	Average item score
5 — enjoyment	2.45
3 — relaxation	2.39
2 — information	2.30
6 — passes time	1.98
8 — self-information	1.70
7 — excitement	1.65
9 — human surrogate	1.63
1 — loneliness	1.59
4 — escape	1.30

C. Analysis of Reasons by Comparison with Viewing Preference

Interesting patterns begin to emerge from the data when a comparison is made between steady viewing of a particular type of television program and the reasons given for watching television. Since several of these patterns are central to the focus of this study, a general description will be given of each viewing preference, including not only the reasons for watching television but also responses to attitudinal statements, the fortress mentality statement, perceived reality of television, and general viewing responses.

1. The Regular Viewer of Crime Programs

The regular viewer of crime programs among these respondents is slightly, but not significantly, younger than other viewers. The data does not show any clear tendency for younger viewers to watch more crime dramas as did, for example, Greenberg and Gordon's respondents⁴ They do tend to be individuals who watch more television than other respondents — that is, the correlation between hours spent watching television and viewing crime dramas was a significant one ($r = .27$). When they are not watching crime dramas, they tend to watch programs that are similar in action — for example, adventure programs, adult situation comedies, medical series, sports, and children's programs. (Table 40). Those who watch crime dramas do so because they enjoy them and find them exciting (Table 41). Watching crime programs also allows the viewer to forget about problems at work. Generally, however, the correlations indicate that the viewing of crime dramas relates to

Table 40

Correlations between Watching Crime Dramas and Other Types of Programs

Type of program	Pearson product moment correlation
Adventure programs	.41
Animated programs	.28
Situation comedies (repeats)	.33
Situation comedies	.24
Medical series	.27
Drama	.23
Sports	.21
Children's programs	.20

(Please note: To save space and the reader's patience, only correlations over 0.20 will be reported in most tables. A correlation of this size explains 4 per cent of the explainable variance. While correlations larger than .18 are statistically significant, an arbitrary decision has been made by the author to report only correlations of this magnitude. The non-technical reader should be aware that Pearson product moment correlations between +.18 and -.18 are not different from zero and signify that there is no relationship between the two variables.)

Table 41

Correlations between Watching Crime Dramas and Reasons for Watching Television

Reason for watching television	Pearson product moment correlation
23 Because I enjoy watching it	.38
14 Because it passes the time away	.34
17 Because it gives me something to do	.31
13 Because it is thrilling	.30
5 Because it helps me forget my problems	.27
7 Because it excites me	.25
9 Because I just like to watch it	.25
12 When there is no one to talk to	.25
31 Because it helps me forget about my problems in my work	.24
26 Because it is so much fun	.20
29 When I have nothing better to do	.20

three of the factors distinguished by the factor analysis – enjoyment, passing time, and escape.

When asked to estimate the amount of violent content in both Canadian and United States programming, these viewers tended to estimate less violence. This conforms with previous research, which shows that viewers of violent programs perceive less violence in the media because of desensitization.

If the previous research is correct, then viewers of crime programs should agree with those questions that seek to measure a fortress mentality. The respondents of this survey who watch crime dramas do not display this phenomenon (Table 42). Even though they watch violent programs regularly, they do not agree with any of the fortress mentality statements. There is even a slight tendency, although not significant statistically, for viewers of crime programs to show trust of a stranger they meet on a downtown city street. This is the exact opposite of the way those with a fortress mentality should act.

Table 42

Correlations between Watching Crime Dramas and Fortress Mentality Statements

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
27. The world is a dangerous place to be.	.04
28. Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society.	.13
31. It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a large city at night.	.07
35. It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family.	.10
37. School age children are not safe outside their own neighbourhood without an adult.	.03
38. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict.	.05
45. If asked for a cigarette by a stranger on a downtown city street, I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger.	-.17

Again, those persons who view crime dramas regularly do not perceive that television content is true to life (Table 43). They also know, or apparently know, that violent crimes often occur between relatives in real life, although this is contradicted somewhat by the

Table 43

Correlations Between Watching Crime Dramas and Perceived Reality of Television Content

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
17. Events depicted in television families, such as the Bunkers and Jeffersons, are just like things which happen in real life families.	.07
19. The fighting on television is just like the fighting in real life.	-.03
21. The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society.	.06
23. Violent actions portrayed on television usually involve people who do not know each other well.	.01
25. Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life.	-.21*
40. It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor.	.18*

*indicates correlations statistically significant at the .05 level

slightly significant correlation indicating agreement with the last statement.

Regular viewers of crime dramas feel that there are too many documentaries on Canadian television. They would also like to see more excitement in television programs. They believe that they "can watch all kinds of television shows without them causing me to act similarly". They also disagree with statement 22, "To decrease the amount of painful and harmful action in society, television violence should be censored."

Viewers of crime dramas disagree with the statement that more Canadian programming is needed on Canadian television. They are also more likely to agree that television makes a good babysitter. They disagree with the statement that television is intellectually insulting.

Generally, the picture emerging from the data is that viewers who prefer to watch crime dramas do so for relaxation and excitement. They do not perceive that television programs are realistic or true to life. They do not agree with any of the fortress mentality questions. They enjoy the present state of television programming, do not want more Canadian programming, and may use television as a babysitter for their children.

2. The Regular Viewer of Soap Operas

The regular viewer of soap operas is more likely to be a woman than a man ($\chi^2 = 18.50, 3 \text{ d.f.}; p \leq .001$; contingency coefficient* - $C = .36$). Table 44 reports the correlations between watching soap operas and reasons for watching television. The viewer of the afternoon soap opera uses television for relaxation - as a rest from the daily activities. It also helps the viewer to escape the boredom of doing housework. It would appear that many viewers develop a bond of friendship with the characters in the soap operas. Watching soap operas fulfils needs of loneliness, avoidance, relaxation, escape from chores, and acquiring information about oneself.

Table 44

Correlations between Watching Soap Operas and Reasons for Watching Television

Reasons	Pearson product moment correlation
27. Because it is a pleasant rest	.41
22. Because it makes me feel less lonely	.37
14. Because it passes the time away	.34
4. Because it is a habit	.33
11. Because it calms me down when I am angry	.32
23. Because I enjoy watching	.31
2. Because it is almost like a friend	.29
17. Because it gives me something to do	.29
13. Because it is thrilling	.29
9. Because I just like to watch it	.28
25. Because it is nice to have another human voice in the house	.28
10. When I am bored	.28
32. So I can learn about what could happen to me	.27
8. Because it helps me forget I am alone	.26
21. Because it stirs me up	.26
18. So I can learn how to do things I haven't done before	.24
26. Because it is so much fun	.23
5. Because it helps me forget my problems	.20

Viewers of soap operas agreed more than any other group of viewers that television makes a good babysitter. Only 47 per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement that television made a good babysitter, and 48 per cent disagreed with it, so the sample was divided rather equally.

Those who agreed that television makes a good babysitter stated that they feel it keeps children occupied while entertaining them; it is relaxing for children; it helps harried mothers, the mothers always know where the children are when they are watching television.

Of those agreeing with the statement, 19 respondents (33 per cent) qualified their response to say that only certain programs were good for children to watch. They especially named *Sesame Street* and *Mr. Dressup*. Thus, these respondents were saying that television made a good babysitter, but only when children's programs were being broadcast.

Those persons who disagreed with using television as a babysitter stated that it was a poor substitute for a human being and that the duties of a babysitter were complex and television could not provide the love and affection children need. These people felt that it was better for children to go outside and play. Sixteen of these respondents (27 per cent) believe that parents should censor their children's television viewing. As two respondents put it, "Kids will end up idiots if they watch too much television."

3. The Regular Viewer of Adult Situation Comedies

Viewers of adult situation comedies give many of the same reasons for watching television as those who watch soap operas and crime dramas. They watch because it is a habit. It also helps them to pass the time

Table 45

Correlations between Watching Adult Situation Comedies and Reasons for Watching Television

Reasons	Pearson product moment correlation
14. Because it passes the time away	.36
13. Because it is thrilling	.28
4. Because it is a habit	.26
17. Because it gives me something to do	.22
23. Because I enjoy watching it	.22
9. Because I just enjoy watching	.21
27. Because it is a pleasant rest	.20
12. When there is no one to talk to	.20

(*Note for the non-technical reader: the contingency coefficient is similar in meaning to the correlation coefficient. It expresses the relationship between being female and watching soap operas.)

and gives them something to do. They watch because it is enjoyable and relaxing, and it passes the time. They do not indicate any tendency to watch because they have problems or out of boredom.

4. The Regular Viewer of Situation Comedies

It will be recalled that for the purpose of this study the category "situation comedy" was divided into two distinct types of programs; adult situation comedies and family situation comedies. What reasons for watching television correlated with watching family situation comedies? Table 46 reports the significant correlations.

Unlike the regular viewers of adult situation comedies who watch for relaxation and enjoyment, these viewers watch because it passes the time. These programs are fun to watch and enjoyable, but less habitual than viewing adult situation comedies.

Viewers of both types of situation comedy agree that television makes a good babysitter. They do not, however, show any significant propensity to share the other viewers' opinions of crime programs or soap operas.

Table 46

Correlations between Watching Family Situation Comedies and Reasons for Watching Television

Reasons	Pearson product moment correlation
23. Because I enjoy watching it	.31
10. When I am bored	.28
12. When there is no one to talk to	.27
17. Because it gives me something to do	.27
14. Because it passes the time away	.23
26. Because it is so much fun	.21
19. Because I don't have to do anything when I watch	.21
17. Because it gives me something to do	.20

5. The Regular Viewer of Public Affairs Programming and Documentaries

Those who indicate that they watched public affairs programs and documentaries often show slightly different attitudes towards television programming than those viewers previously discussed. These are viewers who use television as a source of information (Table 47). They watch television because they learn from it. Public affairs programs and documentaries help them to know what is going on in the world. They do not watch because they are bored, need excitement, or have

nothing better to do with their time. They like watching this type of program but their motivation for watching comes from their need to know and develop new ideas about the world.

Table 47

Correlations between Watching Public Affairs Programs and Documentaries and Reasons for Watching Television

Reasons	Pearson product moment correlation
3. Because I learn from watching it	.32
6. Because I want to know what is going on in the world	.39
7. Because it excites me	-.20
29. When I have nothing better to do	-.22

Viewers who indicate that they regularly watch crime dramas, soap operas, musical and variety programs, situation comedy repeats, and sports all disagreed with the statement that television is intellectually insulting. However, viewers of public affairs programs and documentaries regularly tended to agree rather strongly that television is intellectually insulting. No other group of viewers agreed with this position. Of those agreeing with the statement that television is intellectually insulting, 32 per cent said that they found commercials insulting; 18 per cent said they found television insulting when people were degraded, insulted, or exploited. Four respondents specifically mentioned situation comedies produced in the United States, such as *All in the Family*, which make fun of ethnic groups. Of those agreeing, Ten per cent said that television is insulting when it talks down to people; that it is often geared to the mentality of a Grade-Five intelligence; or that it is comparable to a "Harlequin romance". Six per cent said there was no intellectual depth to television programming; that television programs do not stimulate thought; or that they oversimplify life and society. Another six per cent felt that television has an unrealistic interpretation of life; that television programs divide society into stereotyped good guys and bad guys, with the good guys always winning; that medical dramas in particular present ideal situations that never happen in real life, that police dramas simplify life too much. Specific programs mentioned as especially insulting include *Adam-12*, *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, *Funny Farm*, and *Sonny and Cher*.

Regular viewers of public affairs programming and documentaries use television for different reasons than viewers of other types of programs. They seek information from television; they are critical of television

programming; they want more Canadian content; they believe changes need to be made in television content; they do not believe in using television as a babysitter; they especially do not watch television for excitement or because there is nothing else to do.

This review has shown that different types of television programming do indeed fulfil different needs in the life of the television viewer. It is possible to delineate different dimensions of needs and gratifications that television viewing fulfils.

Correlates of Hours Spent Watching Television

What is the relationship between extensive television viewing and responses to the questionnaire? As has already been shown, regular viewers of crime dramas do not possess a fortress mentality. The question still remains as to whether extensive viewing of television has an effect on the fortress mentality.

Hours spent watching television correlate positively with all types of television programs except for public affairs programs and documentaries, and religious programs. Watching extensive television relates positively to agreement with the statement that there is enough variety on television. It is also related to agreement with the statement, "I like to have the television running while I am in the house but I really don't care what program is on." There are no significant relationships between extensive television viewing and the scales of authoritarianism, anomia, and Pollyanna.

Respondents who report watching television extensively agree with two of the seven statements used to measure the fortress mentality. While this is significant, it certainly is not the overwhelming evidence for a strong relationship between amount of time spent viewing television and the fortress mentality that Gerbner reports. It is clear that extensive viewing of television *by itself* cannot explain the fortress mentality.

Those who watch more television perceive more reality in television content. They perceive that

television families are portrayed in a realistic, true-to-life fashion. They do not perceive that the fighting on television is realistic. They do tend, however, to believe that television content portrays life as it really is in Canada. They also accept the television view that crimes of violence occur between strangers and not relatives.

The question remains as to whether this is the result of watching television or some other variable. It has already been shown that education and social class are

Table 49

Correlations between Hours Watching Television and Fortress Mentality Statements

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
27. The world is a dangerous place	.01
28. Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society	.10
31. It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a large city at night	-.05
35. It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family	.26*
37. School age children are not safe outside their own neighbourhood without an adult	.16
38. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	.07
45. If asked for a cigarette by a stranger on a downtown city street, I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger	.20*

* $p \leq .05$

Table 48

Correlations between Hours Watching Television and Authoritarianism, Anomia, and Pollyanna

Personality Variable	Pearson product moment correlation
Authoritarianism	.14
Anomia	.08
Pollyanna	.04

Table 50

Correlations between Hours Watching Television and Perceived Reality of Television Content

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
17. Events depicted in television families, such as the Bunkers or Jeffersons, are just like things which happen in real life.	.26*
19. The fighting on television is just like fighting in real life.	.13
21. The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society.	.22*
23. Violent actions portrayed on television usually involve people who do not know each other.	.06
25. Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life.	.21*
40. It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor.	.16

* $p \leq .05$

correlated with watching television. Perhaps these effects are the results of limited education or of social class. By partialling out the effects of education from the correlation coefficient between hours and agreement with the fortress mentality, an assessment can be made of the relationship of these two variables with one another. Table 51 reports the partial correlations for those items in the two groups of items – fortress mentality and reality – that showed a significant correlation with time spent watching television. A partial correlation is used when one wishes to assess the relationship between any two of three variables that are related with one another. It allows for this assessment by removing the effects of the third variable from the two variables under consideration.

Table 51 shows that when the effects of occupation are controlled for, only two of the five statements still correlate significantly with amount of time spent watching television. When the level of education is removed from the two variables, only one item still has a significant correlation with amount of time spent watching television. Thus it is safe to conclude that amount of time spent watching television is not the cause of accepting beliefs related to a fortress mentality. Rather, these beliefs are related to a low level of educa-

Table 51

Partial Correlations between Hours and Fortress Mentality, Reality, Controlling for Education and Occupation

Statement	Partial correlation controlling Occupation Education	
35. The world is a dangerous place	.20*	.16
45. If asked for a cigarette	.12	.12
17. Events depicted in television	.21*	.20*
21. The amount of violence depicted	.09	.09
25. Crimes of violence are hardly	.13	.07

* $p \leq .05$

tion. Social-economic status also helps to explain the fortress mentality. Only with item 17 is there a significant relationship between perceived reality of television content and amount of time spent watching television. However, this relationship is not strong, as the correlation coefficient only explains four per cent of the variance.

Table 52 reports the correlations between amount of time spent watching television and reasons for viewing. These are viewers who relax with television. They enjoy watching television, finding it fun and pleasant. Watching television also tends to help them escape from their problems.

Table 52

Correlations between Hours Spent Watching Television and Reasons for Viewing

Reasons For Viewing	Pearson product moment correlation
13. Because it is thrilling	.35
14. Because it passes the time	.35
23. Because I enjoy watching it	.32
17. Because it gives me something to do	.30
26. Because it is so much fun	.30
27. Because it is a pleasant rest	.29
4. Because it is a habit	.28
19. Because I don't have to do anything when I watch it	.25
5. Because it helps me forget my problems	.22
8. Because it helps me forget I am alone	.21

This same attitude is shown in their responses after watching the pretaped programs used in this study. There are no significant relationships between amount of television watched and self-descriptions before watching the program. After watching it, these respondents report that they are more alert, trusting, agreeable, concentrating, happy, satisfied, quick, and peppy. Watching the program was an enjoyable, relaxing experience for them.

A Typology of Viewers

The Alienated Viewer

The alienated viewer is one who scored high on Srole's anomia scale¹. The scale was incorporated into the questionnaire because the items used in it seemed to have relevance to messages found in television programs. In order to check for selective perception – in other words, for persons who agreed with the items and saw them in the programs that they viewed for the study – they were also included in the interview conducted after the program had been shown.

“Anomia” is a term introduced to sociology by Emile Durkheim to describe a state of normlessness “when a harmonious relationship no longer exists between an individual's needs (and their satisfaction) and his beliefs and practices”.¹ The individual no longer feels close to other people and feels that he/she belongs to no particular groups which can fulfil personal needs. The individual is alone and isolated from the rest of society.

The questions measuring anomia were:

47. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

48. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

49. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

50. It's hardly fair to bring “children” into the world with the way things look for the future.

51. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

Generally, between 30 and 40 per cent of those interviewed agreed with these statements from Srole's anomia scale.³

By comparing responses on this scale with responses to other questions, a picture of the alienated viewer is developed. Those who scored high on anomia tended to be divorced or widowed, have less education, and low social-economic status (Table 53). They were more likely to report that they watched television alone rather than with families or friends. The only types of

programs to correlate significantly with anomia were soap operas ($r = .19$), musical and variety programs ($r = .21$), religious programs ($r = .26$), and animated programs ($r = .20$). They do not watch, or rarely watch, public affairs programs and documentaries ($r = -.29$) and sports ($r = -.21$).

Table 54 reports the correlation coefficients between high anomia and agreement with various attitude statements about television. These viewers do not want more Canadian programming; they believe there are already too many documentaries on Canadian television and they tend to agree that the star is responsible for a television program's success. They also believe that criminals are responsible for their own fate.

Table 53
Correlation between Anomia and Selected Demographic Variables

Demographic variable	Pearson product moment correlation
Marital status	.15
Age	.21
Education	-.34
Occupation	.30

It is interesting to note those attitude statements with which the alienated viewer shows significant disagreement. Essentially, they are all questions relating logically to the concept of anomia. Alienated viewers do not trust other people, nor do they have good relationships with others. They are alone, isolated from society. They receive little, if any, help from their families. Their personal relationships no longer fulfil their needs. It is also interesting to note that these viewers tended to use low numbers for the involvement with violence scale (Questionnaire, pages 10 – 11); they indicated that they

Table 54

Correlations between Anomia and Selected Attitude Statements

Attitude statement	Pearson product moment correlation
13. The single most important element of a television show's success is the star	.24
15. There are too many documentaries on Canadian television	.40
16. Television shows would be better if there were more excitement in them	.18
18. There are many people in society who are strongly influenced by television to do harmful acts	.29
22. To decrease the amount of painful and harmful action in society television violence should be censored	.26
26. Most people like their job	-.22
30. Most people are basically good and kind	-.26
32. Most people will go out of their way to help someone else	-.34
34. Most people can be depended upon to come through in a pinch	-.21
36. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid enough to get caught	.24
37. People who are victims of crime deserve what they get because they ask for it in the first place	.32
42. People get support from their family	-.38

had never been spanked or experienced verbal abuse.⁴

In all cases but one – question 28 – the alienated viewer shows agreement with fortress mentality statements (Table 55). The alienated viewer shows a strong tendency to agree with the fortress mentality. Unlike the correlations between fortress mentality and amount of time spent viewing television, these correlations do not reduce to nothing when the effects of education and occupation are controlled for in analysis. The relationship between agreement with anomia statements and fortress mentality is strong and stable.

Alienated viewers accept the fortress mentality. As predicted, those high on the fortress mentality disagree with the statement that it is safe to walk the downtown street at night. For these people, the world is not only lonely, it is also a dangerous place in which to live.

Alienated viewers also disagree with the Pollyanna

Table 55

Correlations between Fortress Mentality Statements and Anomia Scale

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
27. The world is a dangerous place to be	.54*
28. Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society	.11
31. It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a large city at night	-.35
35. It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family	.36*
37. School age children are not safe outside their own neighborhood without an adult	.43*
38. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	.31*
45. If asked for a cigarette by a stranger on a downtown city street, I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger	.35*

* $p \leq .05$

scale, which measures the degree to which one believes all is right with the world. This had been predicted, since belief in the fortress mentality and belief in a perfect world are diametrically opposed. The correlation between scores on the anomia scale and those on the Pollyanna scale was $-.36$. A strong negative correlation indicates that two variables are related in such a way that as one increases, the other decreases.

What reasons do alienated viewers give for watching television? Table 56 reports the correlations between motivations for watching television and anomia. Generally, the alienated viewer uses television as a friend – a human surrogate. It is easier to turn on the television set than go out and make friends with other people. So, isolated, alienated, and fearful, this viewer uses the television set as a friend and companion.

The alienated viewers tend to see television content as very realistic. Table 57 gives the correlations between agreement to the anomia scale and attitude statements measuring the reality of television content. These viewers perceive television content and real life as similar, they feel that the violence portrayed on television is reflective of society in Canada.

Alienated viewers are isolated from other people in society. They perceive the world as violent and dangerous. Other people cannot be trusted. They

Table 56

Correlations between Reasons for Watching Television and Anomia

Reasons for watching television	Pearson product moment correlation
25. Because it is nice to have another human voice in the house	.28
22. Because it makes me feel less lonely	.22
8. Because it helps me forget I am alone	.18
32. So I can learn about what could happen to me	.18
2. Because it is almost like a friend	.18

Table 57

Correlations between Realism Statements and Anomia

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
17. Events depicted in television families, such as the Bunkers or Jeffersons, are just like things which happen in real life families	.16
19. The fighting on television is just like fighting in real life	.31*
21. The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society	.37*
23. Violent actions portrayed on television usually involve people who do not know each other well	.13
25. Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life	.37*
40. It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor	.28*

* $p \leq .05$

believe that television portrays life as it is in the world they occupy. They do not watch overly violent television, but they had a slight tendency to perceive more violence in the television programs they watched for this study.

This attitude of distrust manifested itself in the

personal descriptions these viewers made of themselves before watching the sample television program. Those who scored high on the anomia scale were more likely to describe themselves on the activation scale as being light-hearted, fearful, suspicious, and slow before watching the program. After watching it they reported themselves as being suspicious, ignorant, inattentive, unenlightened, and unfortunate. Their perception of television as being true to life was supported by the semantic differential responses for the programs they watched. These viewers tended to rate the programs as "accurate".

After viewing one of the four television programs in this study, alienated viewers tended to report finding messages of alienation within the program. Those scoring high on anomia found these messages, no matter which of the four programs they watched (Table 58).

Table 58

Correlations between Anomia and Messages Perceived in Programs

Message said to be in program	Pearson product moment correlation
3. Crime does not pay	.24
13. Marriage problems associated with living together are easily handled	.21
16. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	.32
18. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future	.19
22. There are two kinds of people in the world: the strong and the weak	.24
23. A person, who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people	.19
25. An insult to your honour should always be punished	.18
28. The true Canadian way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it	.23

The Authoritarian Viewer

The authoritarian viewer is a person who agreed with statements from the authoritarian scale. These statements were taken from *The Authoritarian Personality* by Adorno, Frenkel – Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford.⁵ These psychologists conceived of the authoritarian

personality as marked by rigid adherence to conventional values a submissive, uncritical attitude towards those in authority, the tendency to think in rigid categories, and to punish anyone who goes against the values of the in-group. High authoritarians tend to identify with those in authority, be quite cynical about human nature, have an exaggerated concern with matters dealing with sex; they are disposed to thinking that wild and dangerous things are going on in the world.

The statements measuring authoritarianism in this questionnaire are as follows. Answers to all questions were summed to give an authoritarian score for each respondent.

52. It is important to teach children absolute obedience to their parents.

54. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.

55. A person who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people.

56. One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little.

57. An insult to our honour should always be punished.

58. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determinism and the will to work and fight for family and country.

60. The true Canadian way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.

61. The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.⁶

There are some similarities between the alienated viewer and the authoritarian viewer. Srole reports a correlation between the anomia scale and the authoritarian scale ($r = .47$). In this study, the two scales had a correlation of .54.

Authoritarian viewers watch religious programs ($r = .36$), medical series ($r = .29$), musical and variety programs ($r = .23$), instructional programs ($r = .22$), and panel shows ($r = .20$). They prefer not to watch situation comedies, public affairs and documentaries, and talk shows. They tend to see more violence in both Canadian- and American-produced programs.

The world is a dangerous place for authoritarian viewers; beliefs about how bad the world is are an integral part of their primitive belief systems. It is to be expected that they will agree with the fortress mentality statements (Table 59).

The authoritarian viewers agree quite strongly with all but one of the fortress mentality questions. The only question in which their responses show no relationship with authoritarianism is item 28. They believe that

Table 59

Correlations between Fortress Mentality and Authoritarianism

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
27. The world is a dangerous place to be	.43*
28. Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society	— .08
29. It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a large city at night	— .27*
35. It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family	.35*
37. School age children are not safe outside their own neighborhood without an adult	.43*
38. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	.26*
45. If asked for a cigarette by a stranger on a downtown city street, I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger	.47*

* $p < .05$

violence must be fought. Basic to their belief systems is the concept that by giving allegiance to governmental or religious authorities who have the power to protect the basic values of society, violence can be overcome. Several of the respondents stated that all of the problems in Canadian society would be overcome if people returned to God. One respondent said, "Only Jehovah can solve the problems of television and the world. The Government can do nothing to solve the problems, so why bother studying them. Only Jehovah can solve these problems."

Like the alienated viewers, authoritarians believe that there are too many documentaries on Canadian television. They also tend to agree that criminals bring their own downfall upon themselves. They also agreed strongly with the statement that "any good boss should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect."

There was a weak relationship between authoritarianism and responses to the Pollyanna scale ($r = -.21$). Authoritarian viewers disagreed with those statements suggesting that the world and other people are good.

High scores on the authoritarian scale did not correlate with any reason for watching television. The authoritarian viewers did tend to disagree with two of

the reasons for watching, as indicated by negative correlations. They disagreed with the statements that they watched television because it is exciting and because it is fun; they do not watch television for fun or excitement. Clearly, when it comes to using television for their personal pleasure, authoritarian viewers are quite different from the alienated viewers. While the alienated viewers use television to overcome loneliness, as a human substitute, the authoritarian viewers have no strong motivation for watching television. Certainly, they do not watch television for excitement or entertainment.

Table 60 reports the correlations between authoritarianism and perceived television reality. Authoritarian viewers perceive a great deal of similarity between the television world and the real world. This is especially true when they consider the amount of violence on television and compare it with the amount of violence in real life. Question 23 may be considered a measure of how well the viewers perceive the content of television crime dramas. Since authoritarian viewers do not watch crime dramas regularly, they cannot adequately answer this question.

When asked to describe the messages they believed were present in the television program they had just

watched, authoritarian viewers did tend to perceive three of the eight possible authoritarian messages. They also reported the message about a boss being strict with his employees, although none of the programs explicitly showed an employee-boss relationship. In other words, authoritarians strongly agreed with this statement on the questionnaire and perceived that message in the television program they watched (Table 61).

Table 61

Correlations between Authoritarianism and Message Perceived in Programs

Message	Pearson product moment correlation
54. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong	.36*
55. A person who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people	.27*
56. One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little	.26*
53. Any good boss should be strict with people under him to gain their respect	.25*

* $p \leq .05$

The authoritarian viewers possess a rigid belief and value system that governs how they see the world. It also governs to some extent the messages they select from all possible messages on television. They believe that the world is a dangerous place and that television has an effect upon people and therefore must be censored. Violence in Canadian society is avoidable if television and society are controlled by those in authority or by the authority of God.

The Pollyanna viewer

The Pollyanna viewer should be quite different from the other types of viewers already discussed. Whereas alienated viewers are alone, friendless, and unfulfilled, Pollyanna viewers have friends, enjoy their company, and know they will come forth to help out if necessary. Unlike the authoritarian viewers who believe that wild and dangerous things are going on in the world, the Pollyanna viewers perceive that the world is peaceful and safe.

The Pollyanna viewer is the respondent who scored high on the Pollyanna scale, taken from Christie and Geis, *Studies in Machiavellianism*.⁷ It is part of the Mach scale representing an attitude that Christie and Geis call very clear cut. People are good, helpful, and can be

Table 60

Correlations between Perceived Television Reality and Authoritarianism

Television reality statement	Pearson product moment correlation
17. Events depicted in television families, such as the Bunkers or Jeffersons, are just like things which happen in real life	.27*
19. The fighting on television is just like fighting in real life	.45*
21. The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society	.46*
23. Violent actions portrayed on television usually involve people who do not know each other well.	.08
25. Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life	.34*
40. It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor	.26*

* $p \leq .05$

depended upon to come through with help when needed. Giving the wording of the questions, it is more accurate to say that the Pollyanna viewers perceive that "most people" are good, helpful, and can be depended upon to help.

The three statements measuring the Pollyanna attitude are the following. Scores on all three were summed to give a Pollyanna score for each respondent.

40. Most people are basically good and kind.

32. Most people will go out of their way to help someone else.

33. Most people can be depended upon to come through in a pinch.⁸

Pollyanna viewers like to watch children's programs ($r = .27$), panel shows ($r = .20$), public affairs and documentaries ($r = .36$), religious programs ($r = .19$), and instructional programs ($r = .20$). They tend to agree that certain types of content should not be broadcast (item 11). Specifically, they believe that sexual, pornographic, violent, and political material, portrayal of cruelty to animals, ethnic humour, and American programming should be regulated.

Table 62 reports correlations with attitude statements that logically should relate to the Pollyanna belief system. Each correlates significantly with the Pollyanna scores. Pollyanna viewers do indeed believe they live in a friendly, happy world. Unlike alienated viewers, who indicated on item 46 that they trusted few people or no one, Pollyanna viewers tend strongly towards the "I trust everyone" end of the scale.

Table 62

Correlations between Attitude Statements and Pollyanna Scale

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
26. Most people like their job	.34
29. Most people are happy with their position in life	.24
33. Most people are brave	.56
42. People get support from their family	.31
46. Trust	.46

The Pollyanna scale was originally included in the survey because it is the opposite viewpoint to the fortress mentality. As Table 63 shows, Pollyanna viewers disagreed with all the statements, except the positive one with which they showed significant agree-

ment. On three of the seven attitude statements related to the fortress mentality, Pollyanna viewers show significant disagreement. On all others, the correlation coefficient indicates no relationship between the two variables.

Table 63

Correlations between Fortress Mentality and Pollyanna Scale

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
27. The world is a dangerous place to be	-.34*
28. Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society	-.03
29. It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a city at night	.24*
35. It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family	-.12
37. School age children are not safe outside their own neighborhood without an adult	-.32*
38. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	-.08
45. If asked for a cigarette by a stranger on a downtown city street, I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger	-.14

* $p \leq .05$

Pollyanna viewers perceive the world as a safer place than do alienated or authoritarian viewers. They agree that the downtown streets of a large city are safe at night. They disagree that children are unsafe when they leave their neighbourhoods.

These viewers also disagree with the statements relating to perceived reality of television content. There is no significant correlation with any reality statement (Table 64). They disagree significantly with two of them. They do not perceive that television families are just like real families. They are aware that crimes of violence occur most often between people who know one another. Pollyanna viewers, then, do not see violence everywhere, nor do they link television reality with life around them. They also do not agree that there should be more excitement in television programs. They like television but would like to see some types of content restricted.

Only one demographic variable correlates with Pollyanna scores. There is a slight tendency for the

Table 64*Correlations between Fortress Mentality and Pollyanna Scale*

Statement	Pearson product moment correlation
17. Events depicted in television families, such as the Bunkers or Jeffersons, are just like things which happen in real life families	-.25*
19. The fighting on television is just like fighting in real life	-.11
21. The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society	-.16
23. Violent actions portrayed on television usually involve people who do not know each other well	-.07
25. Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life	-.01
40. It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor	-.27*

* $p \leq .05$

Pollyanna viewer to be older than other viewers. (Correlation between age and Pollyanna was .26.) Otherwise, they do not differ from other viewers in occupation, sex, education, or income.

Pollyanna viewers indicate that they watch television to relax and because it is fun⁹. They tend not to watch "because it helps me to forget I am alone".

Unfortunately, Pollyanna statements were not included as possible messages of television programs. Consequently, it is impossible to assess the tendency of Pollyanna viewers to perceive Pollyanna messages in the television programs. However, several of the possible messages are positive in their wording: for example, items 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. Across all types of programs there was a tendency for Pollyanna viewers to say that the principle message of the show was number 12: "You can do anything if you believe you are right," and number 13: "marriage problems associated with living together are easily handled."¹⁰

Summary

Is there a relationship between hours spent watching television and the fortress mentality for these respondents? No! When the effects of education and occupation are controlled for, the relationship between

hours spent watching television and the fortress mentality ceases to exist.

There are strong relationships between two personality variables and the conviction that the world is dangerous. Authoritarian viewers already believe the world is full of danger and evil; they do not need television to tell them that. Alienated viewers also believe that people cannot be trusted and individuals must protect themselves if they are going to be safe. Television viewing undoubtedly reinforces these perceptions.

People who watch a lot of television watch more of all types of programs except for documentaries and religious programs. The viewing of violent television, then, must be seen as a function of watching more television. The more time one spends with television, the more one is exposed to violent content. Those respondents in this study who report watching crime dramas do not display attitudes that are related to the fortress mentality. Both those who watch quite a bit of television and those who watch crime programs do believe that the things that happen in television programs tend to happen in real life.

People use television in different ways. The lonely, alienated viewers use it as a substitute friend. Instead of going to the effort of making friends, or because they are convinced that people simply don't want to be friends, they find a friend in the television program.

Authoritarian viewers, believing that dangerous things are going on in the world, believe that people are influenced by television content. They desire to control and censor television. These viewers agree with the fortress mentality because it corresponds with their belief system. Television doesn't have to bring them the message that the world is dangerous. They know it is, and television simply reinforces the message.

For the Pollyanna viewers the world is all right. They have good relationships with other people. They disagree with the fortress mentality. They also perceive that there is a difference between television reality and the real world. These viewers use television for relaxation. They enjoy watching it.

Viewers of crime dramas, soap operas, and situation comedies believe that television makes a good babysitter. They use television to relax and forget their problems. Their children may well be perceived as relaxing when they view television. They do not find the content of television insulting to their intelligence.

Viewers who prefer to watch documentaries and public affairs programs, on the other hand, are more likely to perceive that television is harmful to children. Television is a source of information for them. They watch to learn from the television program, not for enjoyment or relaxation. They find much of the content of television intellectually insulting.

The Institutional Sample

Interviews were conducted with two samples of institutionalized respondents. Late adolescents in a Saskatoon retention centre were interviewed and shown the television comedy *Laverne and Shirley*. First-time federal offenders were interviewed at the Prince Albert Penitentiary and shown the television program *S.W.A.T.*¹

Table 65 reports the means and standard deviations for the institutional sample and general population sample for hours of television viewing weekly, the authoritarian scale, anomia scale, and Pollyanna scale. It also reports t-test values as a test between the two sample means for statistically significant differences.

Table 65

A Comparison of Mean and Standard Deviation for Institutional and General Population Samples on Hours, Authoritarian Scale, Anomia Scale, and Pollyanna Scale

Variable	General population		Institutional population		t
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	
Hours of television per week	23.73	13.19	30.90	19.46	2.07*
Authoritarian scale	23.29	5.53	23.75	9.11	0.31
Anomia scale	13.92	3.90	17.25	3.74	4.21*
Pollyanna scale	9.94	2.03	10.10	7.21	0.20

*p = .05 (t = 1.96, 142 d.f.; p = .05)

Members of the institutional sample do report watching more television per week than those in the general population sample. They do not watch significantly more television, however, than the sample of non respondents who completed only the long questionnaire.

The only other significant difference between the two samples is the anomia scales. Members of the institutional sample have significantly higher anomia scores than members of the general population. This is to be expected, given the special characteristics of the institutional sample.

Since the viewing preferences of the institutional sample have already been discussed, attention will focus here upon their attitudes towards the fortress mentality and the perceived realism of television. A comparison of

the two groups over all the attitude questions indicates no significant differences except for the few found in the next two tables.

Table 66 reports the mean and standard deviations for both groups on the fortress mentality questions. Four statements reflect significant differences between the groups. Institutional respondents are more likely to agree that the world is a dangerous place and that it is necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection. They are less likely to agree with the statement that children are not safe outside their own neighbourhood. They are also less likely to agree with the statement about being mugged by a stranger who asks for a cigarette. They are much more likely to agree that violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict.

Table 66*Mean and Standard Deviation for Fortress Mentality Statements by Subsample*

Statement	General population		Institutional population		t
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	
The world is a dangerous place to be	2.65	.96	3.15	.93	2.15*
Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society	2.74	1.01	3.00	1.34	.98
It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a large city at night	2.40	1.04	2.60	1.19	.77
It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family	2.01	.86	2.70	1.38	2.98*
School age children are not safe outside their own neighborhood without an adult	2.94	1.08	2.65	.81	1.14
Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	1.83	.68	2.70	.66	5.28*
If asked for a cigarette on a downtown street I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger	3.02	1.12	2.35	.82	2.54*

* $p \leq .05$

The evidence is contradictory. On three of the four statements showing significant differences, the institutional respondents are more likely to show a fortress mentality. On the fourth, their answer is reversed from the predicted direction. The responses are more reflective of life style than opinions coming from viewing more television.

Table 67 reports the responses of the two groups to the perceived realism of television. There is only one significant difference here. The institutional respondents show more agreement with the statement that crimes of

violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life. On all other statements they do not differ significantly from the general population sample.

When responding to statements of general attitude towards television, institutional respondents do not differ significantly from respondents in the general population sample. Institutional respondents do show a slight propensity to share beliefs related to the fortress mentality. They do not differ significantly from the general public in the perceived realism of television.

Table 67*Mean and Standard Deviation for Perceived Reality of Television Statements by Subsample*

Statement	General population		Institutional population		t
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	
Events depicted in television families . . . are just like things which happen in real life families	3.06	1.08	3.25	1.25	.70
The fighting on television is just like fighting in real life	2.65	1.06	2.45	1.43	.73
The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society	2.81	1.14	2.60	1.23	.75
Violent actions portrayed on television usually involve people who do not know each other well	2.81	1.10	3.10	.72	.70
Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life	2.28	1.04	2.85	.93	2.28*
It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor	3.46	.97	3.10	.92	1.53

Chapter Nine

The Television Programs

A. S.W.A.T.

Three of the four television programs used in this study were specifically chosen because they were not being shown on either Saskatoon television channel. Since none of the respondents had ever viewed the shows before, they responded on the basis of the segment of the program series chosen for the research.

S.W.A.T. is a police drama produced in the United States. It is based upon the activities of a Strategic Weapons and Tactics Squad of a large city police force. The squad is well equipped and trained to meet every emergency. The *S.W.A.T.* squad shown in the program is a paramilitary organization. It utilizes electronic surveillance equipment, specialized training, and a special van containing a communications unit.

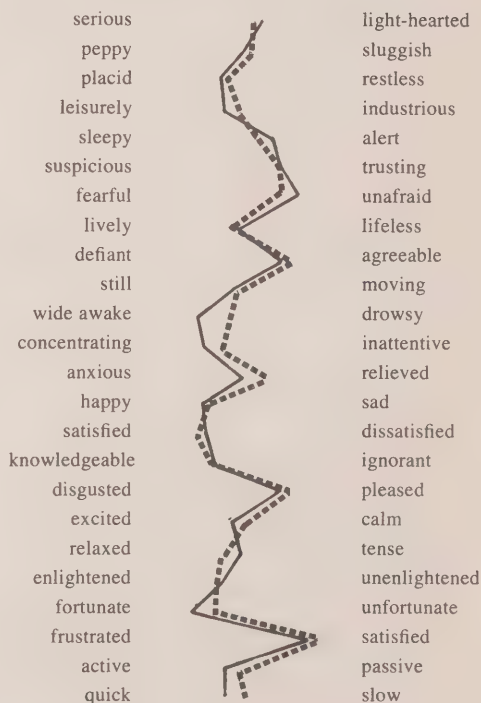
The segment of *S.W.A.T.* used in this study was taped from the ABC network on May 25, 1976. According to the BBM ratings for January 1976, it ranked 49th among all shows for all viewers in the Toronto area, 57th among adult viewers, 40th among teenagers, and 34th among children. Approximately 616,300 viewers report watching *S.W.A.T.* regularly.

The particular episode of *S.W.A.T.* chosen for this research is about the activities of the squad to protect the life of a state prosecutor who has special evidence that will lead to the breakup of a crime syndicate. Within the first five minutes of the program, an attempt is made to kill the prosecutor on a golf course. The plot concerns the prosecutor's spoiled daughter who is to be a victim of kidnapping by the syndicate. The last ten minutes of the program are taken up with a running gun battle between the syndicate kidnappers and *S.W.A.T.*, with the daughter and her police protector caught in the middle. Except for the shooting at the beginning and the pursuit at the end, the remainder of the show consists of scenes dealing with the daughter of the prosecutor. She is shown wildly driving a car without a driver's licence, running away from home to go dancing, starting a fight by lying to her boyfriend, getting one of the members of the *S.W.A.T.* squad in trouble by taking him away from his duty, rescuing him when he tries to save her from being kidnapped, and nursing him after he is injured. In the epilogue, she

informs the *S.W.A.T.* squad that she has reformed and will be returning to school to live a quiet life. Her father stands proudly by her side as the program ends. He, a

Exhibit 1

Activation Levels – *S.W.A.T.*



— Level before viewing *S.W.A.T.*

- - - - - Level after watching *S.W.A.T.*

busy prosecutor, is also a rich widower who has been trying to raise his daughter correctly.

Before and after watching the episode, respondents completed the activation measurement (Exhibit 1). Those who watched *S.W.A.T.* showed little change in their activation levels before and after the show. Some change is to be found in the still/moving scale, with a movement towards still. The second change is from wide-awake to drowsy. A corresponding change is to be seen in the calm, relaxed, passive, and slow scales. After viewing *S.W.A.T.* these respondents report themselves slightly more relaxed, drowsy, inattentive, and passive than they were before the show.

Table 68

Messages Reported Present in S.W.A.T.

Message	Percent of respondents perceiving message	Content analysis messages
Crime does not pay	94%	Present
The family is important in our society	94%	Present
It is often necessary for the police to use excessive force	90%**	Present
People get support from their family	87%	Absent
Most people like their job	77%	Absent
Most people are happy with their position in life	74%	Present
It is important to teach children strict obedience to their parents	71%	Absent
There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong	65%**	Absent
Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	61%	Absent
The world is a dangerous place to be	55%*	Present
What youth needs most today is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work for family and country	55%	Absent

* indicates that this message was chosen by 35% of respondents in the institutional sample

** indicates that this message was chosen by 40% of respondents in the institutional sample

Table 68 reports the messages that respondents said were present in the show. It also indicates those messages that the content analysis reported present in the program. More than half the viewers reported seeing 11 different messages in this program. The content analysis agrees with five of them (45 per cent).

Table 69

Type of Interaction Depicted in S.W.A.T.

The best way of interacting with people as demonstrated in this program is to:	Percent of respondents selecting	Content analysis
a) be kind	3%	Absent
b) be thoughtful	13%	Absent
c) be pushy	—	Absent
d) be strict	10%	Absent
e) be aggressive	25%	Absent
f) tell white lies	—	Evidence Against
g) be straightforward	29%	Absent
h) be sarcastic	3%	Absent
i) be evasive	3%	Absent
j) be tactful	6%	Absent
k) be assertive	3%	Absent

“Crime does not pay” was the central message perceived by 94 per cent of the viewers. “The family is important in our society” is seen as an important message of the program by 94 per cent of the viewers. Ninety per cent thought that the message “it is often necessary for the police to use excessive force” was present in the program.

Table 69 summarizes the type of interaction between people that was portrayed in *S.W.A.T.* Of those viewing this program, 32 per cent said it was to be straightforward, while only 25 per cent said it was to be aggressive. The content analysis did not agree with any of the respondents.

The majority of these viewers (84 per cent) said that they would watch another episode of *S.W.A.T.*; 55 per cent of these said they would watch it because it was thrilling; 23 per cent said they would watch it to pass the time, another 10 per cent said they would watch it for relaxation. One person indicated that he/she would watch it “to learn about things”.

When asked to estimate what percentage of the 49 minutes, 21 seconds of the program time contained violent or aggressive activity, 45 per cent stated that less than 30 per cent of the program had such incidents.

Another 19 per cent of the respondents estimated that 40 to 69 per cent of the time was spent on aggressive activity. Only one respondent estimated that 80 to 89 per cent of program time was spent on aggressive activity.

The average violence rating for the program was 3.64 on a scale where one equals "not violent at all" and seven is "very violent". Ratings below the mean were made by 42 per cent of the respondents; 58 per cent of them rated the show above the mean for violence – that is, with scores from four to six. No respondent chose the value seven – "very violent".

Conflict was seen to be portrayed in the program by 23 respondents (74 per cent); 69 per cent of these stated that the way in which the conflict was resolved was through physical violence. One respondent chose arbitration, another conciliation, another compliance to authority, and another thought the conflict was preserved.

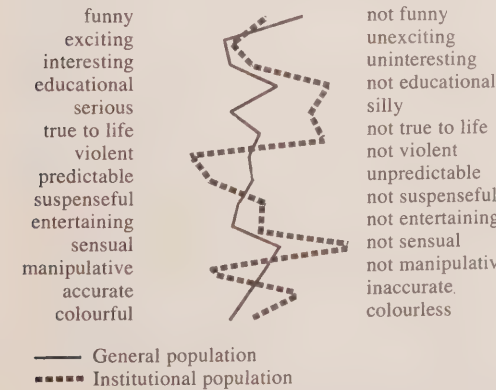
The viewers were also asked to rate the program for realism on a scale of one (not at all true to life) to seven (very true to life). The entire range of scores was used by the respondents. The average rating was 3.84; 10 per cent said that it was not at all true to life, while only one rated it at seven.

When asked to name the main character of the episode, 45 per cent of the viewers picked Lt. Haraldson, the head of the S.W.A.T. squad. Seven viewers (23 per cent) named the prosecutor, Mr. Stevens, while another 26 per cent chose his daughter, Victoria. Two people named Officer Sweet, the policeman who attempts to rescue Victoria from her kidnappers. One person said he/she could not name a main character.

Ninety per cent of the viewers said that the story took place in the future. When asked to pick the major city in

Exhibit 2

The Program – S.W.A.T.



which the action took place, 32 per cent chose Los Angeles. Other cities' names were Detroit (ten per cent), Chicago (16 per cent), San Francisco (13 per cent), New York (ten per cent), and Montreal (six per cent). Three persons could not pick a city for the action.

Exhibit 2 summarizes the ratings of *S.W.A.T.* on the semantic differential scale entitled "this program". It is seen as exciting, interesting, serious, not too violent, and colourful. Generally, the program received higher ratings for excitement, interest, and entertainment than the three other programs used in this research.

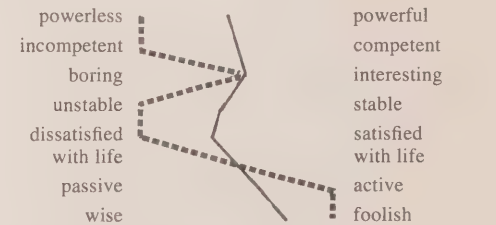
It would appear that *S.W.A.T.* is a man's program. Men received significantly higher ratings than women by the viewers of this show (Exhibit 3). Career people also received very high ratings on the semantic differential. Teenagers were rated by only 25 respondents. The ratings were generally negative, especially noting that they are portrayed as being "dissatisfied with life" (average 2.44), "unstable" (average 2.48), and "foolish" (average 2.32).

All viewers were asked their impressions of Mr. Stevens, the prosecutor, as a main character of the show. Viewers rated him as being interesting, wise, honest, moral, predictable, wholesome, efficient, kind, learned, clean, and rich. Generally, the prosecutor received favourable ratings from viewers in the general

Exhibit 3

Men and Women – S.W.A.T.

WOMEN



MEN

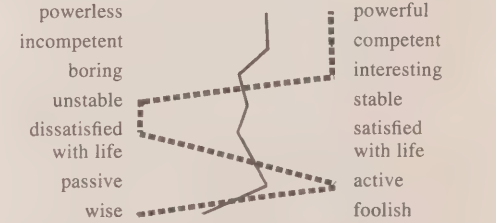
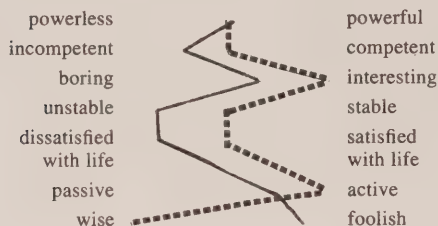


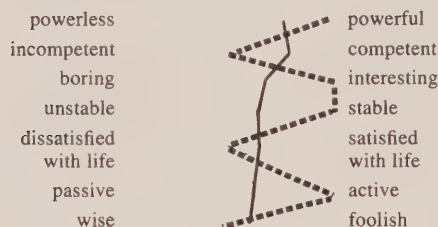
Exhibit 4

Teenagers and Career People – S.W.A.T.

TEENAGERS



CAREER PEOPLE



— General population
 - - - Content analysis

population sample. He was seen as a sympathetic and rather well portrayed character. Only one respondent was negative towards Prosecutor Stevens in his/her responses.

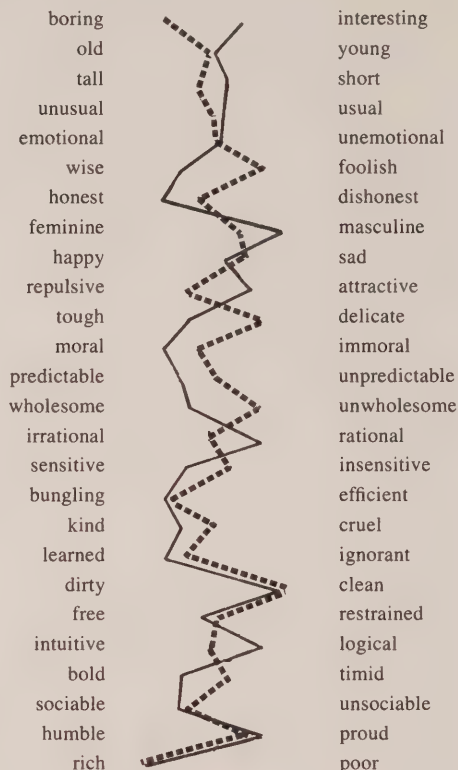
The institutional viewers saw Prosecutor Stevens quite differently from those in the general population sample. As Exhibit 5 indicates, they rated him as boring, foolish, repulsive, delicate, unwholesome, bungling, clean, proud, and rich. For these viewers, Prosecutor Stevens is not a likable character.

S.W.A.T. was shown to the inmates at the Prince Albert Penitentiary. Due to time restrictions, they completed only the semantic differential for the program and the one for main character. Exhibit 2 gives the ratings of the institutional viewers for the program; there are significant differences between the two groups. The institutional viewers saw the show as funnier, sillier, not as realistic, more violent, predictable, manipulative, and inaccurate than the viewers in the general population sample.

The institutional viewers also saw different messages in the program. Only 25 per cent of them reported that one of the messages of the show was "crime does not pay." The largest group of institutional viewers (40 per cent) said a message of the show was "it is often

Exhibit 5

Main Character – S.W.A.T. – Mr. Stevens



— General population
 - - - Institutional sample

necessary for police to use excessive force," and 40 per cent also said that a message in the show was "there are two kinds of people in this world: the strong and the weak." Of all the institutional viewers, 35 per cent stated that the message "these days a person doesn't really know whom one can count on" was present; 35 per cent also saw the messages "the world is a dangerous place to be" and a "city's downtown is dangerous at night."

The institutional viewers agreed with the general population viewers that the best way of interaction portrayed in the program was to "be aggressive" – 25 per cent chose that alternative. A full 60 per cent of the institutional viewers said they would watch another episode of the program; 55 per cent of these said they would do it to pass the time.

Generally, the institutional viewers thought that less than 20 per cent of the program time was taken up in violent or aggressive activity. Not one of the institutional viewers thought that more than 49 per cent of the program time was involved with such activity.

The institutional viewers do not disagree with the general population viewers on their ratings of reality. The institutional average was 3.11, while the general population average was 3.84. It should be noted, however, that there is a larger discrepancy between average ratings of reality and violence on the two questionnaires. The question appears once in the interview and again in the semantic differential scales. While the general population shows a high correlation between the two rating scales, the institutional population shows quite a lot of variance between the two. The two responses should serve as checks on one another. This would indicate that the institutional respondents did not take the study as seriously as those in the general population.

Exhibits 3 and 4 also present the ratings of various groups of characters made by the coder doing the content analysis. It must be noted that the content analysis coding sheet was changed after this study was developed, so that instead of making a judgment upon a seven-point semantic differential scale the coders made their responses on a three-point scale: powerless, neutral, powerful. This is indicated on the chart by placing the dotted lines through the midpoints of the corresponding points on this scale. Hence, the coding data for the content analysis will show more extreme movement than the average scores on the general population viewers.

There is, however, quite a lot of difference between the two ratings. This study was developed to check the validity of the content analysis. The coders appear to have made quite different ratings from the general population. Both agree that men were portrayed on this show generally as more powerful, competent, interesting, active, and wise than women. There are strong sexual stereotypes in *S.W.A.T.*, and both viewer and content analysis point this out. The coder rated men less stable and more dissatisfied with life than the viewers perceived them to be.

Similarly, the two analyses differ in their perceptions of teenagers. The content analysis coder found Victoria Stevens, the teenager on *S.W.A.T.*, much more interesting, active, and wise than the average viewer. (See comparison study for further perceptions of Ms. Stevens.) Career groups were generally seen alike by both analyses.

Examining the ratings given to the program by the different types of viewers discussed earlier, the following patterns emerge (Table 70). Regular viewers of crime programs tended to rate this one as more exciting, entertaining, interesting, suspenseful, and sensual than other viewers.

Table 70

Correlations between Rating of S.W.A.T. and Types of Viewers

Item	Hours	Watch crime dramas	Anomia	Polly- anna	Authori- tarian
Funny	−.13	.18	.26	−.52*	.05
Exciting	.41*	.35	.30	−.23	.20
Interesting	.36*	.40*	.43*	−.09	.39*
Educational	.43*	.26	.42*	−.42*	.33
Serious	.16	.29	.20	−.04	.25
True to life	.38*	.17	.16	−.28	.22
Violent	−.35	.05	−.26	−.08	−.48*
Predictable	−.12	−.05	−.12	.11	−.35
Suspenseful	.21	.38*	.26	−.26	.22
Entertaining	.34	.34	.17	.03	.27
Sensual	−.16	.37*	.21	.02	.24
Manipulative	−.20	−.04	.42*	.03	.27
Accurate	.01	.25	.30	.18	.35
Colourful	.14	.31	.24	.23	.41*

* $p \leq .05$

When responding to the self-descriptions of activation levels, regular viewers showed a tendency to indicate that they were more tense, excited, and moving (physical activity) than other viewers. After watching the program, however, they were more placid, leisurely, agreeable, still, relieved, happy, satisfied, pleased, relaxed, and enlightened than other viewers. In other words, there is a marked change in activation level in viewers who reported watching crime programs regularly. These viewers indicated that they watched such programs for enjoyment. It appears that it was indeed an enjoyable, relaxing experience for them.

Pollyanna viewers think the program is silly and not educational. They tend to be the most critical and negative about the program. When asked to rate the main character, Pollyanna viewers tended to rate Mr. Stevens as more interesting, older, emotional, wise, honest, masculine, attractive, moral, wholesome, kind, learned, clean, sociable, and rich. In other words, their perceptions of Mr. Stevens are extremely positive.

Those who spend a lot of time watching television rated the program as exciting, interesting, educational, true to life, and slightly less violent than other viewers.

This is an indication of desensitization here, with extensive television viewing causing viewers to not see as much violence in the program.

When asked to rate Mr. Stevens as a main character, respondents who watch television extensively tended to think of him as an unusual character. Watching crime dramas was related to perceiving Mr. Stevens as being happy, moral, wholesome, sensitive, kind, learned, and sociable. Again, these viewers, like the Pollyanna viewers, perceive Mr. Stevens positively.

Table 71

Correlations between rating of Mr. Stevens and Types of Viewers

Item	Hours	Watch crime dramas	Anomia	Authori- tarian	Polly- anna
Interesting	-.01	.31	.06	.16	.41*
Old	-.03	.19	.03	.15	.37*
Tall	-.28	-.04	.05	.06	.19
Usual	-.34	-.01	.22	-.01	.18
Emotional	.06	.02	.02	.21	.46*
Wise	.11	.50*	.14	.14	.37*
Honest	-.05	.37*	.14	.11	.45*
Masculine	-.09	.15	-.04	.07	.48*
Happy	-.16	.33	.13	.18	.28
Attractive	-.01	.19	-.02	.22	.47*
Tough	-.02	.17	.02	.18	.33
Moral	-.01	.31	.04	.24	.37*
Predictable	-.13	.17	-.01	.07	.33
Wholesome	-.04	.32	-.06	.07	.42*
Rational	-.04	.27	.11	.32	.29
Sensitive	-.01	.38*	.12	.03	.25
Efficient	-.05	.30	.04	.22	.25
Kind	-.02	.31	-.01	.17	.37*
Learned	.10	.34	.03	.22	.43*
Clean	-.26	.28	-.11	-.08	.39*
Free	-.24	.26	.07	.11	.19
Logical	-.29	.16	.09	.02	.30
Bold	-.03	.27	.05	.31	.29
Sociable	.01	.40*	.01	.07	.38*
Proud	-.22	.06	.19	.29	.29
Rich	-.19	.21	-.04	-.06	.41*

* $p \leq .05$

The alienated viewers perceived the program as entertaining, educational, and manipulative. The authoritarian viewers have many of the same beliefs as the alienated viewers, but they happen to have the lowest violence rating for the show. They also perceive the show as accurate. The authoritarian belief system is one which understands that there are evil forces at work in the world that must be controlled by the powers of righteousness and good. It may well be that they perceive less violence because they do not believe that the use of physical force to control the power of crime is improper. They tend to perceive the program as being accurate and true to life. They also tend to rate it as predictable and educational. Of course, the forces of good win out; that is predictable, because the authoritarians strongly believe in the use of force to control evil. The authoritarian believer knows that the program portrays what must be done to stop the forces that would threaten the lives of peaceful, good people.

In summary, the different types of viewers perceive the program differently. The regular viewer of crime dramas relaxes while watching *S.W.A.T.*. The Pollyanna viewer reacts against the program but is favourable to the character of Mr. Stevens. The individual who watches a lot of television, desensitized by his/her viewing, does not perceive the program as violent. The authoritarian viewer also does not perceive it as violent because of his/her beliefs about the world, use of physical force, and power. Thus, all the viewers perceive the same program as they are prepared to understand it in the context of their own belief and value systems.

B. Laverne and Shirley

Laverne and Shirley was chosen for this research as an example of situation comedies. It was not on the Saskatoon market at the time of this survey. According to the BBM survey of January 1976, it was ranked eighth in Ontario, with 1,705,300 persons reporting that they watched it. It ranked seventh among all programs viewed by children, third for teenagers, and fifteenth for adults. The particular segment was taped from the Global network on June 15, 1976.

This episode of *Laverne and Shirley* focuses on a feud between Laverne and an office worker at the factory. The office worker is constantly putting Laverne down. Shirley convinces Laverne to take out her hostilities by having their bowling team win the factory tournament. Since the office worker is the head of another women's team, this would restore Laverne's honour. Laverne agrees to this plan and begins to coach her team for the contest. At the bowling alley they meet two male regulars on the series, one of whom has his fingers jammed into a woman's bowling ball. The two men attempt to remove the ball ineptly. Unfortunately, Laverne becomes sick before the bowling tournament. In order to force her to stay home and rest, Shirley hides all of Laverne's clothes. Laverne, left at home on

the night of the tournament, is visited by a woman from a religious mission for the destitute. Laverne convinces her that she is destitute, without clothes or food. After a hot meal at the mission, Laverne appears at the bowling alley in time to win the tournament for her team. She is dressed in one of the uniforms provided by the mission.

Viewers had a hard time finding a message in this program. For 74 per cent, the message was "there are two kinds of people in this world: the strong and the weak" (Table 72); 58 per cent of the respondents thought that the message was "you can do anything if you believe you are right." Eight other messages were chosen by at least one-third of the viewers. Only one of them was picked up on the content analysis, "people are happy with their position in life." Of the four messages chosen by the coder doing the content analysis, one was mentioned by 36 per cent of the viewers and the other

was mentioned by only six per cent. The other two were not mentioned by any viewer as possible messages of the program.

For 19 per cent of the respondents, the episode suggested that the best way of interacting with people is being thoughtful (Table 73); 16 per cent chose being aggressive as the message about interaction, while another 16 per cent chose "to tell a white lie". For 13 per cent, the program taught a person to be evasive; 36 per cent of the respondents chose other alternatives. Two responses were chosen by the content analysis. One of them, "to be aggressive", was mentioned by 16 per cent of the viewers. The other one was chosen by six per cent of the viewers.

Table 73

Type of Interaction Depicted in Laverne and Shirley

The best way of interacting with people as demonstrated in this program is to:	Percent of respondents selecting	Content analysis
a) be kind	6%	Absent
b) be thoughtful	19%	Absent
c) be pushy	6%	Present
d) be strict	3%	Absent
e) be aggressive	16%	Present
f) tell white lies	16%	Absent
g) be straightforward	6%	Absent
h) be sarcastic	10%	Absent
i) be evasive	13%	Absent
j) be tactful	6%	Absent
k) be assertive	3%	Absent

A total of 18 persons (58 per cent) said that they would watch another segment of the show; 72 per cent of these said that they would watch it to pass the time, while 28 per cent said they would watch it for relaxation.

Laverne and Shirley ran for approximately 26 minutes; 87 per cent of the viewers said that less than ten per cent of the program was taken up with violent or aggressive activity. No viewer stated that more than 39 per cent of the episode had aggressive or violent activity in it. When asked to rate the program as either "not violent at all – 1" to "very violent – 7", the average rating was 1.84, with the highest rating being five.

Viewers rated the program on the average 3.90 for reality, with three of them choosing "not at all true to life" and four choosing "very true to life".

For 81 per cent of the viewers, conflict was portrayed in the program; 32 per cent believe that the major solution to this conflict was verbal violence. A

Table 72

Messages Reported Present in Laverne and Shirley

Message	Percent of respondents perceiving message	Content analysis
There are two kinds of people in this world: the weak and the strong	74%	Absent
You can do anything if you believe you are right	58%	Absent
If you believe you are morally right, any action you take is justified	48%	Absent
One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little	48%	Absent
An insult to your honor should always be punished	39%	Absent
Most people like their job	36%	Absent
People are happy with their position in life	36%	Present
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	36%	Absent
These days a person doesn't really know whom one can count on	32%	Absent
Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	6%	Present
People get support from their family and friends	0	Present
There is an appropriate way to get revenge	0	Present

constructive resolution of the conflict was seen by 16 per cent. Two respondents (eight per cent) stated that the conflict was unsolved, while another two said it was still preserved.

As many as 65 per cent of the viewers thought it occurred between 1965 and the present. Since the program is set in the 1950s, those viewers who stated that it was set between World War II and 1965 (32 per cent) were correct. One person said it would occur in the future.

Laverne and Shirley takes place in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Only 35 per cent of the viewers named Milwaukee as the city in which the action takes place; 23 per cent named New York City, 13 per cent picked Los Angeles, while ten per cent chose Saskatoon as the location of the show. Another ten per cent picked Chicago and one viewer named Detroit, another named Vancouver, and one other said it could take place in any city.

When asked to name the main character, 90 per cent of the viewers named Laverne. Three viewers (ten per cent) chose Shirley as the main character, and one picked the doctor who comes to treat Laverne's cold. Compared to *S.W.A.T.*, there is much more agreement about who the main character is in *Laverne and Shirley*.

The viewers describe Laverne as an adult between 19 and 40 years of age. She is a hero for 52 per cent, and villain for 6 per cent; 94 per cent of the viewers believed that she either marries or expects to marry in the story. One viewer noted she was single. Another said she had once been married.

A full 87 per cent said she was in the blue-collar income group; ten per cent thought she was in the white-collar group and 23 per cent said she was in the lower class. All viewers agreed that she was a white North American, but 13 per cent thought she was Canadian. On a scale of bureaucratic (1) to accommodating (7), viewers rated Laverne at 4.29; 55 per cent were below the average, while 45 per cent were above it.

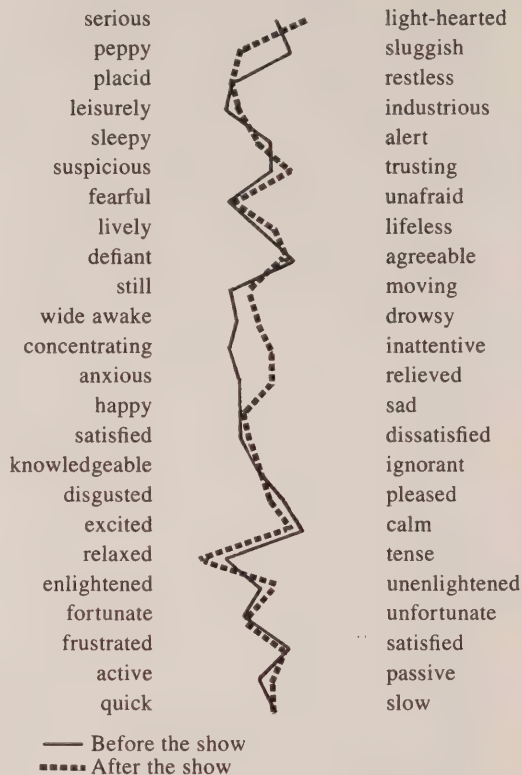
The semantic differential scale measuring level of activation shows no significant differences between viewer self-descriptions before and after the show except for light-hearted, inattentive, and relieved (Exhibit 6).

Laverne and Shirley did not receive any very high ratings as a program (Exhibit 7). The viewers in the institutional sample (late adolescents) see it as even less funny than those in the general population sample. The institutionalized viewers also perceive the program as being significantly more violent, predictable, realistic, suspenseful, and slightly more manipulative.

Laverne and Shirley reverses the difference in perceptions between men and women as portrayed in *S.W.A.T.* Women received significantly higher ratings by viewers watching *Laverne and Shirley*. Men were rated significantly lower on all scales. Several male respondents told the interviewers that they objected to

Exhibit 6

Activation Levels — *Laverne and Shirley*



the image of men on *Laverne and Shirley*. Except for the "Fonz", who occasionally visits the show, the males portrayed on *Laverne and Shirley* are immature and inept.

The older adolescents who viewed the show at Kilburn Hall perceived women, as portrayed on *Laverne and Shirley*, slightly differently from viewers in the general population. They perceived women as more interesting, dissatisfied with life, passive, and wise. Men on the program were perceived similarly to the women. Career people on the show were seen as unstable, dissatisfied with life, passive, and slightly wiser.

When rating the main character, Laverne, viewers tended to see her as young, foolish, feminine, irrational, ignorant and intuitive. The institutionalized viewer saw her as even more foolish, dishonest, less feminine, but happier and more learned.

Exhibit 7

The Program — Laverne and Shirley

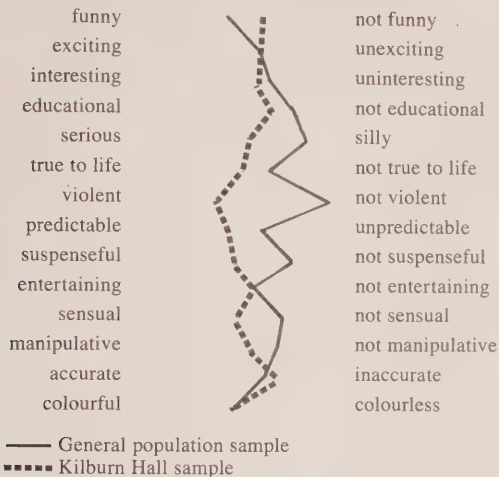
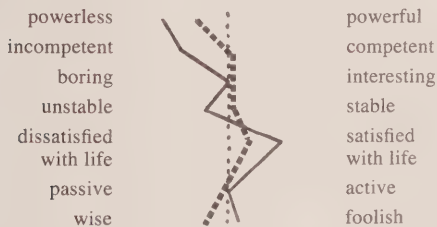


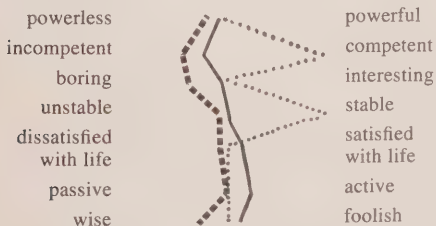
Exhibit 8

The Elderly and Career People — Laverne and Shirley

THE ELDERLY



CAREER PEOPLE

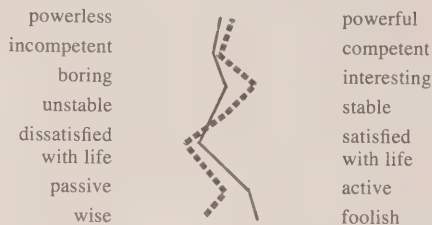


— General population
 - - - Institutional sample
 Content analysis

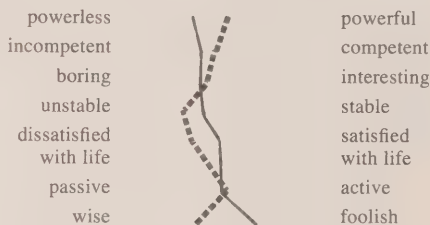
Exhibit 9

Men and Women — Laverne and Shirley

WOMEN



MEN

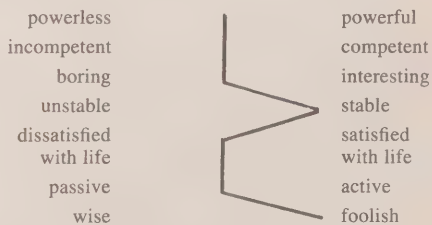


— General population
 - - - Kilburn Hall

Exhibit 10

Men and Women, Content Analysis — Laverne and Shirley

WOMEN



MEN

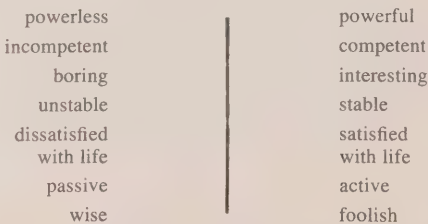


Exhibit 11

Main Character — Laverne and Shirley

LAVERNE

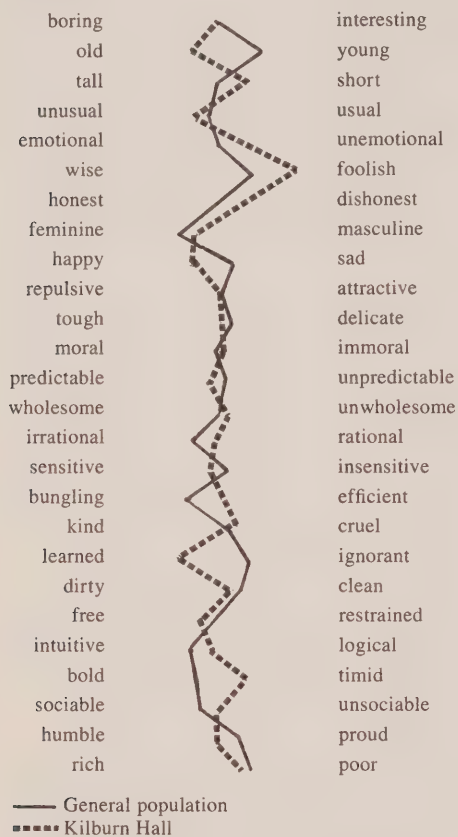


Table 74 presents the correlations between the different types of viewers and responses on the semantic differential scale measuring attitudes towards the program. Pollyanna viewers tended to rate the program as less interesting. Pollyanna viewers rating Laverne tended to perceive her as more sociable (Table 75).

Viewers' perceptions of the female characters of the program did vary, with authoritarian viewers tending to rate the women as less satisfied with life and more foolish. Hours spent watching television tended to affect the perceptions of men on the program, with extensive viewers stating they were passive and foolish.

Table 74

Correlations between Rating of Laverne and Shirley and Types of Viewers

* $p \leq .05$

Item	Hours	Anomia	Authori- tarian	Polly- anna
Funny	.11	-.22	.01	-.12
Exciting	.27	-.28	.02	-.24
Interesting	-.07	.02	.01	-.39*
Educational	.06	-.08	-.11	-.18
Serious	-.13	-.27	-.29	-.24
True to life	-.10	.24	.18	.02
Violent	-.06	-.17	-.24	.04
Predictable	-.14	.17	-.30	.04
Suspenseful	.04	.02	.02	.06
Entertaining	.14	-.05	.03	-.07
Sensual	-.03	.06	.24	-.17
Manipulative	.06	-.12	.27	-.21
Accurate	-.02	.07	-.08	-.19
Colourful	.10	.16	.16	.23

Table 75

Correlations between Rating of Laverne and Shirley and Types of Viewers

* $p \leq .05$

Item	Hours	Anomia	Authori- tarian	Polly- anna
Interesting	-.06	.05	.06	-.08
Old	-.09	-.07	.08	.05
Tall	-.36*	.18	-.09	.05
Usual	-.02	.19	.11	-.19
Emotional	.12	-.35	-.07	.21
Wise	-.03	-.17	-.12	.27
Honest	-.22	-.36*	-.26	.16
Masculine	.01	.19	.13	.24
Happy	.02	-.14	-.38*	.30
Attractive	.01	-.10	-.39*	-.05
Tough	.12	.19	.06	-.13
Moral	-.28	-.14	-.36*	.01
Predictable	-.16	-.15	-.54*	-.13
Wholesome	.08	-.17	-.20	.10
Rational	.27	.28	.17	.03
Sensitive	.22	.15	.15	-.10

Table 75 (continued)

Correlations between Rating of Laverne and Shirley and Types of Viewers

* $p \leq .05$

Item	Hours	Anomia	Authori- tarian	Polly- anna
Efficient	.21	-.04	-.05	.08
Kind	-.08	.18	-.14	.08
Learned	.26	.18	-.18	-.12
Clean	.15	.06	-.31	-.02
Free	.02	.08	.11	.11
Logical	.25	.14	-.11	.20
Bold	-.07	-.30	-.11	-.18
Sociable	.23	-.09	-.33	.43*
Proud	.02	-.15	-.25	-.03
Rich	.21	.20	.28	.03

Alienated viewers of *Laverne and Shirley* tend to see Laverne as more emotional, less honest, and timid. Authoritarian viewers react quite negatively to Laverne, viewing her as unattractive, unhappy, immoral, and unpredictable. A clue to this may be gained from the interviewers' reports that some viewers objected to Laverne showing up in the bowling alley in the uniform of the religious group who collected clothes at her door. They took this as a joke about religion. One or two even suggested the program was sacreligious. Since these viewers indicate that they watch religious programs, it can be assumed that they have a high degree of religiosity. It is indeed the content of this program that offends them. Similarly, the nonverbal check sheets for one religious couple indicate that they stiffened up when Laverne appeared in the bowling alley in the uniform. This couple made a point to remark afterwards that the program was not funny.

C. Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman

Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman, was chosen for this research because it was a controversial program that was not shown in Saskatoon and because it is an example of a soap opera. *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* is a Norman Lear production. It was syndicated over independent television in the United States and Canada because the networks did not want to take a chance with its controversial content.

The one-hour double segment used in this research was taped on May 24, 1976, from the CBC network in Toronto. It was broadcast at midnight. BBM figures show that *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* ranked 115th out of 129 programs for all viewers in Ontario. It was 94th among all programs for adult viewers and 116th among

all programs for teenagers and children.

The segment of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* used in this research begins with Mary preparing for the visit of her "old friend" Mona McKenzie, a sex therapist. Mary and her husband, Tom, have been having sexual problems. Tom is temporarily impotent and Mary hopes that Mona will be able to help Tom with his problem. Shortly after Mona arrives, Mary receives a phone call from her sister – pre-arranged by Mary so that she could leave Tom and Mona alone for awhile.

Mary hurries next door to the neighbours' where Charlie and Loretta Haggars are entertaining Charlie's first wife, Muriel. During the visit, Loretta insists that Muriel spend her time in Fernwood at the Haggars' house. Charlie tries to warn Loretta but she ushers Muriel upstairs to her room. While they are upstairs in Muriel's room, Mary and Charlie decide that Muriel is an evil person and up to no good.

The next day Charlie tells Loretta about the robbery in a diner that he and Muriel once owned. During the course of the robbery, Charlie was forced to "put up his hands", thus tossing some hot grease on Muriel and scarring her face. Later in the program Muriel substantiates the grease story but, she says, it was no robbery. Charlie threw the grease on her because she was wearing open-toed wedgies. Loretta does not know who to believe.

Tom and Mona, in the meantime, have been getting to know one another. Mary comes home to find them chatting about Mona's work. The next morning, as Tom is leaving for work, Mary and he discuss Mona. Tom indicates that he is willing to cooperate with Mona in whatever way necessary. Mary, however, has just looked up the word surrogate in the dictionary. She suddenly doesn't want Tom to see Mona again. The show ends as Tom leaves for work, indicating he will gladly cooperate with Mona if it will make Mary happy, and Mary calling Mona to come over and explain to her what a sex surrogate is.

A total of 71 per cent of the viewers stated that the message of this program is "our main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little" and 68 per cent thought the message was "there are two kinds of people in this world: the strong and the weak." Sixteen viewers (52 per cent) also chose as messages two statements: "people get support from their family" and "if you believe you are morally right, any action you take is justified."

Five other messages were chosen by more than 30 per cent of the viewers. As Table 76 indicates, the content analysis did not pick any of the messages that more than half of the viewers agreed upon. The content analysis indicates two messages in the episode. One of them, "most people like their job", was perceived by 48 per cent of the viewers. The other was only mentioned by 16 per cent of the persons who watched this program.

Table 76

Message Present in Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman

Message	Percent of respondents perceiving message	Content analysis
Our main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little	71%	Absent
There are two kinds of people in the world: the strong and the weak	68%	Absent
People get support from their family and friends	52%	Absent
If you believe you are morally right, any action you take is justified	52%	Absent
You can do anything if you believe you are morally right	48%	Absent
Most people like their job	48%	Present
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	48%	Absent
These days a person doesn't really know whom one can count on	48%	Absent
Concerned citizens get into more trouble than it's worth, i.e., it doesn't pay to get involved	32%	Absent
Most people are happy with their position in life	16%	Present

When asked how the episode portrayed the best way to interact with other people (Table 77), 32 per cent of the respondents said that it was to be aggressive; 13 per cent chose "be kind", the alternative preferred by the content analysis.

Only nine respondents (29 per cent) reported that they would watch another segment. This is the lowest of the three programs discussed so far. Fourteen per cent of those stating that they would watch it again said they would do so to pass the time; ten per cent reported they would watch for relaxation. One person said he/she would watch to learn, while another indicated the motivation to watch was because it was thrilling.

A total of 74 per cent of the viewers estimated that less than ten per cent of the show was spent on violent or aggressive content; 94 per cent said it was lower than 39 per cent. Only two persons (six per cent) stated that between 50 and 69 per cent of the program contained aggressive activity. The average on the violence scale for the program was 1.84.

Table 77

Type of Interaction Depicted in Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman

The best way of interacting with people as demonstrated in this program is to:	Percent of respondents selecting	Content analysis
a) be kind	13%	Present
b) be thoughtful	13%	Present
c) be pushy	10%	Absent
d) be strict	10%	Absent
e) be aggressive	33%	Absent
f) tell white lies	3%	Present
g) be straightforward	7%	Absent
h) be sarcastic	0	Absent
i) be evasive	3%	Absent
j) be tactful	7%	Absent
k) be assertive	3%	Absent

When asked to rate the program on reality, the average was 3.03 (1 = not true to life); 65 per cent of the viewers were below the average, while 35 per cent were above it.

A total of 87 per cent of the viewers stated that there was a conflict portrayed in the program; 23 viewers (74 per cent) said that the conflict was left unsolved. One said it was solved by conciliation, another by coercion.

When asked to name the city in which this program took place (regular viewers of the show know that Mary Hartman lives in Fernwood), 42 per cent said it could occur in any city. Six persons named New York City (19 per cent), while five picked Los Angeles (16 per cent). Other cities named were Ottawa, Chicago, Houston, and Toronto.

Mary Hartman was chosen as the main character by 77 per cent of the respondents. Mona McKenzie was picked by 19 per cent, while one person named Tom Hartman as the main character. No one picked Charlie or Loretta Hagers, although they take up much of the time in this episode.

Viewers thought that the action of the program took place between 1965 and the present, with only five viewers (16 per cent) stating it was sometime in the future. Almost all the viewers – 29, or 94 per cent – thought that Mary was between 19 and 40 years old. Ninety per cent of the viewers said that Mary was married, while ten per cent indicated that she had at one time been married. The viewers were about evenly divided on the question of Mary having any dependents. Since Mary's daughter was not shown in this segment, these viewers had no way of knowing if she had children.

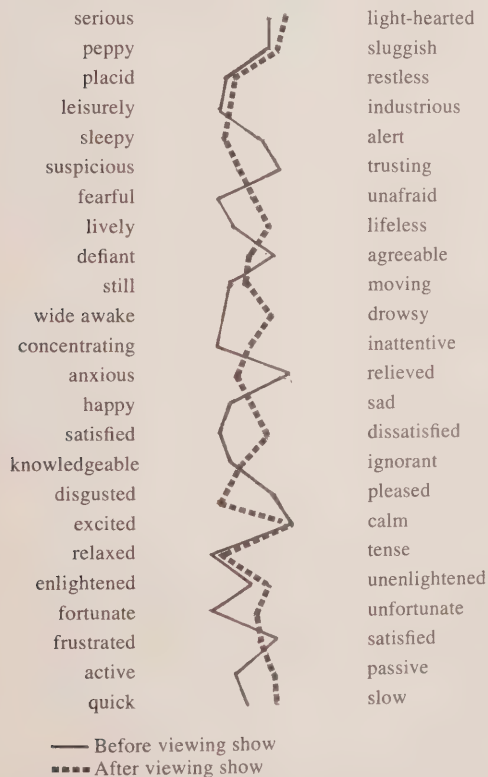
Mary and Tom Hartman were placed in the blue-collar class by 71 per cent of the viewers. Three said that she was in the upper, elite, executive class; four placed her in the middle class; and two persons said she was in the lower poverty class. It is interesting that Tom's occupation as a worker in a factory did not become apparent to these viewers.

All said Mary was North American, although two viewers thought she was Canadian. When asked to rate Mary on the bureaucratic or accommodating scale, viewers used the full range of the scale. The average rating was 4.84, with 48 per cent of the viewers placing Mary below the average on the bureaucratic end of the scale; 52 per cent were above the average, with six of them at seven – very accommodating and very helpful.

Viewers of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* show significant changes in activation level before and after viewing the program (Exhibit 12). In each of the following scales, viewers show a significant shift

Exhibit 12

Activation Levels — *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*



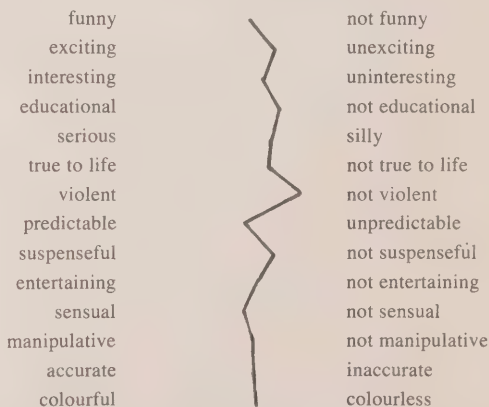
towards the less active end of the scale: sleepy/alert, lifeless/lively, drowsy/awake, passive/active, and slow/quick. In other words, after watching the program viewers indicated that they were more sleepy, drowsy, passive, slow, lifeless, than before watching it. In this case, it is safe to say that the viewers' activation level was lowered after watching *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. It may be recalled that viewers of soap operas tended to give as their principle reason for watching television "because it is a pleasant rest". In this case, it would appear that viewers are resting psychologically when the show is over.

The second group of adjectives in the activation scale showing significant change are suspicious/trusting, fearful/unafraid, defiant/agreeable, fortunate/unfortunate, sad/happy, dissatisfied/satisfied, and disgusted/pleased. Again, the change was towards the negative adjective after watching the program. In other words, while the respondents rated themselves as trusting, et cetera, before the program, after watching they tended to make a significant shift to describing themselves as suspicious, fearful, defiant, unfortunate, sad, and dissatisfied. These reactions may be a result of the program content or displeasure at wasting time watching a program they did not like.

The ratings of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, fall just within the negative range, close to the neutral point (Exhibit 13). Viewers of this program are not enthusiastic about it; the best description of the feelings would seem to be apathetic.

Exhibit 13

The Program — *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*



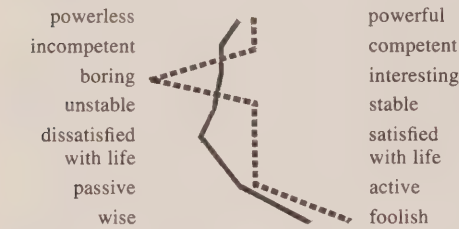
Viewers perceive that women on this program are portrayed as being unstable, dissatisfied with life, and foolish. Men are portrayed as more satisfied with life and slightly less foolish. The content analysis shows

more diversity in ratings. Men are rated as more stable than women as portrayed on the program.

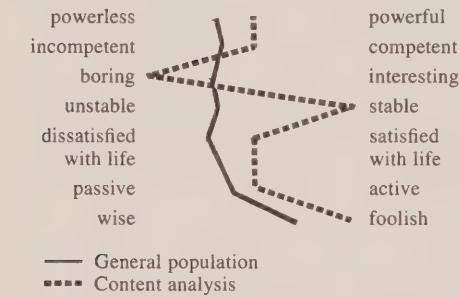
Exhibit 14

Men and Women — *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*

WOMEN



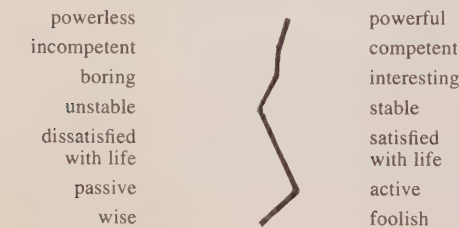
MEN



Only 61 per cent of the viewers who watched *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* completed the career people scale. Who is the career person on the program? Mona McKenzie, perhaps, in that she is presented as a professional sex therapist. The ratings for career people fall on the positive side of the continuum. They are not as extreme as those in *S.W.A.T.*, but they are positive (Exhibit 15).

Exhibit 15

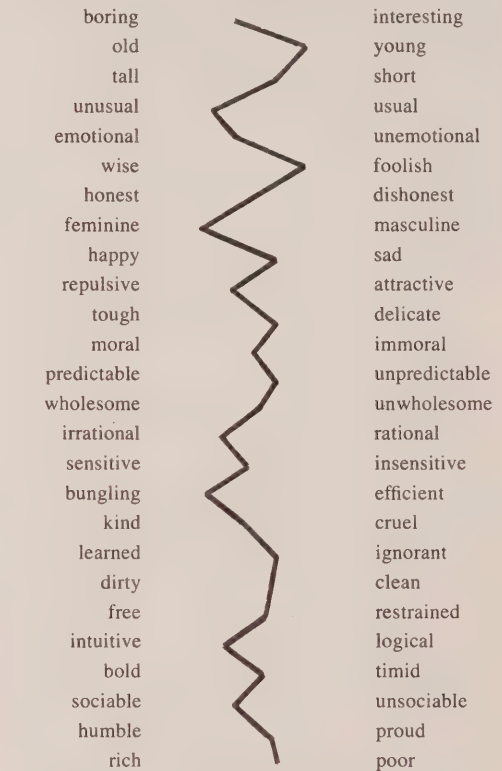
Career people — *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*



Mary Hartman is not rated high as a main character. One-fourth of the viewers rated her as boring and 52 per cent of the viewers were on the negative end of the boring/interesting scale. Mary is also seen as foolish and bungling. As Exhibit 16 indicates, most of the average ratings fall near the neutral point, with the majority of them on the negative side of the scale. Mary does not appear to stir up much emotion in the minds of these viewers.

Exhibit 16

Main Character — *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*



It is the regular viewers of soap operas who like *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. First, after watching the program they describe themselves as more knowledgeable and relaxed. Soap-opera viewers said that one of their reasons for watching television was to relax, "because it is a pleasant rest". They show a significant difference in activation level after watching the episode, reporting that they feel relaxed.

Pollyanna viewers tend to see the program as less violent, less suspenseful, less manipulative, and inaccurate. There is an interesting interaction between the

perceptions of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* held by Pollyanna viewers and those held by authoritarian and alienated viewers. Authoritarian viewers rate the program as more violent than Pollyanna viewers. Both alienated and authoritarian viewers perceive it as manipulative, while Pollyanna viewers perceive it as non-manipulative. Alienated viewers have a strong tendency to describe the program as accurate, while Pollyanna viewers describe it as inaccurate.

When describing their perceptions of *Mary Hartman* herself, Pollyanna viewers tend to see her as younger and delicate. The alienated viewers have a less positive picture of *Mary*. They see her as unusual, less honest, tough, immoral, unpredictable, insensitive, and cruel. It is the regular viewers of soap operas who see *Mary* as honest, predictable, wholesome, and older. Those who view television extensively tend to see her as unemotional, proud, and the usual heroine of a soap opera.

Generally, viewers are not overly enthusiastic or negative towards *Mary Hartman*. Yet, when one examines the relationships between types of viewers and their perceptions of her, different patterns emerge. Pollyanna viewers and regular viewers of soap operas are positive towards her. Regular viewers of crime dramas also find *Mary Hartman* a positive television character. Those viewers who are alienated from the world perceive her negatively. Authoritarian viewers

may well have reacted to the sexual content of the program. Therefore, they tend to react negatively but not as strongly as the alienated viewers.

Table 79

Correlations between rating of Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman and Types of Viewers

Item	Hours	Watch soap operas	Anomia	Authoritarian	Pollyanna
Interesting	.23	.18	-.27	-.17	.13
Old	-.15	-.34	-.17	-.31	.30
Tall	.13	.07	.17	.06	-.28
Usual	.43*	.07	-.30	-.12	.03
Emotional	-.42*	.06	.16	.17	.68
Wise	.06	.18	-.26	-.14	-.01
Honest	.08	.37*	-.36*	-.15	.22
Masculine	.02	-.05	.17	-.11	.11
Happy	.25	.24	.23	.25	-.05
Attractive	.28	.32	-.29	-.04	.11
Tough	-.17	.02	.61*	.25	-.36*
Moral	.11	.22	-.48*	-.29	.21
Predictable	-.02	.34	-.36*	-.13	.20
Wholesome	.15	.33	-.26	-.24	.21
Rational	-.15	-.28	-.02	-.17	-.08
Sensitive	.02	.10	-.51*	-.21	.22
Efficient	.28	.19	.07	.04	-.13
Kind	-.07	.05	-.45*	-.33	.20
Learned	-.30	.07	-.07	.01	.03
Clean	-.13	.01	-.33	-.05	.08
Free	-.06	.07	.17	.01	.31
Logical	.06	.13	-.06	-.01	-.21
Bold	.28	.26	-.01	-.13	.04
Sociable	-.08	.25	-.18	-.03	.29
Proud	.38*	.28	.17	.19	-.33
Rich	-.02	.17	.01	-.04	.06

$p \leq .05$

Table 78

Correlations between rating of Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman and Types of Viewers

Item	Hours	Watch soap operas	Anomia	Authoritarian	Pollyanna
Funny	.11	.16	.09	.01	-.08
Exciting	.22	.30	.18	.11	-.20
Interesting	.18	.24	-.02	-.08	-.04
Educational	.13	.22	.18	.06	.08
Serious	.01	.07	.12	-.03	.01
True to life	-.06	-.11	.05	.01	.04
Violent	-.21	-.21	.13	.40*	-.46*
Predictable	.18	-.13	-.11	-.08	.28
Suspenseful	.13	.22	.22	.20	-.37*
Entertaining	.04	.24	.21	.10	-.19
Sensual	.10	-.03	.24	.10	-.01
Manipulative	-.04	.14	.39*	.46*	-.41*
Accurate	-.19	.03	.40*	.17	-.36*
Colourful	.01	.24	-.03	-.24	.19

* $p \leq .05$

D. Sidestreet

Sidestreet is the only television program used in this study that is shown in Saskatoon. It was chosen for the study as a good Canadian program, focusing on the problems of the police.

Sidestreet is a Canadian police drama produced by the CBC. This segment of the show was taped May 22,

1976 at 10:00 p.m. in Toronto. It does not appear in the BBM survey for January 1976.

The particular segment of *Sidestreet* dealt with the story of Bertha McKenzie, a Métis who is about to be evicted from her home because she cannot pay the rent. The supervisor of Public Welfare refuses to let Mrs. McKenzie have her cheque because she has a man living in her home.

When the episode opens, Mrs. McKenzie is busy boarding up the doors and windows of the house. She will make a stand here and not allow her family to be evicted. She calls her brother, Oliver Johnson, a radical Métis leader, who appears at the house prepared to die for the cause. Shortly after Oliver arrives, Mrs. McKenzie's common-law husband leaves the family. This removes the excuse the welfare supervisor was using to hold back the cheque. It is now given to the McKenzie's caseworker who takes it to the house.

Several scenes depict the close relationship between Mrs. McKenzie and her children. The teenage son also has a close relationship with one of the police officers called upon to evict the family. The boy is torn between his mother and uncle and his basketball coach, the police officer.

The police have been called into the case by the social worker and landlord, and because of the media response to Oliver Johnson's declaration that the family will die before allowing themselves to be evicted from the house.

Bertha McKenzie is upset by this declaration of a suicide pact by her brother. She is not prepared to sacrifice her children for this cause, especially since she now can receive the rent cheque. Oliver Johnson then holds the McKenzie family prisoners in the home.

Other Métis leaders have refused to join Oliver Johnson. They believe him to be crazy. Finally, as one police officer talks to Johnson in the front of the house, the basketball coach enters the home from the rear and disarms Oliver. The segment closes as the caseworker gives Bertha McKenzie the cheque so that she can remain in the house that has become the family home.

Viewers of this program overwhelmingly thought that its message was "the family is important in our society (Table 80); 81 per cent also chose the message "people get support from their family." Both of these messages were also selected by the content analysis.

When asked what *Sidestreet* said about the best way to interact with people, 29 per cent said that it was to be straightforward; 23 per cent said it was to be thoughtful. Other answers given were "be kind", "be tactful", "be pushy", "be strict", and "be aggressive".

A total of 45 per cent of the viewers said that less than ten per cent of the program contained violent or aggressive activity; 84 per cent said that less than half of the program contained aggressive material. Sixteen per cent thought that more than half of the program was taken up with aggressive activity, with the highest individual saying 80 to 89 per cent of the program involved violence. The average violence rating was 2.94.

Table 80

Messages Present in Sidestreet

Message	Percent of respondents perceiving message	Content Analysis
The family is important in our society	93%	Present
People get support from their family and friends	81%	Present
Our main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little	71%	Absent
These days one doesn't know whom one can count on	68%	Absent
Crime does not pay	58%	Present
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	52%	Evidence against
It is important to teach children strict obedience to their parents	48%	Absent
A person, who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people	48%	Absent
It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future	45%	Absent
If you believe you are morally right any action you take is justified	42%	Present
Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict	42%	Evidence against
Most people are happy with their position in life	13%	Evidence against
Relations with others are simple, direct, and conflict free	3%	Evidence against

Conflict was identified as being portrayed in *Sidestreet* by 97 per cent of the viewers. Of these, 30 per cent said that it was left unsolved; 20 per cent thought there was a constructive resolution of the conflict; ten per cent thought that arbitration had been used and another ten per cent thought conciliation was the major solution to the conflict.

Ninety per cent thought that the action of the program took place between 1965 and the present; 6 per cent said it took place between World War II and 1965. One person thought that the action shifted over several time periods.

Table 18

Type of Interaction Depicted in Sidestreet

The best way of interacting with people as demonstrated in this program is to:	Percent of respondents selecting	Content Analysis
a) be kind	10%	Evidence against
b) be thoughtful	23%	Absent
c) be pushy	7%	Absent
d) be strict	7%	Absent
e) be aggressive	7%	Evidence against
f) tell white lies	—	Absent
g) be straightforward	29%	Present
h) be sarcastic	—	Absent
i) be evasive	—	Absent
j) be tactful	10%	Absent
k) be assertive	7%	Absent

When asked the location of the program, 23 per cent said it happened in Toronto, 19 per cent said Regina, 13 per cent said Vancouver, and ten per cent said Saskatoon. Just over one-quarter, 26 per cent of the respondents, said it could happen in any city. Other respondents picked Edmonton, Montreal, and New York City.

Bertha McKenzie was identified as the main character of the program by 22 viewers (73 per cent). Seven respondents (23 per cent) said that Oliver Johnson was the main character; one person picked Alec as the main character. Thirty respondents (99 per cent) said that the main character was Métis or native – Indian, Inuit. One person said the main character was a white Canadian. When rating the main character on the bureaucratic/accommodating scale, the average was 3.84, with 20 persons above the average towards the accommodating and helpful end of the continuum.

Viewers did not show any significant differences in activation level between their self-descriptions made before viewing the program and after viewing the program (Exhibit 17). *Sidestreet* was perceived by these viewers as a serious program. It received the lowest score on the funny/not funny scale of all four programs (Exhibit 18).

This show received some of the highest scores for portrayal of women, although the content analysis was more positive than the viewers. Women are described as competent, interesting, and dissatisfied with life. Men are rated only slightly lower but not as high as the men portrayed in *S.W.A.T.* Again, the content analysis is more positive than the viewers.

Exhibit 17

Activation Levels — Sidestreet

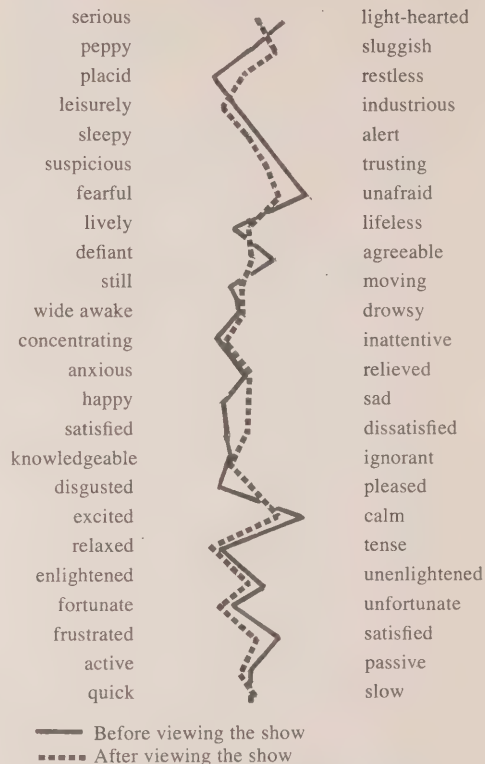


Exhibit 18

The Program — Sidestreet

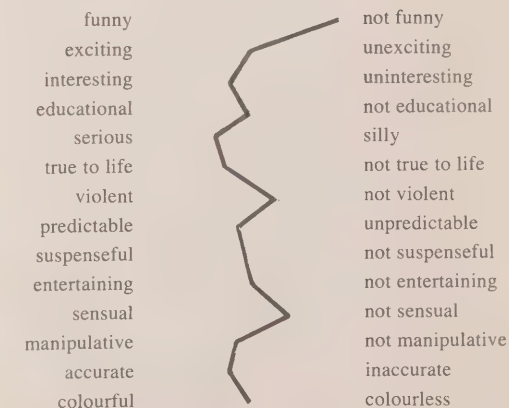
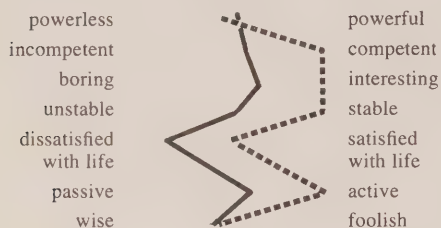


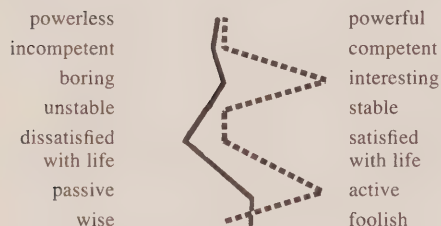
Exhibit 19

Men and Women — Sidestreet

WOMEN



MEN



— General population
 ---- Content analysis

As the main character, Bertha McKenzie also receives quite high ratings for interest (average 6.03). Bertha is perceived as honest, attractive, tough, kind, clean, bold, proud, and poor. Apparently the viewers do identify with Bertha more than they do with Mary Hartman.

Pollyanna viewers tended to see this show as funny, less educational, less true to life, and less accurate. A program that is too realistic, portrays a world in which people suffer, and focuses upon the need for radical change will not be consonant with the Pollyanna belief system about how perfect is the world we live in.

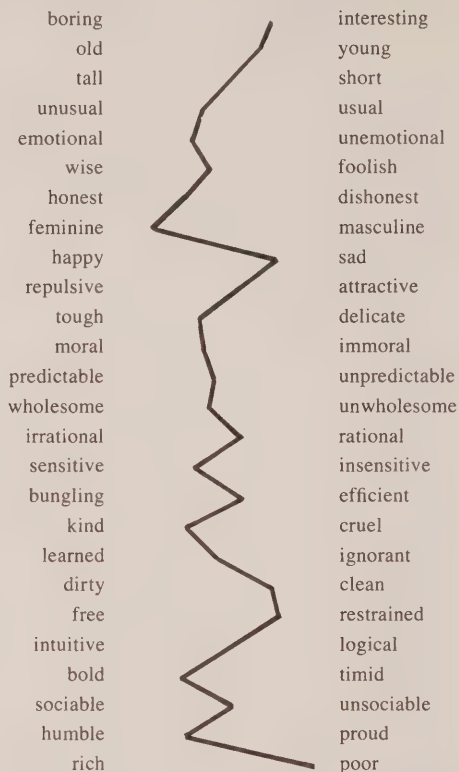
Sidestreet was the only program of the four in which viewers were able to identify an ethnic or radical group. Exhibit 21 reports the ratings of the group, along with the perceptions of career people on the program. The viewer ratings do not radically differ from the neutral position except for "dissatisfied with life". Again, the content analysis ratings are much higher and more positive than those of the viewers.

Alienated viewers tended to describe the program as true to life. Authoritarian viewers thought it was not only true to life but also suspenseful, accurate, and colourful. This is the most positive that these two

Exhibit 20

Main character — Sidestreet

Bertha McKenzie



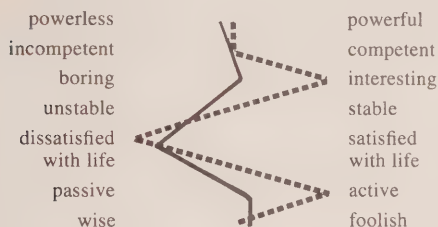
groups have been towards a program used in the survey. Why? The story centres around a woman who is alienated from society; it may well be that the alienated viewers identify with her. One possible explanation for the authoritarian viewers is that the program supports their stereotypes of Métis and welfare people. Since it supports their stereotypes and prejudices, they find it true to life and accurate in its portrayal of groups within society.

Two women are shown in this show. One is Bertha McKenzie, who is preparing to do battle with the establishment. The other is the welfare officer who is withholding the cheque and enforcing the rules. Viewers who watch more than the average amount of television perceived these women as interesting. Authoritarian viewers, on the other hand, reacted negatively to them, rating them as less competent, less wise, and unstable.

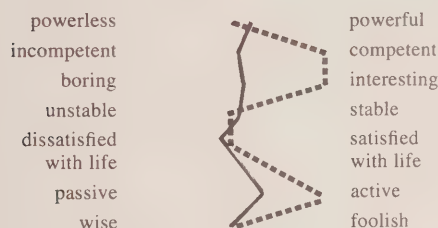
Exhibit 21

Ethnic Groups and Career People — Sidestreet

ETHNIC GROUPS



CAREER PEOPLE



— General population
 ---- Content analysis

Table 82

Correlations between Rating of Sidestreet and Types of Viewers

Item	Hours	Watch crime dramas	Anomia	Authoritarian	Pollyanna
Funny	.20	.11	-.03	.18	.45*
Exciting	-.02	.22	.15	.01	-.11
Interesting	.09	.17	-.14	-.17	-.12
Educational	.33	.20	.15	-.10	.31
Serious	.09	.14	-.06	-.19	-.20
True to life	.22	.50*	.31	.34	-.31
Violent	-.15	-.11	.13	-.05	-.12
Predictable	.08	.01	-.05	-.18	.29
Suspenseful	.31	.33	.15	.38*	.01
Entertaining	.23	.31	.23	.04	-.26
Sensual	.20	.25	.22	.13	-.28
Manipulative	-.14	-.07	.03	-.27	-.17
Accurate	.26	.07	.27	.33	-.30
Colourful	.07	.23	-.10	.34	.23

* $p \leq .05$

Regular viewers of crime dramas were slightly negative towards the teenage children of Bertha McKenzie. They tended to see them as less competent and less satisfied with life. Pollyanna viewers showed a slight tendency to perceive the teenagers as more competent.

The alienated viewer tended to rate Bertha McKenzie as more feminine, predictable, and humble, while the authoritarian viewer tended to perceive her as foolish and immoral.

Table 83

Correlations between Rating of Bertha McKenzie and Types of Viewers

Item	Hours	Watch crime dramas	Anomia	Authoritarian	Pollyanna
Interesting	.34	-.07	-.16	-.12	-.01
Old	-.16	.30	-.25	-.13	.20
Tall	-.14	-.36*	-.53*	-.26	.42
Usual	.01	.25	-.01	-.10	.15
Emotional	.24	.05	-.07	-.06	.16
Wise	-.15	.02	-.01	-.53*	-.06
Honest	-.01	-.16	-.01	-.24	-.17
Masculine	-.16	-.28	-.39*	-.20	.20
Happy	-.32	.15	-.02	-.29	.01
Attractive	.01	-.01	-.11	-.33	-.19
Tough	.08	.27	.17	.11	-.02
Moral	-.08	.03	.04	-.36*	-.25
Predictable	.05	-.18	.37*	.29	-.01
Wholesome	.23	.03	-.27	-.17	.22
Rational	.13	.27	-.03	-.17	-.01
Sensitive	.04	-.01	-.42*	-.04	.24
Efficient	.23	.03	-.23	-.17	.21
Kind	-.12	.04	-.04	-.12	-.07
Learned	.04	.27	-.05	-.34	-.10
Clean	-.12	.24	-.04	-.12	.03
Free	-.10	.16	-.01	-.03	.09
Logical	.22	.28	.18	.01	-.05
Bold	.04	.08	-.14	-.14	.11
Sociable	-.18	-.02	.05	.30	-.25
Proud	.13	.24	-.40*	-.01	-.01
Rich	.11	-.28	-.07	-.08	.20

* $p \leq .05$

The Comparison Study of *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*

What specifically are the differences between television programs produced in the United States and those produced in Canada? In order to discover viewer perceptions of these differences, a small study was conducted using *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*. Both of these are police series, so they have a common topic and content.

An adult-education night class in communication viewed both *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*. After viewing each program the 24 students completed semantic differential scales measuring their meanings for the program, teenagers, career people, women, men, ethnic groups, police as portrayed in each program, and two main characters from each series. In each case, the main character used for the major survey was used, along with one of the criminals from the show. Oliver Johnson was chosen to represent the dissonant element from *Sidestreet*. The syndicate leader was chosen as the second main character from *S.W.A.T.* Respondents also completed the long questionnaire from the major study. During the next week they wrote a short essay giving their perceptions of the differences between the two programs.

The ratings of the programs indicate that *S.W.A.T.* is seen as more exciting than *Sidestreet*. *S.W.A.T.* is also seen as more violent, predictable, suspenseful and less true to life than *Sidestreet*, (Exhibit 22). *Sidestreet* is perceived as more educational, true to life, and colourful.

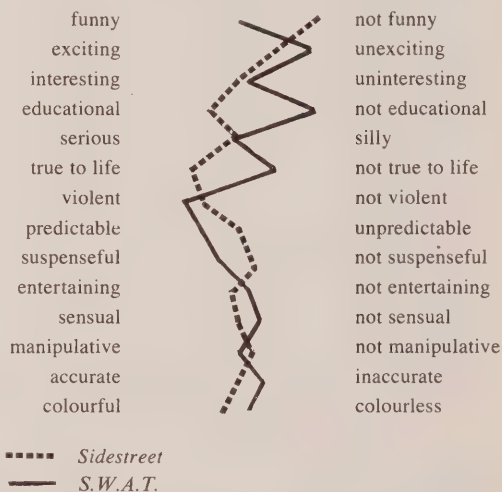
The respondents commented on the predictability of *S.W.A.T.* It was a typical story produced in the United States. One knew who the characters were and what was going to happen. One viewer wrote:

The setting in *S.W.A.T.* is sophisticated and grandiose. The scenes are splashed on a grand style showing richness, bigness – Mafia, fully equipped van, race track and all the stables – forcefulness and glamour. *Sidestreet* is a story about a simple, frustrated, oppressed people trying to cope.

Another viewer told of going home after seeing the episodes and starting to tell her husband about them. As she began to tell the plot of *S.W.A.T.*, her husband interrupted and said, “I bet it even had a spoiled rich teenager. American police shows always have a spoiled,

Exhibit 22

Comparison of *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*



rich teenager running around in them.” Other participants agreed that the “spoiled, little rich girl” is a popular American theme, a very stereotyped theme that can be inserted into any segment in any series.

An interesting comparison was made by one viewer:

The young girl in *S.W.A.T.* and Oliver Johnson in *Sidestreet* depicted the rich-egocentric and the poor-egocentric respectively. Each of these characters added interest, excitement, and revealed vulnerability in life situations.

The violence in the two programs was also contrasted by these viewers. The violence in *S.W.A.T.* is physical. It is implied by the story and the training of the police force. It is emphasized in the opening sequence, which includes a shoot out during a golf game. Then there is suspense until the last seven minutes of the episode

when the violence reasserts itself.

There is violence in *Sidestreet*, but it is a psychological violence. These viewers found that they identified with the characters in *Sidestreet*. Therefore, the psychological conflict held them during the entire program.

... the violence in the Canadian show was more psychological and social in nature. The American production displayed a physical violence. In the Canadian production the viewer was apt to identify with the characters and their problems, especially those viewers living below the poverty line.

Another participant wrote:

The violence of *S.W.A.T.* was more obvious than in the other show. In *Sidestreet* the violence, though subtle, I believe to be more harmful. This production was true to life and the average viewer could relate to their situation. ...

The violence in the two programs was quite different in the eyes of these viewers. In the U.S. production the violence was stylized, physical, and unreal because of the manner and environment in which it takes place. All the action is played in a rich, upper class setting, far removed from the life style of the typical viewer. In the Canadian production, the viewers see ordinary people trying to cope in a real world. The viewer can identify with the characters in the story because they are like one another. The violence is not physical but social and psychological. The viewer identifies with the conflict. The violence is realistic. One viewer described the difference by writing:

When watching *S.W.A.T.* you relaxed and enjoyed the show. It moved along quickly and you were prepared for the physical violence when it came. While watching *Sidestreet* you were gripped constantly by the psychological violence. It kept you on the edge of your chair. You felt wrung out after it was over.

Both programs had teenagers as integral parts of their plots. The teenager on *S.W.A.T.* was portrayed as spoiled, rich, dissatisfied with life but extremely active (Exhibit 23). These viewers tended to react negatively to this stereotyped, spoiled little rich girl.

The teenagers in *Sidestreet* were integral parts of the family. They were more passive and they quietly faced the problems with which the family was involved.

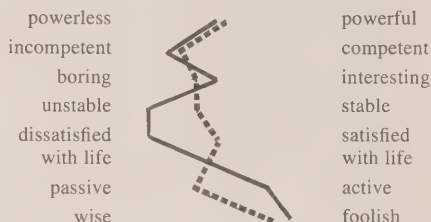
The teenagers in the two shows were extreme opposites. The girl, Tory in *S.W.A.T.*, was disobedient, irrational and unpredictable. The children in *Sidestreet* looked like "robots" of the elders' wishes. Neither of the shows were plausible in this respect: for you seldom see teenagers like either of these two groups.

Sidestreet focused its plot upon the actions of an ethnic group – that is, the Métis. In *S.W.A.T.*, ethnic groups are present, as the *S.W.A.T.* squad has members of several different nationalities and racial groups. The viewers had a hard time giving their perceptions of ethnic groups in *S.W.A.T.* "The ethnic groups [in *S.W.A.T.*] were equally productive. However, in *Sidestreet* the ethnic group was underrated and seemed

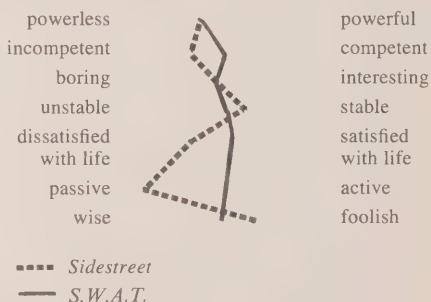
Exhibit 23

Teenagers and Ethnic Groups – Comparison – *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*

TEENAGERS



ETHNIC GROUPS



incapable of altering their situation rationally." The ethnic differences, these viewers thought were not emphasized in *S.W.A.T.*, whereas they were over-emphasized in *Sidestreet*.

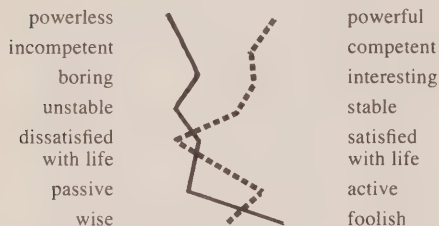
These viewers perceived a great difference in the way men and women are portrayed in the two programs. In *S.W.A.T.* the women are portrayed as powerless, incompetent, boring, unstable, dissatisfied with life, passive, and foolish. The men in *S.W.A.T.* are super-heroes – powerful, competent, stable, satisfied with life, active, wise, and generally in control of the situation.

The women in *S.W.A.T.* were either the dumb kind or the obliging kind. The young girl showed no intelligence or character. She came across as a very spoiled brat without any sense. The older woman (housekeeper) was very nice but weak. She broke into hysterics after the kidnappers left (which was odd after you consider how when she saw the kidnappers going upstairs she had the proper ability at that moment to call the police). The woman in *Sidestreet* was a very strong character. She was perhaps acting irrationally but you could understand her feelings and see why she was doing this. She came across as a sincere capable woman.

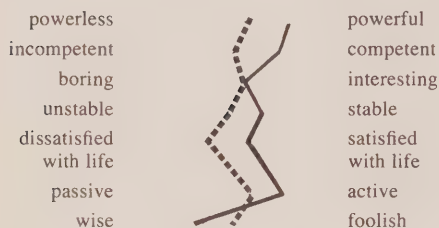
Exhibit 24

Men and Women – Comparison – *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*

WOMEN



MEN



----- *Sidestreet*
 ——— *S.W.A.T.*

Several viewers commented on the social worker portrayed in *Sidestreet*, the supervisor who is withholding the cheque from the McKenzies. One viewer wrote:

In the Canadian show the social worker operated according to her job description. She failed to identify with the people in a given situation. In my view the American production depicted fiction with the “good guys” and the “bad guys” whereas the Canadian production depicted a bizarre incident realistic in our Canadian society.

Another wrote:

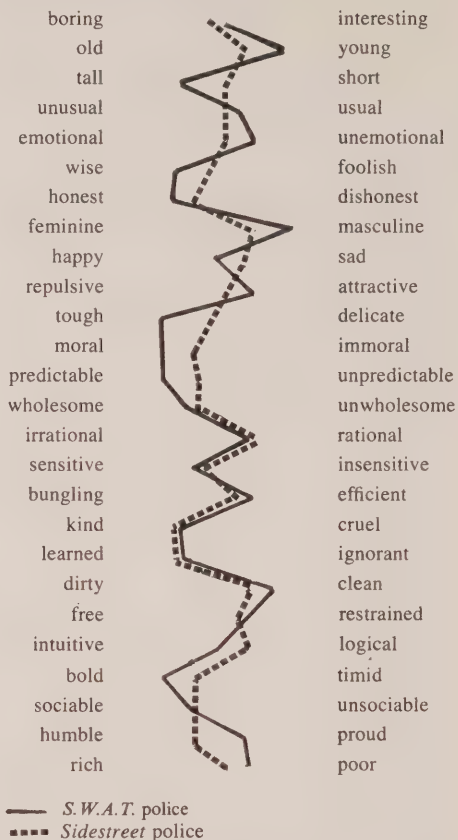
Little reason or appeal to emotion occurred in *S.W.A.T.*, whereas one couldn’t help but identify with the woman victim in *Sidestreet*. In fact, we found ourselves opposing the woman in charge of Social Services even though she stuck to the letter of the law.

Responses to the police portrayed in both shows were also varied. The police in *S.W.A.T.* were perceived as young, tall, unemotional, masculine, tough, moral, clean, bold, and proud. They were predictable.

Responses to the *Sidestreet* police were closer to the neutral point on the scales. (Exhibit 25). As one viewer wrote after seeing the two episodes:

Exhibit 25

POLICE – S.W.A.T. and Sidestreet



———— *S.W.A.T.* police
 ----- *Sidestreet* police

The police in *S.W.A.T.* were a highly organized unit. They have been trained to work quickly and efficiently in emergency situations. The individual policeman in *Sidestreet* stands out as being a soft spoken, sociable fellow. He is aware of the problems of the poor and has been trying to ease the frustrations of the young people by giving them an outlet for it in the form of sports.

Another viewer wrote:

The police in *S.W.A.T.* were evidently the center of the story. They were competent, organized and devoted their time to the one case. The *Sidestreet* police were involved in two cases and appeared to have little interest in the welfare people. They seemed incompetent and appeared to stumble on a few facts.

A third viewer commented that:

Sidestreet policemen are rather ordinary (even in looks) human

people, “social workers in the rough,” while the better looking, almost “squeaky clean” policemen of *S.W.A.T.* are like precision machines jumping from one scene to another – aided by fast paced camera work and sudden close-ups, along with crescendo music.

The police in *Sidestreet* are more believable to these viewers. Their objections to *S.W.A.T.* police are similar to those expressed by Prof. Meredith Moore in a paper discussing the necessity of communication training for Strategic Weapons and Tactics squads.

In many cities today police departments now have specially trained units called Special Weapons and Tactics Squads. Usually these squads attempt to maintain a low visibility in the community because of the unsavoury kind of work they must do. . . . As we well know, the new television series *S.W.A.T.* depicts a large group of trigger-happy men in baseball hats who roar around our cities repelling down skyscrapers,

carrying bodies from buildings, shooting off countless rounds of ammunition, using helicopters tear gas, and all of this in a single SWAT operation. SWAT squads no longer have low visibility, and their actual activities and procedures are grossly misunderstood.¹

Exhibit 26 indicates the average ratings for the two main characters. It shows the degree of identification these viewers felt for Bertha McKenzie. She was much more interesting than Prosecutor Stevens. She was seen as an unusual television character, and a realistic person. Mr. Stevens was viewed as being unemotional, happy, tough, moral, sociable, and rich.

The descriptions given of the two criminals are also interesting (Exhibit 27), for the syndicate leader is viewed quite positively. He is perceived as being happy, sociable, rich, irrational, and unpredictable. Oliver

Exhibit 26

Main Characters – Comparison – *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*

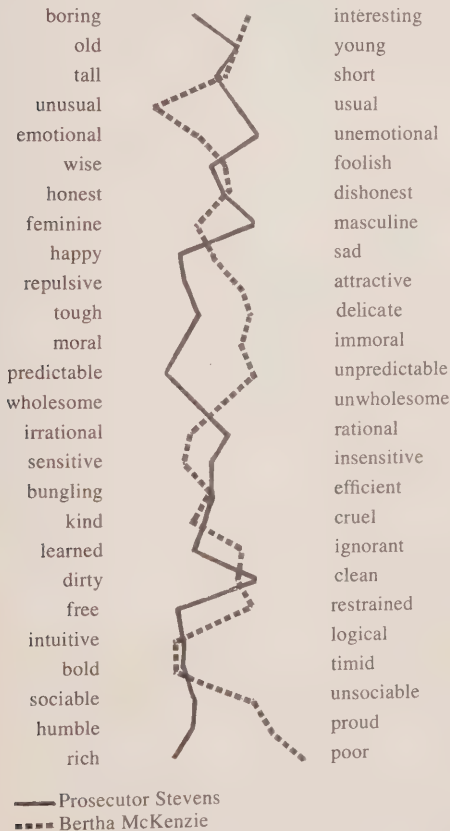
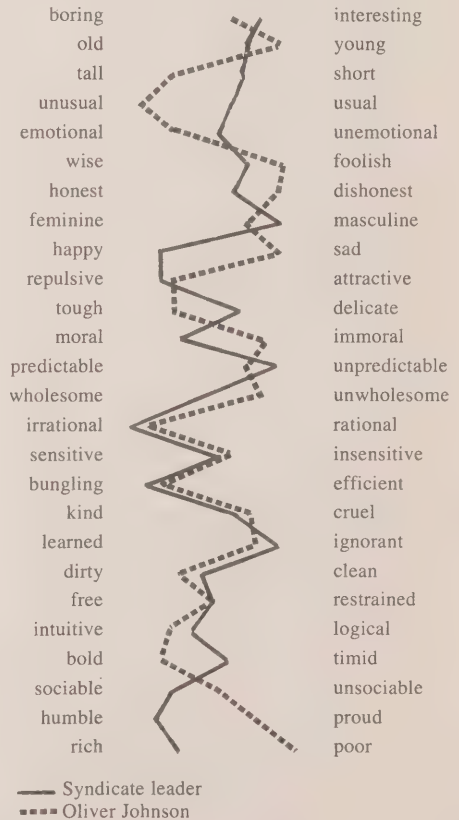


Exhibit 27

Criminals – Comparison – *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet*



Johnson, the radical Métis leader, is perceived as being poor when compared to the syndicate leader, but otherwise not radically different from him. Perhaps one viewer best summed up the reactions to these two characters in the following words: "In *S.W.A.T.* the 'bad guys' are clear cut and obvious, while in *Sidestreet* there are not 'bad guys' – just people with problems."

These viewers also commented on the difference in music between the two programs. *S.W.A.T.* music is fast, strong, and powerful. The Canadian program uses little music; what little is used is slower and quieter. *S.W.A.T.* music is recognizable whenever it is played. The music in *Sidestreet* is indistinguishable and probably not played elsewhere.

The American program, *S.W.A.T.*, is sensational, exciting, but very predictable. It blows everything out of proportion. Its setting is rich and glamorous. Its criminals are wealthy, nationally financed, and have all the equipment they need for their work. Its police are superheroes, accomplishing almost impossible tasks. There are clear distinctions between "good people" and "bad people".

The Canadian program, *Sidestreet*, is realistic. It deals with real people caught up in real situations. The viewers, while finding the program slow, unexciting, and almost boring, do identify with the characters. The police are humane, busy, involved in several cases at the same time. They are caught up in the pressures of maintaining a budget and dealing with the press. The characters are less stereotyped. The viewers felt sympathy for the social worker, the villain in the story, and also for the main character who was trying to maintain her integrity in face of the pressures brought to bear upon her by the establishment.

The U.S. program entertains. The response to the Canadian program was best expressed by one viewer who wrote:

Canadian shows . . . are realistic to the point of being depressing. There is often a real issue examined. The characters have more of the moderate good and bad traits that are in everyone. There is a shading present that makes the character more believable. . . .

Several of these viewers did express an objection to *Sidestreet*, and other Canadian programming, that should be mentioned here because it came from a significant minority of respondents to this survey. This was a reaction to the language used by the characters in the program. Several viewers stated that *Sidestreet* was not a program for children because of the language. Others pointed out that the violence of the program was often verbal violence. One viewer summed it up with these words:

Canadian produced and acted shows appear to put too much stress on impressing the audience and this is done in a crude manner. For example, there is usually a lot of swearing and crude jokes or implications in Canadian shows. If these can be ignored I usually find the actual script is good in content. I feel it could be tastefully accomplished without these extras. Sometimes I feel that the swearing and boorish remarks are

added to compensate for the poor acting. Canadian actors seem not to have found their medium. They appear to be trying to find their niche somewhere between Shakespearian acting and the English theatres. All the while ignoring the fact that if they weren't so concerned with "establishing themselves as Canadians" they would be more impressive!

Comparison of Survey Data with the Content Analysis

This study and the content analysis conducted for the Commission by Williams, Zabrack, and Joy were purposively constructed to provide comparable data. Participants in the survey watched one of our television programs chosen from the content analysis sample of Ontario television programming. The questionnaire was constructed using the same category system employed in the content analysis. Few, if any, previous content analysis projects have ever sought to check their data against data dealing with the perceptions of ordinary viewers.

The content analysis data reporting the messages of each program has been presented. When analyzing *S.W.A.T.*, the two groups agree upon the main message of the program. In the case of *Laverne and Shirley*, there is little if any agreement upon the message communicated. The same is true with *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. For *Sidestreet*, the content analysis tends to be more positive than the viewers in this sample.

Over all the programs, the messages respondents said were present most often were: "there are two kinds of people in this world: the strong and the weak" (68 per cent); "the family is important in our society" (60 per cent); "people get support from their family" (60 per cent); "one main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little" (52 per cent).

The coders in the content analysis chose the family statement as the message most often presented across all categories of programs. For the four programs in this study, that message was chosen third most often. It was the fourth message, in terms of number of respondents mentioning it, for *S.W.A.T.*. The viewers of *Sidestreet* picked it as the second most prominent message of the program. It was not chosen by the viewers of *Laverne and Shirley*. Viewers of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* chose it as third most prominent message.

The content analysis reports that "being kind" was the best way of interacting with people demonstrated in the programs analyzed. Only ten viewers (eight per cent) picked that particular mode of interaction as being present in these four shows; 33 viewers (27 per cent) chose "be straightforward" and 21 viewers (17 per

cent) chose "be thoughtful" as the mode of interaction most prominent.

Viewers differ from the content analysis in one other detail. For these respondents, the average level of violence was 2.56 on a seven-point scale. Williams, Zabrack, and Joy report that the average rating for crime programs was 5.00, while documentaries averaged 6.00. The average violence rating for these viewers for *S.W.A.T.* was 3.65; for *Sidestreet* it was 2.94. This is considerably lower than that reported by the content analysis. The average for *Laverne and Shirley* is also considerably lower than the coders' average for situation comedies – 1.84 compared to 2.76.

Ordinary viewers of television programs do not perceive as much violence in the content because they are not trained to perceive it. Coders, working on a content analysis of media content, have been trained to perceive all aspects of the content. They have been provided with careful definitions of all variables relevant to the research. Their performance has been standardized so that it correlates significantly with the performance of all other coders working on the same research.

Given these differences in perspective and training, there will be differences in the data produced by content analysis and that produced by a survey of the viewing public. To balance these differences it would appear most logical to accept the content analysis data as the most liberal estimate of the amount of violence in media content, while accepting the audience data as the most conservative. The truth undoubtedly lies somewhere between the two extremes.

Conclusion

A. Reaching the Viewing “Publics”

This survey was undertaken to explore how the general public perceives and uses television. Instead of bringing people into the laboratory, thus creating an artificial environment, interviewers went into the homes of ordinary people with a prerecorded television program. Every attempt was made to keep the situation as close to normal as possible. However, it is inevitable that, even under participant observation conditions, some artificiality will creep in. Observers were present when viewers watched these programs. Viewers knew that they were going to be asked about the programs they watched, so they may well have paid more attention to them than they would normally. Given these differences between the actual situation and the survey situation, one may still generalize from this data to the public's perception of television.

Every day many different groups, or types, of viewers – publics – use television in their own way. A small minority of the general public never watch television. They do not own television sets and they do not want to watch television. They rely on other media for information and entertainment. If they happen to be visiting in a home where television is present, they will watch out of courtesy; otherwise they are very content to leave television alone.

Several respondents said they rarely watched and were not avid television fans, so they could not give worth-while answers to the questions they thought the interviewer was going to ask. One gentleman informed the interviewers that he got all the entertainment he needed from the radio; he didn't need or want a television set. These people are a part of society. They are a part of the audience for the electronic media who are often overlooked. If a portion of the government budget is being spent on television, what should be done for those persons who do not rely upon television as their source of entertainment, information, and relaxation?

Public agencies that would serve the entire populace must not focus their entire attention upon the most popular media. Such agencies must develop a broad-scale media program that takes into account the uses

people make of, and the gratifications they seek from, each medium. Someone using television for relaxation may not be at all receptive to an informational or persuasive message broadcast in the midst of a favourite program.

At the present time much attention is focused on the use of cable television as a medium to bring information to a large audience. Some authorities have discussed the use of cable television as a way of making people aware of service agencies within the community. The community channel on the local cable could bring to a large majority of people in the community information about government, schools, service agencies, and special interest groups. Research on this function of cable television has been conducted at the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Southern California, in Los Angeles. This certainly is a viable use of cable television. Yet, if all energy is put into developing innovative local programming on an interactive cable system, so that there can be two-way communication between local authorities and residents in a community, some people will still be out of the range of this information. These are the people who do not use television as a source of information – either because they do not watch it or because they perceive information programs as boring and not worth their time.

Public policy makers, then, must take a multifaceted approach to disseminating information to the public, especially if they want to reach those who may need the information the most. Similarly, Canadian research on the media must broaden its scope to consider the uses and gratifications that people receive from all media. This must include the interpersonal networks of communication that transfer information throughout society. One may well suggest that people who do not watch television rely on interpersonal contacts, instead of the mass media, for information. They write letters, visit more with neighbours, friends or relatives. They participate more in community social activities for their age groups.

B. The Fortress Mentality

Gerbner and Gross have long argued that television

usage engenders within the individual a fear of violence and a passive acceptance of the role of willing victims. They argue that increased usage of television causes people to develop a fortress mentality, which in turn causes them to alienate themselves from other people and prepare for the worst in life. Those interviewed in this study did not demonstrate such a pattern of behaviour, linking television viewing with fear and passivity.

This failure to find a direct relationship between hours spent watching television and the fortress mentality may be disconcerting to some people. Several different explanations may be offered in an attempt to account for this finding.

First, the fortress mentality may be an American phenomenon. All of the Gerbner research has been conducted in the United States. Are the effects of television different for Canadians than for Americans? Research has indicated that differences do exist between Canadian and American viewers when viewing U.S.-produced television shows. However, some of the research conducted for the Commission has found a fortress mentality in some Canadian viewers. A further explanation is needed to account for these differences.

Secondly, since Saskatoon is located in a Prairie province, one might argue that people in rural areas do not possess the fortress mentality. It is a phenomenon related to living in a large, urban centre. The population of Saskatoon is only 140,000, so it does not meet the large metropolitan criteria.

If the fortress mentality is a product of urban living, research by Gerbner should have also discovered this fact. Gerbner's data does not indicate any difference in fortress mentality between those who live in urban centres and those who live in rural areas. The fortress mentality is assumed to extend to people living in any environment and to be directly related to the amount of time spent watching television, no matter where one lives.

Two things are possible and must be considered when analyzing the Gerbner data. First, it is possible that Gerbner has never checked his data for rural/urban differences. Thus, his failure to report significant differences may account for his global approach to media theory. Secondly, it is possible that he has only urban data and assumes that rural people act in the same manner as city dwellers. Thus, his limited sample also limits the generalizability of his findings.

The explanation offered here cannot be proven without further research with a national probability sample of television viewers. Until such research is undertaken, however, care should be taken in generalizing the fortress mentality theory.

A third explanation will be offered here. This explanation rests upon the similarity between this research and research conducted about the television program *All in the Family*. Tate and Surlin have compared the

reactions of comparable samples of Canadian and American viewers about the same program.

They have shown that Canadians do not see the program *All in the Family* as being realistic or true to life. Viewers in the U.S. do perceive the show as more true to life than Canadian viewers. Secondly, Canadian viewers do not see as much humour in the program as U.S. viewers. Surlin and Tate have offered a cultural hypothesis to support this finding. *All in the Family* revolves around situations related to life in the United States. Canadian viewers do not experience the same life style, political affiliations, media events, et cetera, and therefore do not find the humour evolving from these situations as funny as do viewers in the United States.

Those television viewers who do identify with Archie Bunker, in the U.S. and Canada, are those who share common social psychological traits with him. Canadian viewers who agree with Archie have less education than other viewers, are close-minded, and are male. In other words, they are real-life Archie Bunkers. In the U.S., those viewers who agree with Archie are close-minded, have less formal education, and lower social status. The personality trait dogmatism, or close-mindedness, is the best single predictor of agreement with Archie in both groups of viewers.

Similarly, respondents in this survey do not see these U.S.-produced television programs as realistic or true to life. The three U.S. programs have an average realism score of 3.59 on a scale where one equals "not at all true to life" and seven equals "very true to life". *Sidestreet*, on the other hand, has a realism score of 4.94 on the same scale. Those participating in the comparison study of *S.W.A.T.* and *Sidestreet* also commented on the lack of reality in the first program and the powerful realism of the second.

Before television viewers can accept the validity of a message imbedded within program content, they must perceive that the program is actually reflecting real life as they understand it. Thus, a documentary or a news program will be more effective in communicating information about the world in which the viewer lives than a situation comedy.

Since Canadian viewers do not perceive television programs produced in the United States as true to life, they may not be affected by the messages embedded within them that would reinforce a fortress mentality. Canadian viewers do not perceive the amount of violence in U.S. television programs as realistic to the world in which they live. They do not perceive the problems confronting characters in U.S. television programs as the same ones that confront them daily in their lives.

Life portrayed on U.S. television takes place in a social milieu that is foreign to the Canadian viewer, whereas the American viewer lives in that milieu. The political situation, the life styles, even the location of the program are all part of the American milieu. Thus, all

media serve to reinforce the perception of the American viewer that life in the United States is similar to the way it is portrayed on television.

Canadian viewers exist in a different milieu. Their life style is different from that of the U.S. viewers and their media present a slightly different picture of the world. There is some evidence that their values and beliefs differ from those of people in the United States.¹ Therefore, the only Canadians who show agreement with the fortress mentality are those who already possess the personality and belief system related to this phenomenon.

Individuals who have an authoritarian belief system already know that the world is evil and dangerous. They know that there are forces at work to corrupt and change life in their country. They know that these forces must be met by power and controlled by might. Television programs from the United-States merely reinforce the belief system they already possess.

Alienated viewers also know that other people cannot be trusted or counted on to come through in a pinch. They, too, know that the world is a dangerous place. They have shut themselves off from social contact. Television programs from the U.S. also reinforce their belief system.

Canadian viewers living in urban areas with high crime rates also exist in dangerous and threatening social milieus. While not relating to the political and social messages of program content in the United States, these viewers will perceive the environmental milieu as being realistic and they may well show a direct correlation between amount of time spent watching television and the fortress mentality. However, if this theory is correct, one should not expect to find such a correlation among urban residents of low-crime districts.

The fortress mentality is a complex phenomenon, much more complex than theorists have thought up to the present time. Further research is necessary if a complete understanding of the phenomenon is to be gained. In the meantime, media theorists ought not to use it as a battering ram to scare the public and bring about censorship of television content.

C. The Problem of Generalizing from Television Content to Canadian Society

Those who watch television extensively do confuse the typical television situation with the reality of the world in which they live. Respondents to this survey who watch a lot of television were the ones who scored highest on the reality questions.

If individuals have little experience with violence in real life, they have to rely on television to provide them with information about violence. As Merton and Lazarsfeld argued, television is influential when it has monopoly control over other sources of information. For instance, Trach² found that those who had no experience in Canadian courtrooms had the most mis-

perceptions of Canadian courtroom procedure because they relied upon American legal dramas for information. Since there are many differences between Canadian and U.S. courtroom procedures, such individuals were misled, or misinformed, about Canadian society and what happens in courtrooms in their own country. The implications from both of these studies are that as Canadian programming increases, beliefs about Canadian society should also change. Similarly, as crime dramas become more realistic in their treatment of crime, knowledge about the reality of the violent world should change.

While regular viewers of crime dramas showed no inclination to possess a fortress mentality, they did see television content as being informative about the world of violence. Like heavy viewers of television, they agreed that crimes of violence most often occur between strangers. They appear to rely on television for information that they do not have from their own experience. When television is incorrect, they are incorrect. The content analysis indicates that, on crime dramas, violence occurred most often between police and other people or between strangers. Since crime viewers rely upon television for this type of information, they too believe crimes of violence occur between strangers.

D. Selective Perception of Media Messages

This research suggests that, no matter what type of program different groups of viewers watch, they will find messages that support their belief systems. It also suggests that viewers will pick content supportive of their beliefs. Alienated viewers tend not to watch situation comedies that may depict a world of people who relate easily to one another. At the same time, they prefer not to watch crime dramas. Those programs that they do watch – musical and variety programs, soap operas, medical series, religious programs – are perceived to contain messages supporting their own belief systems.

This study provides considerable evidence for a selective exposure and selective perception hypothesis of information reception through television. Four different programs were used in the study. Authoritarian viewers demonstrated a propensity to see authoritarian messages in all of these programs, and alienated viewers demonstrated a propensity to see alienation messages in all four. Pollyanna viewers tended to see messages that everything was all right with the world. While the data are not conclusive and more detailed research is necessary, there seems to be some support for the selective exposure hypothesis. People see and hear what they are prepared to see and hear. People receive those messages from the television that they want to receive. Therefore, carefully prepared messages that are intended to be persuasive will be ineffective when broadcast. First, the desired audience may not be watching at that time. Secondly, even when that

audience is reached, selective perception may well work to screen out the important parts of the message.

E. Preferences for Specific Media Content

Those interviewed in this survey were quite discriminating in their television habits. They do not watch everything; they have preferences for specific types of programs. When they watch television, they bring different needs to it each time. Many people watch soap operas to relax and take a break from the day's activities. Crime dramas are watched because they are exciting. News programs and documentaries fulfil the need to know and be informed about what is going on in the world. Situation comedies are chosen because they help relax the individual, or they have become a habit, or they are enjoyable.

On the basis of these data, it is possible to talk about certain patterns of viewing preference. For example, those who watch crime dramas regularly also report watching adventure programs, medical series, drama, and sports. Essentially, these viewers prefer television that is exciting.

Viewers of soap operas, on the other hand, tend also to watch family situation comedies, game shows, musical and variety programs, and situation comedy repeats. Many of these programs are on during the daytime and help the housewife find relief from the daily routine.

Viewers who prefer public affairs and documentary programming also tend to watch panel shows and religious programs. They watch television to learn about things and to find out what is going on in the world.

There is also a drama preference, linked with watching soap operas, medical series, and drama programs. Here the dynamics revolve around human interaction and human problems.

A small group of viewers prefer to watch instructional, children's, and religious programs. It is hard to say what this viewing pattern represents. Many of these are daytime programs. Generally, it appears to be a limited viewing preference that may be circumscribed by religious beliefs and preferences for non-controversial and non-violent programming.

Finally, viewers of sports broadcasts tended to show few other preferences except for a slight preference for crime dramas. There is a decided negative relationship between regular sports viewing and regular watching of soap operas or religious broadcasts. Sports enthusiasts apparently limit their television viewing to sports and crime dramas.

Those who watch soap operas, adult situation comedies, musical and variety programs, et cetera, are the ones who believe that television makes a good babysitter. Viewers of documentaries and public affairs programming do not believe this; they prefer that their children go outside or read a book rather than watch television.

Those who regularly watch crime programs see no

reason for television violence to be controlled. They do not believe that television is harmful to people. They are the viewers most likely to agree that they can watch anything on television without it having any effect upon them.

Similarly, they do not want more Canadian content on television. They are quite happy with the present state of affairs. Individuals who watch public affairs programming do want more Canadian content. They are also the ones most likely to agree that television content is intellectually insulting.

Respondents to this survey generally believe that there should be more Canadian content on Canadian television. The major reason they give for this is to support and expand the Canadian television production system. Several viewers also believe that an increase in Canadian television would help Canadians understand their history, culture, and nation. More Canadian programs would improve and strengthen the Canadian identity.

A good-sized sub-population is put off by the language and humour of some Canadian television. Research in communication in language reinforces what these people are saying. Whenever a word that is too intense for an audience member is used in a message, that member will react against that message. These respondents are saying they do precisely that. They perceive that Canadian-produced programs are the greatest violators of their language standards. Thus, programs produced in Canada, which may well have important messages for Canadian viewers, are lost on this sub-population because the messages have not been presented in language they consider appropriate or meaningful.

This problem is similar to that faced by the Public Broadcasting System in the United States. When it first began, the quality of programs it produced were so bad that only a select few watched PBS. Gradually it has changed until today PBS programs are both creative and of high quality. Data indicates, however, that many people still do not watch PBS because of the perceptions of public television they developed during its early years.

Canadian viewers have received the same impression about Canadian programming. They believe that the acting is amateurish, the scripts are often illogical, the language is strong and coarse and the pace is slow and boring. They turn it off. They will continue to turn it off as long as they have the perception that television produced in this country is inferior to that produced in the United States. It is no longer the poor quality that holds back the viewer but the perception the viewer has about a Canadian television show – a perception that may well be reinforced by television critics in other media who constantly write about the horrible programs produced in Canada. Such a perception may well hold back the development of improved Canadian television, if networks rely only on ratings for feedback.

F. Programming Suitable for Children

Respondents were concerned about the type of television programs children watch. Only 19 per cent of them thought that children should be allowed to watch anything on television. Those programs that received the most replies as programs children should not watch were ones containing sex or pornography, violence, or crime. Crime dramas were mentioned by 65 per cent of the sample as not suitable for children's viewing.

This raises a question for which there is no simple answer. If such programs are not suitable for children, how does one control them? Only 54 per cent of these respondents were in favour of censoring television violence. Unfortunately, this study did not ask the respondents if they monitored the television viewing of their own children. Many of them believe that parents should control the viewing habits of children.

BBM Bureau of Measurement studies show that a significant number of children watch crime dramas. The Family Hour in the United States was an attempt to limit crime programming to times when children would no longer be viewing. Yet studies show that some children are still watching television at midnight. For example, BBM survey figures for Ontario indicate that a good number of children watch *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, which is broadcast at midnight in that area. Similarly, the CBS study of violent content indicates that while one network may reduce action programming during the Family Hour, another network may increase it. Thus, competition between networks offsets any advantages of self-discipline.

Parents may well be the best monitors of children's viewing habits. If they feel strongly that certain programs are not suitable for their children to watch, then they can make certain that their children are away from the set when these programs are playing. This is not a solution for those children whose parents do not monitor their children's viewing. Other methods will have to be developed to offset any possible effects.

G. The Necessity of Media Education

We live in a world saturated by the mass media. Television is a fact of life that cannot be ignored or done away with. Television is not going to go away in the near or far future. In fact, with the development of interactive cable television, it may well be more of a fact of life in the future than it is in the present.

Children, it is said, spend more time watching television than attending school. Yet the school curriculum acts as if the media did not exist. Time is spent teaching children to read and write, do arithmetic, participate in sports, speak second languages, et cetera. Where in the school curriculum are children taught to deal with the mass media? Where are they taught the principles of news selection? Where are they taught to deal with television content? They are taught how to analyze a poem or a novel or a short story, but where

are they taught how to analyze a film or a television program?

Since the media are, and will continue to be, such an important part of life, why don't schools spend time educating people for that part of their life? Studies in persuasion indicate that when people are forewarned about a persuasive technique, they are less persuadable. Certainly the same holds true for the mass media. If people are aware of media content, production techniques, and selection characteristics, they should be immune from manipulation by the media. Courses in the mass media would reduce the number of people who perceive television content as just like real life.

Those who participated in the comparison study reported identifying with the characters of *Sidestreet*. They not only recognized their identification but were able to describe why it exists. The study made them aware of factors that they had not previously considered while watching television.

Grant Noble³ describes how an older sister's inquiries about how her five-year-old sister viewed television caused the younger girl to start questioning the reality of television herself. The older sister's questions made the girl so curious about the reality of the actors that the parents were able to explain to her that television programs did not present reality.

More importantly, research by Salomon⁴ in Israel suggests that "having children talk through television-making may not only be motivating and instructive, but also a way to acquire new modes of cognitive representation of the world".

The brief presented to the Commission by Year Two English Students at Laura Secord Secondary School, St. Catharines, Ontario, has much to recommend it. These students undertook a survey of current television programming and movie productions. One-half of the class investigated television programming, while the other half analyzed current motion pictures. Each student analyzed specific programs in order to complete a chart that recorded the aggressor for each violent act, the approximate age of the victim, the motivation for the act, the immediate outcome, and the probable long-term affects. A class chart was made, compiling all the data and the students participated in writing the brief.

While the brief does not examine the effect of doing the content analysis, this author would like to suggest that these students now see television and motion pictures differently because of this experience. They should now be aware of the amount of violence on television, the stylistic fashion in which it is often portrayed, and how many times the victims do not suffer because of the violence. They should also be aware of the possible long-term effects of violence. Similar activities by other English teachers might well help to reduce significantly the number of people who believe that television presents a realistic picture of life. Research should also be conducted into this matter to

see if this author's hypothesis is true – that doing such an analysis has an immunization effect on the students.

H. The Uses-and-Gratifications Theory

Much of the research reported here has focused on the uses and gratifications that viewers receive from the media. People do watch television for different reasons. There is a definite need for continuing basic media research in Canada. This research ought to pursue a uses-and-gratifications paradigm. Very little is known about the perceptions and interests of Canadian audiences.

Traditionally, Canadian communication researchers have been hardware-oriented. The federal Department of Communication has encouraged this. Thus, Canadians know quite a lot about teleconferencing and other recent media innovations, but they know very little about the process of news selection, the process of program decision-making, production codes, and basic uses of the media by Canadian people. How does media usage on the Prairies differ from that in central Canada or the Maritimes? These are large questions which will only be answered by a broad-scale research program carried on in many different areas of the country.

Authoritarian viewers in Saskatoon are no different from authoritarian viewers in Toronto. Research based upon social psychological variables may well be more fruitful than research based on macro-socio-economic variables. The uses-and-gratifications paradigm appears to lend itself to the macro- and micro-researcher. It also appears to be a model that is useful to the producer. With it, producer and researcher can work together to bring about the kinds of programming desired by the various sub-populations in the country. At least it is not a model that causes the researcher to stand at one side and declare to the producer that everything he is doing is harmful to people who view it.

I. Programming to Meet People's Preferences

Harold Mendelsohn⁵ has written an excellent article that warns against possible misuse of the data produced by uses-and-gratifications research. In the past it has often been misused by the humanist who declares *a priori* what type of content the audience should have, and by the "educational-reformer" who also knows what is good for the audience. This type of research may also be misused by the producer who uses it to justify content of questionable quality and merit to the audience.

This research certainly can be used, however, to suggest that audience members want more variety in television programming. Basic research on audience desires will reveal a much broader scope of varying types of content than is now present on television. This will include the desires of rather small, elite audiences.

To meet these needs, some restructuring of the delivery system of television may be necessary. Stuart Griffiths has suggested to the Commission a restruc-

turing of the Canadian delivery system that would allow for channels offering specialized programming for small audiences with needs for such programming. The uses-and-gratifications research can help identify these specialized media desires. Such research would give researcher and producer opportunities to work together to provide programs that fulfil the desires of all people.

References

Chapter One

1. David Berlo, *The Process of Communication* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).
2. James McCroskey and Lawrence Wheeler, *Introduction to Human Communications* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976), p. 9.
3. For an analysis of the beliefs and values of producers and their interaction with other persons in the production-distribution system, see Muriel G. Cantor, *The Hollywood TV Producer: His Work and His Audience* (New York: Basic Books, 1971).
4. Richard J. Stonesifer, "A New Style for TV Criticism," *Television Quarterly*, 6, (2), 1967, reprinted in Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, eds, *Mass Culture Revisited* (Toronto: Van Nostrand, Reinhold, 1971), pp. 207-217.
5. Milton Rokeach, *The Nature of Human Values* (New York: The Free Press, 1973), pp. 144-162.
6. Melvin DeFleur and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communications* (New York: David McKay, 1975). 3rd ed.
7. Cantor, op. cit., pp. 139-141.
8. Idem, pp. 166-167.
9. An excellent example of the first type of attitude is expressed by Lowenthal in the following quotation.

A study of television . . . will go to great heights in analyzing data on the influence of television on family life, but it will leave to poets and dreamers the question of the actual human values of this new institution. Social research takes the phenomena of modern life, including the mass media, at face value. It rejects the idea of placing them in a historical and moral context.

Leo Lowenthal, "Historical Perspectives in Popular Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55, 1950, 323-332.

"If the reader has detected that I can control my unmitigated enthusiasm for much that has been done in the field thus far, he has gotten my point. One can't help thinking of Albert D. Lasker's famed definition of market research: 'something that tells you that a jackass has two ears.'" Stonesifer, op. cit., p. 215.

Examples of resistance by critics to research activity are given in Bradley Greenberg and Thomas Gordon, *Critics' and Public Perceptions of Violence in TV Programs*, Report No. 1, Violence in Media Project (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Department of Communication, September 1970), pp. 24-26.

A good example of the third type of review is by Harry Harris, "Is Archie Funny? It All Depends Upon Target of Joke and the Listener," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 27, 1976.
10. Natalie Shaefer in Patrick Agon, *Is That Who I Think It Is?* (New York: Ace Books, 1975), I:165.
11. Cantor, op. cit., pp. 116-175.
12. Idem, p. 176.
13. Stephen E. Whitfield and Gene Roddenberry, *The Making of Star Trek* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968).
14. John R. Bittner, *Mass Communication* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 123-124.
15. Cleveland Amory, "TV: The Medium Medium," in D. W. Parson and Wil A. Linkugel, eds., *Television and the New Persuasion* (Lawrence, Kansas: House of Usher, 1970), pp. 35-48.
16. Bradley Greenberg and Thomas Gordon, "Perceptions of Violence in Television Programs: Critics and Public," in George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubenstein, eds., *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol. 1, *Media Content and Control* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 244-258.
17. Norman Felsenthal, "The Audience and Reviewers: An Analysis of Viewer Letters and Critics' Columns Relating to the Television Program 'All In The Family'," Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the Speech Communication Association, Houston, Texas, December 29, 1975.
18. Bob Lancaster, "What Do You Do About Sex Talk?" *Miami Herald*, January 22, 1974.
19. Dwight Newton, "How Many Is Voluminous?" *San Francisco Examiner*, February 18, 1974.
20. James T. Lull and Catherine A. Hanson, "Women's Perceptions of Stereotypic Role Portrayals in Television Commercials," Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the Speech Communication Association, Houston, Texas, December 1975.
21. An excellent example of this type of research is to be found in L.W. Doob, *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (New York: Holt, 1935).
22. Raymond A. Bauer, "The Audience," in Ithiel de Sola Pool and Wilbur Schramm, eds., *Handbook of Communication* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973), p. 141.
23. Quoted in L. John Martin, "Recent Theory on Mass Media Potential in Political Campaigns," *Role of the Mass Media in American Politics*, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 427, September 1976, p.126.
24. Carl I. Hovland, Irving L. Janis, and Harold H. Kelley, *Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953).
25. Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

Herbert Blumer and P. M. Houser, *Movies, Delinquency and Crime* (New York: Macmillan, 1933).
26. George Gerbner and Larry Gross, "Living With Television : The Violence Profile," *Journal of Communication*, 26 , Spring 1976, 173-199.
27. Leonard A. LoSciuto, "A National Inventory of Television Viewing Behavior," in Eli A. Rubenstein, George A. Comstock, and John P. Murray, eds., *Television and Social Behavior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972). IV:77.
28. Canada, Senate, Special Committee on Mass Media, *Report*. Vol. III, *Good, Bad, or Simply Inevitable?* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p.11.
29. Gerbner and Gross, op. cit., p. 177.
30. Idem, p. 191.
31. Idem, pp. 193-194.

32. Herbert I. Schiller, *The Mind Managers* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1973).
33. Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965).
34. Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1950).
35. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Personal Taste, and Organized Social Action," in Lyman Bryson, ed. *The Communication of Ideas* (New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1948).
36. Many of these studies have been collected in Lewis A. Dexter and David Manning White, eds., *People, Society and Mass Communications* (New York: The Free Press, 1964). See especially articles by Raymond A. Bauer, "The Communicator and Audience," pp. 125-140; Ithiel de Sola Pool and Irwin Shulman, "Newsmen's Fantasies, Audiences and Newswriting," pp. 141-159; David Manning White, "The Gatekeeper: A case study in the selection of news," pp. 160-172; and Walter Gieber, "News Is What Newspapermen Make It," pp. 173-182.
37. Raymond A. Bauer, "The Audience," op. cit., p.142.
38. Quoted in Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Indexing Process in Communication," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 19, 1955, 293.
39. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948). The voter is not a passive target of the messages of mass media. Rather he is a repository of countless bits of previous information. He retains within him a lifetime of earlier messages that have been structured into a series of dispositions. The new message adds one more, but its net effect in changing the balance is infinitesimal compared to its effect as a trigger to responses already determined by predispositions. At any one moment the voter's predisposition is likely to be a far better predictor of his response to a stimulus than the character of the stimulus.
Ithiel de Sola Pool, "TV, A New Dimension in Politics," in E. Burdick and A. Brodbeck, eds., *American Voting Behavior* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957).
Similarly, Mendelsohn and Crespi conclude that "the media play a stronger role in triggering predispositions than they do in making sales." Harold Mendelsohn and Irving Crespi, *Polls, Television, and the New Politics* (Scranton, Pa: Chandler, 1970).
40. Eunice Cooper and Marie Jahoda, "The Evasion of Propaganda: How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-prejudice propaganda," *Journal of Psychology*, 23, 1947, 15-25.
41. Lawrence Laurent, "Popular TV Shows Focus On Visceral Involvement," *Atlanta Constitution*, February 4, 1973, p.19.
42. Norman Lear, Speech to the International Radio and Television Society, New York City, May 10, 1973.
43. Laura Z. Hobson, "As I listened to Archie Bunker say 'Hebe'," *New York Times*, September 12, 1971. See also "Family Fun. CBS's Irreverent New Situation Comedy," *Newsweek*, March 15, 1971, p. 68, and Charles L. Saunders, "Is Archie Bunker the Real White American?" *Ebony*, June 1972, p. 190.
44. Neil Vidmar and Milton Rokeach, "Archie Bunker's Bigotry: A Study in Selective Perception and Exposure," *Journal of Communication*, 24, 1974, 36-47.
45. Eugene D. Tate and Stuart H. Surlin, "Agreement With Opinionated TV Characters Across Cultures," *Journalism Quarterly*, 53, 1976, 199-203; 210.
- Stuart H. Surlin and Eugene D. Tate, "All in the Family: Is Archie Funny?" *Journal of Communication*, 26, 1976, 4, 61-68.
Multiple correlation data are reported for the first time in this publication. The multiple correlation between dogmatism, education, occupation, and agreement with Archie for United States viewers is 0.50 ($p = .001$). The multiple correlation between education, dogmatism, and agreement with Archie for Canadian viewers is 0.29 ($p = .001$).
46. John D. Leckenby and Stuart H. Surlin, "Race and Social Class Differences in Perceived Reality of Socially Relevant Television Programs for Adults in Atlanta and Chicago," paper presented at International Communication Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, April 1975.
47. Joseph Plummer, "Advertising Research," *Journal of Communication*, 21, 1971, 315-325.
48. Percy H. Tannenbaum, "Effect of Serial Position on Recall of Radio News Stories," *Journalism Quarterly*, 31, 1954, 319-323.
49. M. E. Shaw, "A Serial Position Effect in Social Influence on Group Decisions," *Journal of Social Psychology* 54, 1961, 83-91.
Robert F. Forston, "The Decision-Making Process in the American Civil Jury: A Comparative-Methodological Investigation," unpublished Ph.D., dissertation. University of Minnesota, 1968.
50. Jack Lyle, "Television in Daily Life: Patterns of Use Overview," in Eli A. Rubenstein, George A. Comstock, and John P. Murray, eds, *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol. 4, *Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).
51. J. A. Adams, *Human Memory* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).
52. Raymond A. Bauer, op. cit. (1973), p.144.
53. Harold D. Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts, eds., *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 84-99.
54. D. McQuail, J. G. Blumler, and J. R. Brown, "The Television Audience: A Revised Perspective," in D. McQuail, ed., *Sociology of Mass Communications* (London: Penguin, 1972).
55. Daniel Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 24, 1960, 163-204.
56. L. John Martin, op. cit., 1976, p. 125.
57. D. Lundberg and O. Hulten, *Individen och Mass-media* (Stockholm: EFL, 1968).
58. George Gerbner, op. cit., 1976.
59. Leo Bogart, "The Mass Media and the Blue Collar Worker," in A. Bennett and W. Gomberg, eds., *Blue Collar World: Studies of the American Worker* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).
60. Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle and Edwin B. Parker, *Television in the Lives of Our Children* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).
61. Elihu Katz, Jay G. Blumler, and Michael Gurevitch, "Utilization of Mass Communication by the Individual," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., *The Uses of Mass*

Communications (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 21-22.

62. See especially Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, *Mass Culture Revisited* (Toronto: Van Nostrand, Reinhold, 1971).

63. Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

Chapter Two

1. Richard Christie and Florence L. Geis, *Studies in Machiavellianism* (New York: Academic Press, 1970).
2. Donald W. Fiske and Salvatore Maddi, eds., *Functions of Varied Experience* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1961).
3. Salvatore R. Maddi, *Personality Theories: A Comparative Analysis*. Rev. ed. (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1972).
4. R. E. Thayer, "Measurement of Activation Through Self Report," *Psychological Reports*, 20, 1967, 663-678.

Chapter Five

1. Tsiyona Peled and Elihu Katz, "Media Functions in Wartime: The Israel Home Front in October 1973," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., *The Uses of Mass Communications* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 49-69.
2. Bradley S. Greenberg and Joe Dominick, "Racial and Social Class Differences in Teenagers' Use of Television," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 13 (Fall) 1969, 331-334.
3. Bradley S. Greenberg, "Gratifications of Television Viewing and Their Correlates for British Children," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., op. cit., pp. 71-92.
4. Bradley S. Greenberg and Thomas Gordon "Perceptions of Violence in Television Programs: Critics and Public," in George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubenstein, eds., *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol.1, *Media Content and Control* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 244-258.

Chapter Seven

1. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," *American Sociological Review*, 21, 1956, 709-713.
2. Alan F. Jensen, *Sociology: Concepts and Concerns* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971), p. 16.
3. Item for total score correlations are as follows: item 47, $r = .73$; item 48, $r = .70$; item 49, $r = .68$; item 50, $r = .81$; item 51, $r = .75$.
4. Are these the children of permissive parents whose permissiveness gave the message that they did not care for their children, thus bringing about adults who believe no one cares for them?
5. T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D. Levinson, and N. Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950).
6. The item to total score correlations for this scale are item 52, $r = .80$; item 54, $r = .71$; item 55, $r = .58$; item 56, $r = .58$; item 57, $r = .56$; item 58, $r = .56$; item 59, $r = .72$; item 60, $r = .65$; item 61, $r = .48$.

7. Richard Christie and Florence L. Geis, *Studies in Machiavellianism* (New York: Academic Press, 1970), p.366.

8. Item to total score correlations for this scale are as follows: item 30, $r = .70$; item 32, $r = .81$; item 33, $r = .76$.

The correlation coefficients between scores on the pollyanna scale and those on the authoritarian scale is $-.21$. That between the pollyanna scale and the anomia scale is $-.36$.

9. The correlation coefficient with item 1, "because it relaxes me" is $.31$. The coefficient with item 26, "because it is so much fun" is $.20$. The correlation coefficient with item 5, "because it helps me forget my problems" is $-.19$.
10. The correlation coefficient with item 12, "You can do anything if you believe you are right," is $.30$. The correlation coefficient with item 13, "marriage problems associated with living together are easily handled," is $.20$.

Chapter Eight

1. Since so many respondents dropped out of the institutional sample, it would be best to not put too much reliance upon this data. There is no way to estimate those factors that caused members of the institutional sample not to complete the study. Similarly, the size of the sample is not sufficient to produce statistically reliable data. It would have been better if 30 persons had completed the survey in this sample. Therefore, this data is illustrative and should be treated as such. It is not possible to generalize these findings to the institutional population from which the sample was drawn.

Chapter Ten

1. Meredith Moore, "Communication in Law Enforcement," paper presented at the annual convention of the Speech Communication Association, Houston, Texas, December 27, 1975, pp. 1-2.

Chapter Twelve

1. For preliminary research that provides evidence for a difference in value systems between Canadian students and students in the United States, see Milton Rokeach, *The Nature of Human Values* (New York: The Free Press, 1973).
2. Larry F. Trach, "The Effect of American Television Legal Programs on Canadians' Beliefs About Their Judicial Process: A Study In Communication Effects," Unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of Saskatchewan, August 1973.
3. Grant Noble, *Children in Front of the Small Screen* (London: Constable and Co., 1975).
4. Gavriel Salomon, "The Effects of Television on Children's Cognitive Skills," in George Comstock and Georg Lindsey, eds., *Television and Human Behavior: The Research Horizon, Future and Present* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1975), p. 81.
5. Harold Mendelsohn, "Some Policy Implications of the Uses and Gratifications Paradigm," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., *The Uses of Mass Communications* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 303-318.

Appendix A

Letter Requesting Respondents Cooperation

We wish to inform you that your name has been randomly selected to partake in an extensive television survey being conducted by the Center for Opinion Research. The study is investigating viewers' opinions about television programming.

No study of this magnitude has been attempted in Canada up to this time. We have no knowledge of any comparable research having been conducted in the United States or Britain. Since this study is unique and quite extensive, your cooperation is of the utmost importance.

We are asking you to do two things in this study of opinions about television programming. First, we would like you to complete a questionnaire. This will take twenty to thirty minutes of your time. Secondly, we would like to show you a prerecorded television show in your own home. The programs chosen for this study have not normally been shown in this area. After you have watched the show you will be asked your opinions about it. The shows which we have run from a half hour to one hour in length. As you can see this is a lengthy study of television and will require some of your time.

During the next week an interviewer from the Center will be coming to your door with the questionnaire. If you wish to help us, the interviewer will also make an appointment with you to show you the prerecorded television show. We do not want to inconvenience you in any way and will set the appointment to fit your schedule. If you do not have time to view the program we would appreciate your filling in of the questionnaire on your own time.

I want to personally assure you that this study is not sponsored by any television station, network, program promotion agency or cable TV group. The sponsor is an Ontario Royal Commission. After you have seen the prerecorded program and given your opinions about it, the interviewer will give you a copy of the Royal Commission's Interim Report.

Please be assured that your opinions will be treated with all other opinions anonymously and confidentially. You will not be identified in the results by name. We are interested only in your attitudes about television. We greatly appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

E. D. Tate
Director.

Appendix B The Questionnaire

Television Survey

We are interested in your television viewing habits and attitudes about television programming. Please answer every question. This is not a test so there are no correct answers to any of these questions. We are interested only in your opinions. Please give us your honest answers.

Thank you very much for your cooperation

1. On an average weekday, how many hours do you usually spend watching television before 6 P.M.?

Number of hours 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7+

2. On an average weekday, how many hours do you usually spend watching television after 6 P.M.?

Number of hours 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7+

3. On an average weekend, how many hours of television do you watch?

Number of hours 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7+

4. Who are your three favourite television characters?

5. Who are the three television characters whom you dislike?

6. When you watch television which of the following types of shows do you most often watch?

(Please check one category)

Often	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
-------	--------------	--------	-------

Day-time soap operas: e.g.

Edge of Night

Another World

As the World Turns

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Adult Family Shows: e.g.

All In The Family

*M*A*S*H*

Jeffersons

Maude

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Family Shows: e.g.

Mary Tyler Moore

Rhoda

Happy Days

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Medical Shows: e.g.

Marcus Welby, M.D.

Medical Center

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Children's Shows: e.g.

World of Disney

Sesame Street

Mr. Dressup

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Drama: e.g.

Emergency

The Waltons

Upstairs, Downstairs

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Adventure: e.g.

Space 1999

Bionic Woman

Six Million Dollar Man

Forest Rangers

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Musical & Variety: e.g.

Carol Burnett

Sonny and Cher

Tommy Hunter

Celidh

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Crime: e.g.

Kojak

Starsky and Hutch

Sidestreet

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Game Shows: e.g.

Definition

What's the Good Word

Celebrity Dominoes

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Panel Shows: e.g.

Front Page Challenge

Headline Hunters

This is the Law

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Public Affairs & Documentaries: e.g.

Man Alive

This Land

fifth estate

W5

Jacques Cousteau

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Talk Shows: e.g.

Merv Griffin

Bob Maclean

Gzowski's

90 Minutes Live

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Sports: e.g.

Hockey Night in Canada

Canadian Football

CTV Saturday Sports

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Religious: e.g.

The World of Tomorrow

Rex Humbard

Oral Roberts

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Instructional: e.g.

Mr. Chips

Celebrity Cooks

Gardening with Stan

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Animation: e.g.

Flintstones

Pink Panther

Spiderman

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

Family Repeats: e.g.

Gilligan's Island

Hogan's Heroes

Partridge Family

_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------

7. How many television sets are there in your home? ____ sets
How many of these are black and white? ____
How many of these are color sets? ____
If you have more than one set, how often are they on at the same time?
____ rarely
____ sometimes
____ often
____ always
On which do you watch most of your television?
____ black and white
____ color
8. With whom do you watch most of your television? (Check one)
____ alone
____ with friends
____ with children
____ with family
____ other
9. Approximately what percentage of Canadian television programming do you feel is violent?
____ a. less than 20%
____ b. 20-39%
____ c. 40-59%
____ d. 60-79%
____ e. 80-100%
10. Approximately what percentage of U.S. television programming do you feel is violent?
____ a. less than 20%
____ b. 20-39%
____ c. 40-59%
____ d. 60-79%
____ e. 80-100%
11. Certain types of television material should not be broadcast.
____ a. strongly agree
____ b. agree
____ c. undecided
____ d. disagree
____ e. strongly disagree
12. If you answered either (a) or (b) above on question 11, please specify what type of material should not be broadcast.
____ sexual ____ pornographic ____ violent ____ cruelty to animals ____ graphic death ____ political ____ religious ____ off color comedy ____ ethnic humour ____ U.S. television shows ____ Canadian television shows ____ other _____
13. The single important element of a television show's success is the star.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
14. At the present time there is enough variety of television so that any person can find a program to fit their taste.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
15. There are too many documentaries on Canadian television.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
16. Television shows would be better if there were more excitement in them.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
17. Events depicted in television families, such as the Bunkers or Jeffersons, are just like things which happen in real life families.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
18. There are many people in society who are strongly influenced by television to do harmful acts.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
19. The fighting on television is just like the fighting in real life.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
20. I like to have the television running while I am in the house but I really don't care what program is on.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided
21. The amount of violence depicted on television is a realistic reflection of the amount of violence in Canadian society.
____ a. strongly agree ____ d. disagree
____ b. agree ____ e. strongly disagree
____ c. undecided

Now we would like to ask you about your views of television programming. Please give your opinion to the following questions.

22. To decrease the amount of painful and harmful action in society television violence should be censored.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
23. Violent actions portrayed on television usually provoke people who do not know each other well.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
24. I can watch all kinds of television shows without them causing me to act similarly.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
25. Crimes of violence are hardly ever between relatives in real life.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided

Now we would like to ask you some questions about society in general

26. Most people like their job.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
27. The world is a dangerous place to be.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
28. Violence is unavoidable in Canadian society.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
29. Most people are happy with their position in life.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
30. Most people are basically good and kind.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
31. It is safe to walk the downtown streets of a large city at night.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
32. Most people will go out of their way to help someone else.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
33. Most people are brave.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
34. Most people can be depended upon to come through in a pinch.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
35. It is increasingly necessary to have a gun in one's home for protection of self and family.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
36. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid enough to get caught.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
37. School age children are not safe outside their own neighborhood without an adult.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
38. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
39. A person who witnesses a violent attack upon another person should:
 ___ a. run away and forget it
 ___ b. call police
 ___ c. intervene physically
 ___ d. do nothing and not get involved
 ___ e. other _____
40. It is quite common for the victim of a violent action to not know the aggressor.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided

41. Life today is so boring that people seek excitement by watching television.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
42. People get support from their family.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
43. It is necessary to be aggressive to get ahead in this world.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
44. People who are victims of crimes deserve what they get because they ask for it in the first place.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
45. If asked for a cigarette by a stranger on a downtown city street, I would hurry on by without stopping for he might be a mugger.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
46. Which of the following best describes you?
 ___ a. I trust everyone ___ d. I trust few people
 ___ b. I trust most people ___ e. I trust no one
 ___ c. I trust some people
47. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
48. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
49. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
50. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
51. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
52. It is important to teach children absolute obedience to their parents.
 ___ a. strongly agree* ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
53. Any good boss should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
54. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
55. A person who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
56. One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
57. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided
58. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country.
 ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
 ___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
 ___ c. undecided

59. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret by politicians.
- ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
___ c. undecided

60. The true Canadian way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.
- ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
___ c. undecided

61. The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.
- ___ a. strongly agree ___ d. disagree
___ b. agree ___ e. strongly disagree
___ c. undecided

62. Please rank the three programs which you watch that you feel are the most violent.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

We would like you to give us some indication of the degree of involvement you have personally had with violent action.

On a scale of:

1. heard about it in the news
2. happened to someone in the neighbourhood
3. heard about it happening to a distant friend
4. happened to a friend
5. happened to a close friend
6. witnessed such an event involving a friend
7. witnessed such an event involving a close friend
8. almost happened to me
9. happened to me personally

Indicate the degree of involvement for each act below:

- ___ spanking
___ verbal abuse
___ child beating (requiring hospitalization)
___ beating with no bruises (using hands only)
___ beating with bruises (using hands only)
___ beating with a stick or hard instrument but no bruises
___ beating with a stick or hard instrument with bruises
___ purse snatching
___ mugging
___ robbery
___ rape
___ brawls
___ fights
___ threats but no fights

- ___ knife wounds
___ gun shot wounds
___ murder
___ suicide
___ other (please specify) _____

Now we would like to ask a few questions about yourself.

64. Sex: Male___ Female___

65. What is your age? Please circle one of the following:

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| a. under 18 | g. 41-49 |
| b. 18-20 | h. 50-59 |
| c. 21-24 | i. 60-69 |
| d. 25-30 | j. 70-79 |
| e. 31-34 | k. 80 or older |
| f. 35-40 | |

66. How many brothers and sisters do you have?___

67. Circle the number that corresponds with your position among the brothers and sisters in your family.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or ___

68. Indicate your marital status:

- ___ married
___ single
___ divorced or separated
___ widowed

69. What is your occupation? _____

70. What is the occupation of your spouse? _____

71. Do you own a handgun? Yes___ No___

72. Do you own any other gun(s)? Yes___ No___
If so, for what purpose do you have them? _____

73. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- a. grade nine or less
b. grade ten or eleven
c. grade twelve or thirteen
d. technical school graduate
e. some university or a university degree
f. a post graduate degree

74. We would appreciate an indication of your family income.

- a. \$ 5,999 or less
b. 6,000- 9,999
c. 10,000-14,999
d. 15,000-19,999
e. 20,000-29,999
f. 30,000 or more

Instructions:

We're interested in why people watch television. Here are some reasons that other people gave us for watching. Please tell us how much each reason is like you. Put a check mark for each one.

If you watch a particular type of show for a specific reason, we would like to know that also. Therefore, we have placed a line after each reason where you can note the particular type of show you watch in that specific case.

I Watch TV...

	A lot	A little	Not much	Not at all	Type of show
1. because it relaxes me	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. because it's almost like a friend	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. because I learn from watching it	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. because it's a habit	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. because it helps me forget my problems	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. because I want to know what is going on in the world	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. because it excites me	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. because it helps me forget I am alone	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. because I just like to watch it	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. when I am bored	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. because it calms me down when I am angry	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. when there is no one to talk to	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. because it is thrilling	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14. because it passes the time away	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
15. so I can get away from the rest of the family	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16. because it gives me ideas	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17. because it gives me something to do	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18. so I can learn how to do things I haven't done before	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
19. because I don't have to do anything when I watch	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
20. so I can be alone	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
21. because it stirs me up	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
22. because it makes me feel less lonely	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
23. because I enjoy watching	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

I Watch TV...

	A lot	A little	Not much	Not at all	Type of show
24. so I can get away from what I am doing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
25. because it is nice to have another human voice in the house when one is alone	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
26. because it is so much fun	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
27. because it's a pleasant rest	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
28. because it teaches me things I didn't learn in school	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
29. when I have nothing better to do	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
30. because it helps me learn about myself	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
31. because it helps me forget about my problems in my work	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
32. so I can learn about what could happen to me	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Appendix C

Short Questionnaire for Non-Respondents

About how many hours of television do you watch a day?

Do you have any opinions about the violence in television?

What types of shows do you watch?

_____ Instructional: e.g.

Mr. Chips
Celebrity Cooks
Gardening with Stan

_____ Animation: e.g.

Flintstones
Pink Panther
Spiderman

_____ Family Repeats: e.g.

Gilligan's Island
Forest Rangers
Partridge Family

_____ Day-time soap operas: e.g.

Edge of Night
Another World
As the World Turns

_____ Adult Family Shows: e.g.

All In The Family
*M*A*S*H*
Jeffersons
Maude

_____ Family Shows: e.g.

Mary Tyler Moore
Rhoda
Happy Days

_____ Medical Shows: e.g.

Marcus Welby, M.D.
Medical Center

_____ Drama: e.g.

Emergency
The Waltons
Upstairs, Downstairs

_____ Adventure: e.g.

Space 1999
Six Million Dollar Man
Bionic Woman

_____ Musical & Variety: e.g.

Carol Burnett
Sonny and Cher
Tommy Hunter
Celidh

_____ Crime: e.g.

Kojak
Starsky and Hutch
Sidestreet

_____ Game Shows: e.g.

Definition
What's the Good Word
Celebrity Dominoes

_____ Panel Shows: e.g.

Front Page Challenge
Headline Hunters
This Is The Law

_____ Public Affairs and Documentaries, e.g.

Man Alive
This Land
fifth estate
W5

Jacques Cousteau

_____ Children's Shows: e.g.

Walt Disney
Sesame Street
Mr. Dressup

_____ Sports: e.g.

Hockey Night in Canada
Canadian Football
CTV Saturday Sports

_____ Talk Shows: e.g.

Merv Griffin
Bob Maclean
Gzowski's 90 Minutes Live

_____ Religious: e.g.

The World of Tomorrow
Rex Humbard

4. _____

5. Who are the three television characters who you dislike?

6. How many television sets are there in your home? _____ sets

How many of these are black and white? _____

How many of these are colour sets? _____

On which do you watch most of your television?

Black and White _____

Colour _____

7. With whom do you usually watch television?

_____ Alone

_____ With friends

_____ With children

_____ With spouse

_____ Other

8. When a television program you wish to watch is not on because other people in the room refuse to switch channels do you:

_____ Watch what is on

_____ Go to another television set

_____ Stay in the room and do something else

_____ Go to another room

9. What types of programs do you feel are not appropriate for children to watch? Please list any below.

_____ None—children can watch anything

10. Have you ever seen the television show *Sidestreet*?

_____ No _____ Yes

(If Yes) How often do you watch it?

- _____ a) Once
_____ b) Occasionally
_____ c) Often

11. Have you ever watched the television show *Police Story*?

_____ No _____ Yes

(If Yes) How often do you watch it?

- _____ a) Once
_____ b) Occasionally
_____ c) Often

12. Have you ever seen the television show *Kojak*?

_____ No _____ Yes

(If Yes) How often do you watch it?

- _____ a) Once
_____ b) Occasionally
_____ c) Often

IF SEEN MORE THAN ONCE:

13. Of the two shows *Police Story* and *Sidestreet*, which do you consider the most violent? _____

14. Of the two shows *Kojak* and *Sidestreet*, which do you consider the most violent? _____

15. On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being not violent and 7 being violent, how violent would you rate:

<i>Police Story</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
<i>Sidestreet</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
<i>Kojak</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

16. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

17. What is your age? Please circle one of the following:

a. under 18	g. 41-49
b. 18-20	h. 50-59
c. 21-24	i. 60-69
d. 25-30	j. 70-79
e. 31-34	k. 80 or older
f. 35-40	

18. How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____

19. Circle the number that corresponds with your position among the brothers and sisters in your family.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or _____

20. Indicate your marital status:

_____ married

_____ single

_____ divorced or separated

_____ widowed

21. What is your occupation? _____

22. What is the occupation of your spouse? _____

23. Do you own a handgun? Yes _____ No _____

24. Do you own any other gun(s)? Yes _____ No _____
If so, for what purpose do you have them? _____

25. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- a. grade nine or less
b. grade ten or eleven
c. grade twelve or thirteen
d. technical school graduate
e. some university or a university degree
f. a post graduate degree

26. We would appreciate an indication of your family income.

- a. \$ 5,999 or less
b. 6,000- 9,999
c. 10,000-14,999
d. 15,000-19,999
e. 20,000-29,999
f. 30,000 or more

Appendix D

Interview conducted before showing Program

Interview Schedule

_____ Case No. _____ Interviewer
 _____ Time
 _____ Date of Interview

Part 1 — To be conducted while Audio-visual unit is being assembled

Please indicate whether you would strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each statement as it is read to you. If you are undecided about any of the statements please indicate this as well.

- There should be more Canadian content in television programming.
 _____ a) Strongly agree _____ d) Disagree
 _____ b) Agree _____ e) Strongly disagree
 _____ c) Undecided

If Agree Ask

Why? _____

If Disagree Ask

Why not? _____

- There is a distinct difference between television shows produced in the United States and those produced in Canada.
 _____ a) Strongly agree _____ d) Disagree
 _____ b) Agree _____ e) Strongly disagree
 _____ c) Undecided

If Agree Ask

How are they different? _____

What do you feel about the difference? _____

- Television portrays certain groups or organizations in society as being more violent than others.
 _____ a) Strongly agree _____ d) Disagree
 _____ b) Agree _____ e) Strongly disagree
 _____ c) Undecided

If Agree Ask

Which groups? _____

Do you see this portrayal as realistic? _____

- Television does not realistically depict the problems of the elderly.
 _____ a) Strongly agree _____ d) Disagree
 _____ b) Agree _____ e) Strongly disagree
 _____ c) Undecided

If Agree Ask

Do you see this as a problem? _____ Yes _____ No

If Yes Ask

Why? _____

- Television is intellectually insulting.
 _____ a) Strongly agree _____ d) Disagree
 _____ b) Agree _____ e) Strongly disagree
 _____ c) Undecided

If Agree Ask

In what way? _____

- Television makes a good babysitter.
 _____ a) Strongly agree _____ d) Disagree
 _____ b) Agree _____ e) Strongly disagree
 _____ c) Undecided

If Agree Ask

Why? _____

If Disagree Ask

Why not? _____

Now I would like you to select from this list (HAND OUT LIST OF CITIES) those three cities which you feel are the most violent in North America.

Why did you choose these particular cities? _____

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about television programming.

- What types of programs, if any, do you feel are not appropriate for children to watch?
 _____ None, children can watch anything.

If None, Go on to Question 9.

List of programs or types: _____

Why do you feel children should not watch these programs/types?

9. Are there any programs which you never watch?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes Ask

Please list as many of these as you wish: _____

Why do you not watch these programs? _____

10. Does Nick of *The Beachcombers* have any relatives in that program?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes Ask

Can you name any of them? _____

11. Does Kojak of the program *Kojak* have any relatives?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes Ask

Can you name any of them? _____

Appendix E

Non-Verbal Checklist Completed During Program

To be completed by interviewer while respondent is watching tape of sample television program and instructions.

Posture:	5 mins	10 mins	15 mins
Erect			
Leaning backwards			
Slouching			
Leaning forward			
Eye Movements:			
Staring at television			
Looking around			
Facial Expressions:			
Vacant			
Bored			
Surprised			
Disgusted			
Interested			
Excited			
Happy			
Legs and Feet:			
Crossed			
Tapping			
Stretched out			
Held underneath			
Crossed			
Clenched			
Relaxed			
Gesturing			
Sounds:			
Sighs			
Laughing			
Sarcasm			
Exclamation			
Sounds of excitement			
Conversing with other people			
Movement of the Body:			
Moving towards television			
Moving from television			
Leaving room			
Wandering around			
Interruptions from other family members			

When finished go to next sheet.

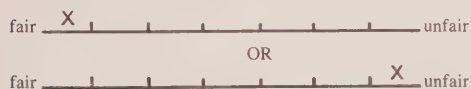
Appendix F

Semantic Differential Scales

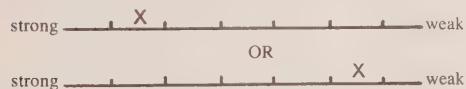
The purpose of this study is to measure the MEANINGS of certain things to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this scale, please make your judgments on the basis of what these things mean to YOU. On each page of this booklet you will find a different concept to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. You are to rate the concept of each of these scales in order.

Here is how you are to use these scales:

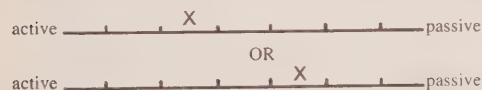
If you feel that the concept at the top of the page is very CLOSELY RELATED to one end of the scale, you should place your checkmark as follows:



If you feel that the concept is QUITE CLOSELY RELATED to one end or the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your checkmark as follows:



If the concept seems ONLY SLIGHTLY RELATED to one side as opposed to the other side (but is not really neutral), then you should check as follows:



The direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the thing you're judging.

If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the concept, or if the scale is COMPLETELY IRRELEVANT, unrelated to the concept, then you should place your checkmark in the middle space:



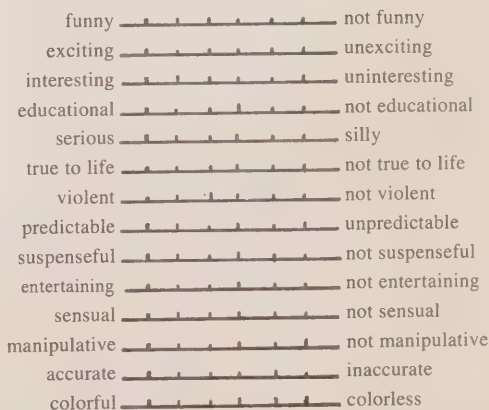
IMPORTANT:

- (1) Place all your checkmarks in THE MIDDLE OF THE SPACES, do not place on the boundaries.
- (2) Be sure you check every scale for every concept — DO NOT OMIT ANY.
- (3) Never put more than one checkmark on a single scale.

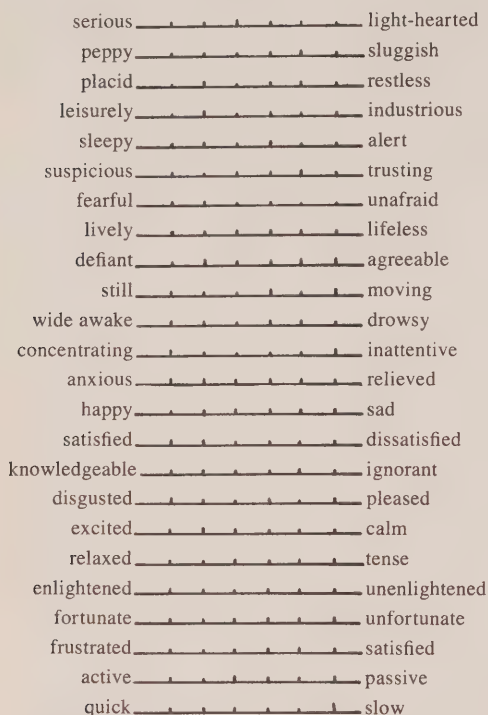
Before watching this program I feel:



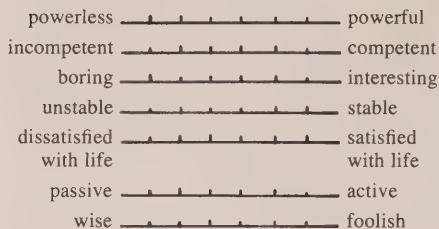
THIS PROGRAM



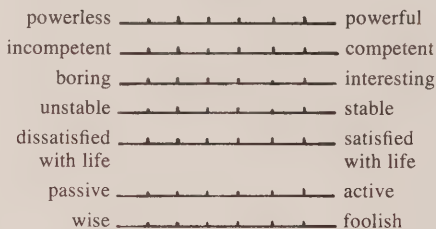
After watching this program I feel:



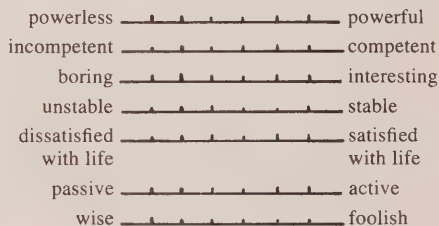
WOMEN



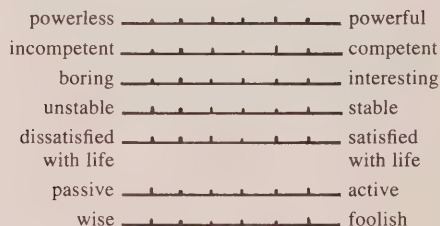
MEN



TEENAGERS



OLD PEOPLE



ETHNIC GROUPS

powerless	_____	powerful
incompetent	_____	competent
boring	_____	interesting
unstable	_____	stable
dissatisfied	_____	satisfied
with life	_____	with life
passive	_____	active
wise	_____	foolish

CAREER PEOPLE

powerless	_____	powerful
incompetent	_____	competent
boring	_____	interesting
unstable	_____	stable
dissatisfied	_____	satisfied
with life	_____	with life
passive	_____	active
wise	_____	foolish

MAIN CHARACTER

boring	_____	interesting
old	_____	young
tall	_____	short
unusual	_____	usual
emotional	_____	unemotional
wise	_____	foolish
honest	_____	dishonest
feminine	_____	masculine
happy	_____	sad
repulsive	_____	attractive
tough	_____	delicate
moral	_____	immoral
predictable	_____	unpredictable
wholesome	_____	unwholesome
irrational	_____	rational
sensitive	_____	insensitive
bungling	_____	efficient
kind	_____	cruel
learned	_____	ignorant
dirty	_____	clean
free	_____	restrained
intuitive	_____	logical
bold	_____	timid
sociable	_____	unsociable
humble	_____	proud
rich	_____	poor

Appendix G

Interview Conducted After Showing Program

Part 2 — To be completed after tape has been shown.

Hand out semantic differential for tone of program. Instruct respondent to fill it out in the same manner as for the written questionnaire. Hand out semantic differential series for portrayal of groups after collecting the previous.

The following questions are about the program you have just seen. I am interested in your opinions about the program — there are no right and wrong answers to the questions.

1. Which of the following messages do you feel were presented in the program? Please state whether you feel the message was present, absent or negated, i.e. the opposite was shown.

Read Out Each One

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Opposite</i>
1. The world is a dangerous place to be.	_____	_____	_____
2. A city's downtown is dangerous at night.	_____	_____	_____
3. Crime does not pay.	_____	_____	_____
4. School-aged children are not safe outside own neighbourhoods without adults.	_____	_____	_____
5. Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict.	_____	_____	_____
6. It is often necessary for police to use excessive force.	_____	_____	_____
7. The family is important in our society.	_____	_____	_____
8. People get support from their families.	_____	_____	_____
9. Most people like their job.	_____	_____	_____
10. Most people are happy with their position in life.	_____	_____	_____
11. If you believe you are morally right, any action you take is justified.	_____	_____	_____
12. You can do anything if you believe you are right.	_____	_____	_____
13. Marriage problems associated with living together are easily handled.	_____	_____	_____
14. Relations with others are simple, direct and conflict-free.	_____	_____	_____

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Opposite</i>
15. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.	_____	_____	_____
16. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	_____	_____	_____
17. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average person is getting worse, not better.	_____	_____	_____
18. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.	_____	_____	_____
19. These days a person doesn't really know whom one can count on.	_____	_____	_____
20. It is important to teach children strict obedience to their parents.	_____	_____	_____
21. Any good boss should be strict with people under him/her in order to gain their respect.	_____	_____	_____
22. There are two kinds of people in this world: the strong and the weak.	_____	_____	_____
23. A person, who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people.	_____	_____	_____
24. One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little.	_____	_____	_____
25. Children should be seen and not heard.	_____	_____	_____
26. Concerned citizens get into more trouble than it's worth, i.e., it doesn't pay to get involved.	_____	_____	_____
27. Good things in life are easy to come by.	_____	_____	_____
28. An insult to our honour should always be punished.	_____	_____	_____

- | | Yes | No | Opposite |
|---|-------|-------|----------|
| 29. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country. | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 30. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret by politicians. | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 31. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it. | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 32. The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor. | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 33. The best way of interacting with people is to: | | | |
| _____ a) be kind. | | | |
| _____ b) be thoughtful. | | | |
| _____ c) be pushy. | | | |
| _____ d) be strict. | | | |
| _____ e) be aggressive. | | | |
| _____ f) tell white lies. | | | |
| _____ g) be straightforward. | | | |
| _____ h) be sarcastic. | | | |
| _____ i) be evasive. | | | |
| _____ j) be tactful. | | | |
| _____ k) be assertive. | | | |
| 34. Would you watch another episode of this program? | | | |
| _____ Yes _____ No | | | |
| For which of the following reasons would you watch this program? | | | |

Check Reasons Acknowledged:

- | | YES | NO |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|
| a) for relaxation | _____ | _____ |
| b) to learn about things | _____ | _____ |
| c) to pass the time | _____ | _____ |
| d) to learn about myself | _____ | _____ |
| e) because it's thrilling | _____ | _____ |

35. This program was on for approximately _____ minutes. What percentage of the total time that it was on contained violent or aggressive activity?
- _____ a) less than 10%
- _____ b) 10 to 19%
- _____ c) 20 to 29%
- _____ d) 30 to 39%
- _____ e) 40 to 49%
- _____ f) 50 to 59%
- _____ g) 60 to 69%
- _____ h) 70 to 79%
- _____ i) 80 to 89%
- _____ j) 90 to 100%

36. On a scale of one to seven with seven being very true to life and one being not at all true to life, how true to life would you rate this program?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

37. Rate this show as to the violence involved:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not at all violent

Very violent

38. Was conflict portrayed in this show?

Yes _____ No _____

39. (If yes) What was the major solution (way) used to deal with the conflict?

Code Answer within the following categories:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| _____ a) arbitration | _____ h) psychological violence |
| _____ b) physical violence | _____ i) coercion |
| _____ c) verbal violence | _____ j) unsolved |
| _____ d) withdrawal | _____ k) argument |
| _____ e) conciliation | _____ l) conflict preserved |
| _____ f) deflection | _____ m) compliance |
| _____ g) constructive resolution (e.g. resolution of misunderstanding) | - (i) rewarded |
| | - (ii) punished |
| | - (iii) to authority |

40. In what time period did the story take place?

_____ a) before 1900

_____ b) turn of century to

World War II

_____ c) World War II to 1965

_____ d) 1965 to present

_____ e) future

_____ f) action shifts over several time periods. Specify.

41. The major problem/crime that this program is concerned with is likely to occur to people who live in _____

Hand out list of cities and ask person to choose one.

42. What was the name of the main character in the program just watched?
43. Approximately what was the age of the main character?
- _____ a) Child — to 11 years
- _____ b) Adolescent — 12 to 18 years
- _____ c) Adult — 19 to 40 years
- _____ d) Middle — 41 to 64 years
- _____ e) Old — 65 and older
- _____ f) Unable to tell

44. Which of the following best describes the main character?
- _____ a) "Good guy" or hero
- _____ b) mixed, neither, uncertain
- _____ c) "Bad guy" or villain

45. What was the marital status of the main character?
- _____ a) Married
- _____ b) Was at one time married
- _____ c) Marries in story or expects to marry
- _____ d) Single

46. Did the main character have any dependants?
- _____ a) Yes
- _____ b) No

Hand out semantic differential for main character

47. Into which income group did the main character fall?
- _____ a) Upper, elite, executive
- _____ b) White collar
- _____ c) Blue collar
- _____ d) Lower, poor

48. Into which social group did the main character fall?

Read out list if necessary

- _____ a) white American
- _____ b) white Canadian
- _____ c) white North American
- _____ d) white non-North American Specify _____
- _____ e) Negro (black N. American)
- _____ f) Oriental

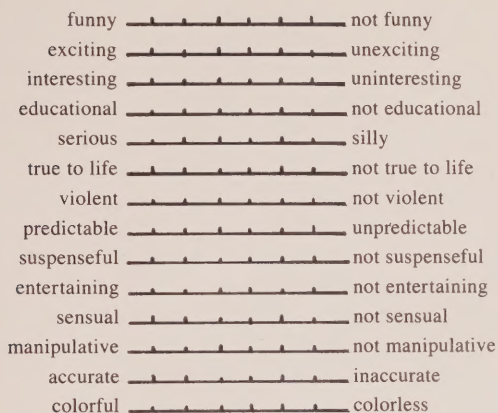
- _____ g) Native — Indian, Inuit
- _____ h) Spanish speaking
- _____ i) Other _____

49. On a scale of one to seven, with one being very bureaucratic and officious and seven being very accommodating and helpful, where would you place the main character?

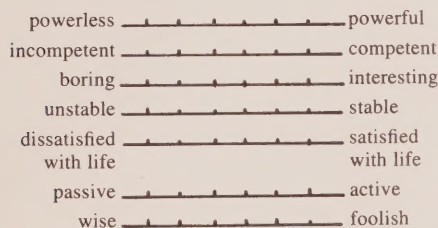
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bureaucratic and Officious							Accommodating and Helpful

Appendix H

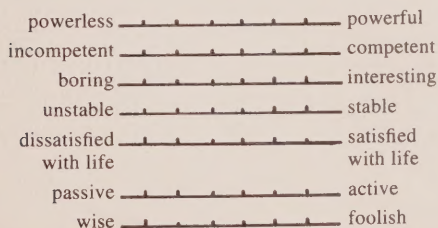
This Program



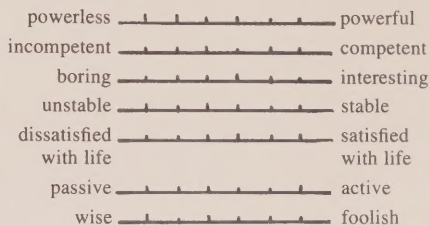
TEENAGERS



ETHNIC GROUPS



WOMEN



MEN

